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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, June 30, 2025, at 2 p.m.

Senate

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 2025

The Senate met at 2 p.m. and was called to order by the Honorable ROGER MARSHALL, a Senator from the State of Kansas.

PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

O Lord, You are filled with compassion and grace, slow to anger and abounding in love. We turn to You on this seventh day of the week with the needs of our great Nation and world. Only You can chart the best course in a turbulent sea of possibilities. Only You can guide us into the sheltered waters of harmony.

Lord, hear our heartfelt pleas for Your sovereign intervention in the legislative process. May Your Spirit of power and love move in the hearts of our Senators, bringing them the wisdom and grace they need to do Your will. Help them to avoid the trap of fearing people.

We pray in Your powerful Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Presiding Officer 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.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication

to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. GRASSLEY).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, June 28, 2025.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable ROGER MARSHALL, a Senator from the State of Kansas, to perform the duties of the Chair.

CHUCK GRASSLEY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. MARSHALL thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The Senator from Ohio.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. MORENO. Mr. President, we are about to enter a historic moment in this Chamber. We are going to take up a bill called the One Big Beautiful Bill.

If you have been watching the media over the last maybe 6 months, you

heard all kinds of absolute misinformation about this bill. I had a chance to read it. I know, Mr. President, you have also. It is an absolutely historic and transformative piece of legislation that reverses 4 years of an assault on American workers.

Let me just give you some of the facts. These are indisputable facts, and I want everybody watching this to remember this as you listen to probably what is going to be 30-plus hours of complete nonsense from the other side.

Let's start with No. 1. Nobody who works for a living in this country knows better what has happened to them over the last 4 years than they do. They have seen inflation crush them. The price of a home became unaffordable. The price of an automobile became unaffordable. The price of groceries became a luxury. You go to the grocery store, and you bring your normal order to the cashier, and you think, there is no way that can be my grocery bill. Those were all policies that were driven by the other side's ridiculous assault on American workers.

What are we going to do about it?

American workers have very seldom actually been represented in this Chamber. This Chamber has done a very good job representing special interest groups and lobbyists. But here is what American workers get out of the One Big Beautiful Bill:

No. 1, to address the price of automobiles—which, by the way, have been coming down under President Trump's term despite the misinformation that car prices would soar. Let me say that again. The price of automobiles has come down in the first 6 months of this

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



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year versus going up \$8,000 during the Biden years.

What are we doing to make it even more affordable to own an automobile? We are going to allow full deductibility of any interest paid on car loans if the car is made in America. That is a significant relief for American workers.

Secondly, no income tax on tips, overtime, or Social Security—a huge relief. That is probably about \$1,500 to \$2,500 extra in your pocket from not having to pay income tax on tips, overtime, or Social Security.

On top of that, the One Big Beautiful Bill prevents about a \$5,000 per American worker per year income tax increase. I imagine the Democrats are going to come on this floor and fight this bill and say it helps billionaires when they know—they know—that if we don't pass this bill, every American worker will pay \$5,000 more in income taxes next year and for all years to come.

Under Joe Biden, we had over 10 million illegals invade our country. I wasn't born in this country; I was born in South America. I had the honor and the privilege of being welcomed to this Nation. Who did Joe Biden welcome? Not legal immigrants like myself but, rather, people who broke our laws to come here. What was the result? They drove up our housing prices. They drove up our insurance premiums. They lowered wages for American workers. They crippled our cities, and crime surged.

So what does the One Big Beautiful Bill do? It funds Immigration and Customs Enforcement so that we can get these people out of our country. They should never have been allowed to come here. We have 5,000 border agents trying to get rid of 600,000 criminal aliens. These aren't just people who came here illegally—that was a crime in and of itself—this is 600,000 people who committed another crime, and we don't have the resources to deport them. This bill gives us the money to do that.

You have kids. I have kids. Raising kids has become really, really expensive. I was one of seven. My dad was one of 11. My grandfather was one of 23. I only have four—underperformer. Raising kids is really, really hard, really expensive. What does this bill do? It gives every working American \$2,200 per child per year—\$2,200 per child per year—to help alleviate the cost of raising kids.

In addition—this is something new and exciting—you have a birth of an American baby in this country, and the Federal Government will put \$1,000 into a bank account. Companies, your employers, nonprofits—whatever group wants to—they can put money in that account. That account will grow with an index. When that child who is born here in America, an American citizen—by the time they get to be 25 or 30 years old, they could have a decent little sum of money, a couple hundred thousand dollars. They can use it for

education, for upscaling, whatever they want. Nobody has ever done that to help American workers in that way, and we can do that.

Now, look, healthcare is a massive expense. The Acting President pro tempore is a doctor. He knows what is going on in our healthcare system. It is crushing working families. What does the One Big Beautiful Bill do? It provides funding for health savings accounts so you can use pretax dollars to fund it, so if there is that emergency, you can have that to tap into—a huge improvement.

Of course, let me just be crystal, crystal clear: This bill does not touch Social Security in any way whatsoever, even though I have had to listen to my colleagues over and over and over again, for the last 6 months, say that we are eliminating, crushing, destroying Social Security. We do not touch Social Security. We don't touch Medicare at all. Let me repeat that. We don't touch Social Security or Medicare. Despite how many online videos they do or how many press interviews they do or how much time the media repeats that misinformation, we don't touch Social Security or Medicare.

Now, on Medicaid, here is what we do: We strengthen it. In fact, in my State of Ohio, the hospitals will get more money to provide Medicaid to the people who need it: the disabled, pregnant women, children, older Americans who are in need. We are giving them more money. We will spend more money on Medicaid with the One Big Beautiful Bill than if we don't do it. Is that something that you have heard from the other side? Completely the opposite. What we are doing is we are eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse which has been rampant in that system, and we are starting the process of reforming the way the States and the Federal Government's relationship works in Medicaid. The States have abdicated that responsibility. We are working to reset that in a very, very methodical way.

For working Americans who are able-bodied, we are asking to do what Bill Clinton wanted, which is to put a work requirement on able-bodied adults. Let's define that. What does "able-bodied" mean? It means one between 18 and 60, with no disabilities and no dependent children. You can work. And what is the work requirement? It is 80 hours a month of either work, volunteering, community service, or upscaling, which is going to a place like, for example, Cuyahoga Community College or Kent State University or Columbus State University, where they can go in and get a skill that allows them to come into the workforce. It is very, very commonsense and not controversial at all, but you will hear the other side saying that we are kicking 60 million off health insurance.

I can't even count how many meetings I have had with my Republican colleagues. As the Acting President pro tempore knows, we meet quite often.

We have hundreds and hundreds of meetings. Our North Star—the center of gravity for our party—is, how do we help Americans? See, putting America first means that we are going to put our resources to helping American citizens. The other side? They want to give hundreds of billions of dollars to illegals. They want to have States be able to take that Medicaid money that is for American citizens and give it to people who shouldn't even be in this country. That doesn't even pass the commonsense, basic test.

So what the One Big Beautiful Bill does is it strengthens Medicaid for generations to come. I am very proud of that part of the bill. As the infomercial would say, "But wait. There is more." Biden and the radical Democrats made the world more dangerous. If you had turned on the TV any day of the week for the last 4 years, every part of the globe was more dangerous because of the weakness of Joe Biden. The One Big Beautiful Bill makes a historic investment in our military. Our military was demoralized, depleted, stretched too thin, out of basic equipment. We invest in that.

What has happened already? Record recruitment. In fact, the gentleman who worked with me on the campaign, Robby Brooks—he can't listen to this because he is in basic training with the Marines. He met Secretary Hegseth in my office. In fact, my entire office gave him a standing ovation when he came in to talk to me during his nomination process. Robby was so inspired by Secretary Hegseth that he came to me the next day, much to my dismay because Robby was a great member of the team, and said: Do you know what? I never thought about it in my life. I am 24 years old. I am going to go be a marine because I love this country.

That is what we are doing—a historic investment in our military and in our Coast Guard. The drug cartels are bringing in all kinds of illicit drugs, not just by land but now by sea, and we are making certain that we have the resources to protect our mainland.

For anyone who has flown lately—especially those of us who come to Washington, DC, every week—you fly; you know the delays; and you know what is going on with our air traffic control system. This air traffic control system should have been addressed years ago, well before the Acting President pro tempore and I got here. Decades, honestly, before the Acting President pro tempore and I got here, this should have been dealt with. They talked about it. Every Secretary of Transportation and every President talked about and acknowledged that our air traffic control system was a mess and that it needed to be modernized. What does the One Big Beautiful Bill do? It makes a historic investment in our Nation's air traffic control system—something that will help every American. That is what this bill does.

Now, here is the last piece: My Democrat colleagues will talk about how

this adds to the deficit, which is factually inaccurate. Actually, for the first time in my lifetime, we have a bill before Congress that will reduce spending. We have never seen that. They passed something called the Inflation Reduction Act that blew a hole in our deficit; that did the exact opposite of reducing inflation. In fact, inflation went up. Let me give you an example of what that bill did, because I don't know this has been well-reported.

If you are a multimillionaire—in fact, they like to talk about billionaires now because most of them, by the way, are millionaires. I am not sure how that happened. That is a different conversation for a different day, but they like to talk about billionaires. You could have a billionaire walk into a Rolls-Royce dealership—a billionaire walk into a Rolls-Royce dealership—buy a \$500,000 Rolls-Royce and decide to lease it, and the Democrats will give that billionaire a check for \$7,500 to offset the cost of that Rolls-Royce.

What does this \$7,500 credit do for you on a Rolls-Royce? Well, the umbrella that comes in the door is \$12,000. It doesn't quite cover the cost of that. The monograms on the headrest are about \$5,000, so you can cover that with the \$7,500. You won't cover anywhere near the cost of the audio system, which is \$22,000. Think about how sick that is. They come on the floor and say that we are helping billionaires when they are giving \$7,500 checks to people who lease these kinds of cars. Sick.

What are we doing? We are getting rid of all of these green new scams. We are cutting the budget deficit. We are finally implementing fiscal responsibility. It is the reason in the last 6 months this is what we have seen: Inflation has never been lower; gas prices are way down; egg prices are way down; and the stock market is at a record high. Remember the stock market that the Democrats were saying was going to be 1932 all over again just 60 days ago? A record. Not a record this year but an alltime record. They said tariffs were going to destroy the economy. Not true. This One Big Beautiful Bill does all of these things and reduces our deficit.

What is holding us back? Why can't we pass this piece of legislation that helps working Americans?

I am old enough to remember when the Democrat Party was the party of the working class. This is the kind of bill that most Democrats would have advocated for 20, 30 years ago. The center, the North Star, the guidepost for this bill is, does it help our middle class? Does it help working Americans? This bill does that in the ways that I just outlined. You would think that the Democrats would rush to the floor to vote for this thing. Instead, they will mischaracterize it every step of the way. I just laid out the facts. The bill is 940 pages long. If you want to read it, read it for yourself. Don't believe what you hear in the media. Don't believe what the Democrats are going to tell

you. Believe what I just told you because these are facts that are indisputable.

In fact, I will close with this:

I will guarantee that there is not one thing I outlined here today—any of these aspects of the bill—that my colleagues will dispute, because they can't, because it is in the plain text of the bill. Instead, what they will do is they will use cliché lines like we are taking away health insurance from people who need it to give it to their billionaire buddies. Do you mean like George Soros? Do you mean like the founder of LinkedIn, who funded all kinds of nonsense? Those billionaires, right? Look, do you want to find the center of gravity today for the Democrat Party? Go to Martha's Vineyard where the average home is \$30 million. That is their North Star.

What is our North Star? Communities in the Acting President pro tempore's State and communities in my State, like Chillicothe, OH. That is the center of gravity for our party. It is a new party. I will acknowledge that. The Republican Party of today is not the party that I knew 20 or 30 years ago. It was a mistake that we weren't thinking about the working class in the way we are today, but here we are, on the verge of passing One Big Beautiful Bill.

Now, look, if you are an American watching, I see why you are confused. If I were somebody who was reading that all day, for example, in my hometown newspaper, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, I would probably think something different because it is all propaganda from the other side. I just laid it out. I challenge anybody in the media, anybody listening to this, any of my Democrat colleagues to come out here on the floor and go line by line in what I just said and tell me what I just said is not true.

This is what this bill is all about. I am so proud that I had the honor—the honor—of even being a tiny part of putting together a bill that is so historic and so transformative. I urge all of my Republican colleagues—all of my Republican colleagues, every single one of them—to come out here on the floor. Let's get the motion to proceed going. Let's get the bill passed. Let's get it back to the House.

To my House colleagues, come back, and get this bill done, and let's celebrate July 4 with the greatest bill ever passed by the U.S. Congress.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from the great State of Texas.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I was here in 2017, when we passed the original Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, and what ensued was, perhaps, the greatest amount of economic growth and the greatest reduction of unemployment among all sorts of folks who histori-

cally have suffered high unemployment rates. In short, our economy was booming.

Originally, we had some debates about whether or not this would have a static effect. In other words, when you start adding the numbers up, do you account for economic growth and the stimulative effect of the bill? As it turns out, the \$1.5 trillion deficit in the original bill was met by economic growth because we brought back money that had been invested abroad, because of high tax rates here, and a variety of other measures which made our economy boom again.

One point that I want to make sure to make is that this is more than just about the numbers on a page. This is a cumulative effect of not only lowering taxes but of downsizing regulation, encouraging domestic energy production, and doing all of those things which will cause our economy to grow again. If we can get our economy growing at a better rate—let's say 3 percent of our GDP—that will add trillions of dollars to the Federal Treasury and more than make up for any money that we end up providing in terms of tax relief. So I am very excited about this particular legislation, what has now come to be known as the One Big Beautiful Bill.

I have listened as our Democratic colleagues have criticized this bill, which hasn't actually, finally, been written yet. It is getting close, and I hope we can start voting on the bill as early as later on today. But what strikes me as bizarre is our Democratic colleagues have offered zero alternatives. Do they want a multitrillion-dollar tax increase on the American people—that, on top of 40-year high inflation, thanks to Bidenomics? Everything costs, roughly, on average, 20 percent more than it did before the radical spending spree of the last administration, which threw gasoline on the fire of inflation and ate up the standard of living of most Americans and made their dollar worth about 20 percent less than it was beforehand.

I think we have a better idea, and that is, no, we don't think you should increase taxes by trillions of dollars on top of 40-year-high inflation thanks to the Biden-Harris administration and their radical spending spree. I think most Americans would agree with us. So they have no alternative other than to raise taxes on hard-working American families.

The other thing that our bill does is it increases the standard deduction. Most families don't necessarily even itemize their tax deductions. So the standard deduction is important.

The child tax credit—we know it is expensive to raise children. So having an enhanced child tax credit is really important, and that is what this legislation will do.

But the other thing that this bill does—as long as I have been in the Senate, we have never tried to undertake spending cuts necessary to deal with a \$37 trillion debt. We are now paying

more interest on the national debt than we are on defense, which is unsustainable.

We don't have to be reminded of recent events in Iran, for example, with Iran fast tracking toward a nuclear weapon. Thank goodness for the decisiveness and courage of our U.S. military and our Commander in Chief, President Trump, and Iran is no longer on that fast track to build a nuclear weapon.

But this is a very fragile and dangerous world we live in, the most dangerous since World War II. None of us want to go down that path again. So the way we address that is to reestablish deterrence: American peace through strength. That is how we keep the peace. It is through strength. And we can't do it if we don't have the money to spend on our defense, either on our personnel, on our weapons systems, and the like.

Our Democratic friends have no answer to any of this. Their answer, I guess, is to do nothing.

There was a former Speaker of the House, years ago, Sam Rayburn, a Texan, who said:

Any jackass can kick down a barn, but it takes a skilled carpenter to build one.

We are doing our very best to try to build that barn. Is it perfect? No. But we are trying, and we believe we are making tremendous progress on a number of fronts.

One area that is particularly important to me and my constituents in Texas—all 31 million of them—is, finally, to bring some security to our border.

We were told during the Biden-Kamala Harris administration that we needed to pass some new laws, back when the policies of the administration were open borders. We are still paying the price, and we probably will pay the price for years to come—criminals coming across the border, some dangerous gang members; illegal drugs; human trafficking of innocent children and women. But when we elected President Trump on November 5, it didn't take him very long to bring those numbers—those tens of thousands of people streaming across the border on a monthly basis—to bring that to near zero. And it didn't take any new laws. It just took a President willing to enforce the law.

But it costs money to provide for the detention facilities and the personnel necessary to secure the border and to safeguard our country. That is one of the other things that is in this bill that is so important: money to build more infrastructure or the wall, more money to hire Border Patrol and Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents, and more money for detention facilities so that there are real consequences associated with coming into our country illegally.

Then, as I mentioned a moment ago, the money that is necessary to reestablish deterrence to help our military—that is in this bill as well.

And the answer of our Democratic colleagues is: No, we don't think we should do anything to secure the border, to defend the Nation, or to prevent a multitrillion-dollar tax increase, along with the devastating economic consequences to hard-working Texans and American families.

The only thing our colleagues on the other side have to say is: This is going to help rich people at the expense of regular folks.

One of our colleagues described the bill as handouts for billionaires, arguing that our legislation would cause the American people to "suffer so that Jeff Bezos can buy another yacht."

So what is their alternative to our legislation? Crickets. Nothing. It is a cheap shot.

Looking west to Nevada, one of our colleagues has said this is a "tax scam" that hurts the middle class while giving trillions to the ultrawealthy.

Now, I realize these are probably focus group-tested phrases that move the dial in the absence of any other information, but the fact of the matter is this is false.

You know, I guess I am old fashioned. I was raised to believe that you should tell the truth, and you should not lie. But up here in Washington, DC, in the Congress, on things like this, lying seems to be the coin of the realm. And, unfortunately, it has an impact if people don't know the truth, which is why we have to point out the important aspects of this legislation and what we are trying to do.

These statements by our Democratic colleagues cannot be further from the truth. And here is the worst part: They know it. They know it, but they persist.

This bill is anything but a reverse-Robin Hood scheme. But I am not surprised, I guess, that they are misrepresenting this bill in an attempt to scare the American people and maybe try to energize their political base.

I think Democrats are a little desperate these days, seeing what happened in the New York mayoral election, with an anti-Semitic socialist winning that nomination in New York. This is what the modern Democratic Party has become, the party of AOC and the radicals. And they wonder why they lost the last election in November?

Well, those sorts of politics and policies were rejected by the American people in favor of a President who will enforce the law and who will keep America safe.

According to the Wall Street Journal, 62 percent of Americans will see a tax increase if we don't pass this extension—62 percent. That is, obviously, more than just people who are the "well to do."

I am for middle-class taxpayers. And, of course, President Trump has said he wants to further extend tax relief to the middle class, to people who work in the service industries. No tax on tips,

no tax on overtime, no tax on Social Security—those are genuinely middle-class tax cuts.

I guess our Democratic colleagues are opposed to those too. They think, I presume, that they ought to pay, in the service industries—the hard-working middle class in our country ought to pay—more, not less.

If we let the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act provisions expire, households earning less than \$400,000 a year will face a \$2.6 trillion tax hike, with the average family of 4 earning \$80,000 paying \$1,700 more in taxes alone every year. In Texas, families will be saddled with \$3,000 in additional taxes if we fail to extend these expiring provisions. And as I mentioned a moment ago, working families will see the child tax credit cut in half.

Our Democratic colleagues won't tell you this, but the Big Beautiful Bill, as it is called, will prevent all of this and more. It increases the child tax credit, which is estimated to benefit 46 million American families. Are all of those the superrich? Well, I think not. These are average, hard-working middle-class families who will benefit from the enhanced child tax credit.

Our bill will help working Americans with provisions, as I said, like the no tax on tips and no tax on overtime. I would actually like to see some of my Democratic colleagues go out to their favorite restaurant and explain to their server that they support the U.S. Government continuing to take a larger and larger cut of their earnings—their tips earnings. I doubt they would acknowledge that. I don't think that kind of suggestion would go over too well, but that is what they are doing by opposing this bill.

Again, if they have got a better idea, let's hear it. Again, all we hear is crickets, silence, when they are not misrepresenting what the bill actually does.

Another provision that is important—and this used to be bipartisan, back when Newt Gingrich and President Bill Clinton, a Republican Speaker and a Democrat President of the United States, passed the Welfare Reform Act—Congress implemented reasonable, working requirements for able-bodied adults. It is not good for people to sit on the couch and play video games all day when they are able-bodied.

Work brings not only the ability to provide for yourself and your family a certain amount of dignity and self-respect, but it helps your community to make sure you are a more productive, a happier person. And, certainly, it is not fair to the taxpayers to have them subsidizing people sitting on the couch playing video games all day when they can contribute to their community and their family.

One of our colleagues from Illinois said:

Republicans are working to cut food and health care programs like SNAP and Medicaid. The so-called "Big Beautiful Bill" will

hurt hard-working Americans to pay for tax cuts for billionaires. Plain and simple.

More propaganda, more disinformation, more untruths. The reforms to Medicaid, which is an important healthcare safety net, and SNAP, previously known as food stamps, included in the Big Beautiful Bill, will strengthen and safeguard our safety net for those who actually need it.

And as for Medicaid, that money should not go to able-bodied adults. It should go to children, the disabled, and pregnant women. That is the original target of Medicaid. That is where the safety net is important. But if you are giving that money and spending money on able-bodied adults, obviously, that is going to detract from where the money should go to help those truly in need.

It is the same thing with food stamps, or the SNAP program. Why in the world should taxpayers subsidize somebody who is capable of working and contributing to themselves and their family and their community by subsidizing them through food stamps?

So a work requirement for able-bodied adults just makes sense. But I have been here in Washington, DC, long enough to know that common sense isn't all that common up here.

As I mentioned, the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, in a bipartisan fashion, implemented work requirements to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, which was a welfare program. It was remarkably successful in bringing those living in poverty into the labor force so they can earn a living; so they don't need to depend on Medicaid because, just maybe, they have private health insurance through their employer.

It just makes sense on all of these means-tested programs. By that, it just means to have certain income requirements. If you fall below, you qualify. Above that earnings level, you don't qualify anymore. But why shouldn't we have those work requirements for all means-tested programs? Well, we should, and we will.

Recent research from the Foundation for Government Accountability found that more than 62 percent of able-bodied adults who receive Medicaid don't work at all—62 percent able-bodied adults, sitting on a couch, playing video games, I guess. I don't know what you do all day—watch TV, if you are able-bodied and you are capable of working but you are not working.

With a national debt exceeding \$36 trillion a year and more than half of Medicaid beneficiaries who are able to work but are sitting home idly, requiring these folks to at least start looking for a job is a commonsense step in the right direction. We need to make sure that our safety nets are there for people who need them, not for people who don't need them. We need them to be secure for the seniors and those who have fallen on hard times, and we have to make sure others are not abusing the system while bankrupting the country.

Another way the Big Beautiful Bill safeguards our safety net is by strengthening eligibility checks. It is well known that people in certain income levels tend to fall in and out of eligibility for some of these means-tested programs. Let's say they are working but then they have lost a job, and until they can find another one, they need access to them. But once they get a job, then they no longer should qualify. So strengthening eligibility checks is an important reform—and not providing these benefits to illegal aliens.

You know, the Border Patrol tells me, in my many visits down there—and I have hosted many of my colleagues down at the border. They have said there are push factors and there are pull factors to illegal immigration. The push factors are the normal ones you would expect—poverty, violence in your home country—but the pull factors are the incentives that are provided to people who have come to our country illegally. And when we provide taxpayer benefits to people from other countries, it is a pull factor. It is an encouragement, an incentive, and particularly when there are no consequences to violating the law, as was the case during the 4 years of the last administration.

Our colleagues across the aisle apparently think it is OK to take money out of your pocket and to give it to illegal aliens for benefits, and they see no problem with incentivizing more and more people to come across the border illegally.

Well, this brings me to another important provision, which is important particularly to my State, the State of Texas. Thanks to the efforts of the Texas delegation in the House, this bill includes money to reimburse the State of Texas for border security measures that were undertaken in the absence of the Federal Government doing its job during the Biden administration.

Our international border is a Federal responsibility, but in the absence of the Biden administration enforcing the law, the State of Texas had no alternative but to implement Operation Lone Star to provide the Department of Public Safety and the National Guard to help secure the border, to help stem the flow of drugs, to help slow down the human trafficking, and to slow down and stop as much of the illegal immigration as they could. And that came at significant expense to State taxpayers. This is not the State's responsibility, but the State had to bear the burden. And this bill reimburses Texas taxpayers for that unfair burden that was left as a result of the abdication of responsibility by the previous administration.

These are just a few of the many important wins for the American people that are included in this Big Beautiful Bill. I wish we were in a different place, where our Democratic colleagues would actually work with us and try to prevent a multitrillion-dollar tax increase

on 62 percent of American working families. But in the absence of their willingness to work with us, we have no choice but to get this done with just Republican votes.

I encourage my fellow Republicans not to let the naysayers convince the American people that this is somehow bad for them when the opposite is actually true. This is also, finally, an important part of President Trump delivering on the promises he made when he won a historic election last November 5, and it is our job to deliver on that electoral mandate by passing this agenda.

This bill will do wonderful things for the 31 million people in my State and the 250 million people who call America home, and I look forward to supporting it when it comes to the floor in the coming hours and days.

I yield the floor.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic leader is recognized.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I want the American people to understand exactly what is happening right now with Senate Republicans and their so-called Big Beautiful Bill. Senate Republicans are trying to pull a fast one on the American people. For weeks, they have struggled with the reality that most people hate this bill. Leadership has struggled to secure votes among their own ranks who know how bad the bill is, and now they have scrambled to meet an entirely arbitrary deadline.

So what did Republicans do late last night? It is hard to believe. This bill is worse—even worse—than any draft we have seen thus far. It is worse on healthcare. It is worse on SNAP. It is worse on the deficit. At the very last minute, Senate Republicans made their bill even more extreme to cater to the radicals in the House and Senate.

Republicans are about to move forward with a radical, thousand-page bill, just made public in the last several hours, without knowing how many trillions it will cost. They don't even want to know the CBO score. They are afraid to show how badly this will increase the deficit—on this bill, a major bill that affects every part of American life; hiding the bill, hiding the CBO scores—in defiance of their own promises to cut the debt. Deficit hawks out there on the Republican side in the House and Senate: This bill makes the debt worse and the deficit worse—even worse than before.

Future generations will be saddled with trillions in debt. Debt is abstract, but what does it mean for the average American: raising your costs—raising your costs to buy a home, raising your costs to buy a car, raising your costs on credit card bills.

And why are they doing all this? Why are they doing the biggest Medicaid cuts in history? Now it is getting close to a trillion dollars just in Medicaid alone. All to cut taxes for the ultrarich and special interests. And they did it while most Americans were asleep.

It is astounding that this is the product Senate Republicans have come up with because, for weeks, they kept saying they were somehow going to strengthen Medicaid; that they would “moderate” the House clean energy cuts; that nobody would lose benefits. Well, all of that has gone out the window. Those supposed moderates on the other side are falling like dominos, ready to move on a bill that does precisely the opposite of what they claim.

Many Republican Senators have admitted they are not happy with this bill. One said it will take away healthcare from working people, and yet they are still a yes on this bill. If Republican Senators are not happy with this bill because they know how badly it hurts their constituency, they should vote no. After all, they are U.S. Senators. They have the power to vote however they want. Did they forget that was an option? Are they all so afraid that they can't do what they know is the right thing for the American people? Just incredible. Incredible.

After weeks of hemming and hawing from Republicans, the bill that they are ready to proceed with is the most extreme version of their bill yet. I guess, when push comes to shove, leave it to Republicans to cave to their hard-right flank.

Under this draft, Republicans will take food away from hungry kids to pay for tax breaks to the rich. All the data shows Democrats don't like it; Independents don't like it; and Republicans don't like cutting SNAP, taking food away from kids, all to pay for tax breaks for the wealthy. The SNAP cuts—and I am sure we will hear from Senator KLOBUCHAR shortly—are every bit as bad as in the House, the worst in history, ever. Those cuts are cruel. Those cuts are un-American. But it is what Republicans are getting ready to do.

Meanwhile, Medicaid, where they have had so much controversy and back-and-forth—Medicaid will be fed to the sharks under this bill. In fact, we just got the news that CBO said the Medicaid cuts in this version are worse than any version of the Republican bill to date—nearly \$1 trillion in cuts just to Medicaid alone. And there are more cuts for ACA and Medicare.

Let me repeat: This version of the bill cuts nearly \$1 trillion in Medicaid alone, worse than any version we have seen so far—\$930 billion, to be precise—and that does not count the many billions and billions and billions more in cuts to ACA and Medicare, far worse—far worse—than anything we have seen so far.

The tiny tweaks that Republicans made to the provider tax will still deci-

mate State budgets and do nothing to protect hospitals in the coming years. And what about the rural hospital fund Republicans have spent the last few days touting? It is a drop in the bucket. This rural hospital fund is a figleaf. It is like putting a bandaid over an amputation and sending the patient home. When the rural hospitals start closing, just remember—the residents of those hospitals, the people who work in those hospitals—it is because of these cuts and no other reason. Rural hospitals, many of them, will close. This bandaid ain't enough to cover even a small percentage of them.

And healthcare costs will go up for everyone. Even if you don't have Medicaid, even if you don't have ACA, even if you don't have Medicare, your private insurance will go up dramatically—dramatically. Every month, people hate paying those health insurance premiums. They are going to pay a lot more under this bill.

And why are they doing all this? Why are they doing all this? We know why: tax breaks for billionaires—tax breaks for billionaires.

And now let's talk about another subject: the clean energy changes Republicans made last night. Frankly, I don't think even most Republicans realize just how radical these last-minute changes are. They are drafted to do one thing: to kill all wind and solar, all wind and solar. Solar: the cheapest—the cheapest way to produce new energy, the quickest way to produce new energy. We need more energy. AI is going to take up a lot of energy. If we don't have new sources of energy, all new sources—guess what—people's electricity bills will go up and up and up.

When it comes to clean energy, the Republicans basically reverted and somehow exceeded the extreme policies that came out of the House. For days, they worked to modify those provisions, many Republicans, to make them less bad. Now, they have made them even worse. And these are policies, by the way, plenty of Senate Republicans said they were going to change under this new draft.

Clean energy projects in wind and solar will now need to be placed in service—in service, not be done—in less than 2 years from now in order to qualify for a tax break.

And the provisions related to Chinese involvement—which, of course, we want to fight against China, but the best way to fight against China is have a robust solar industry. China is going to run the whole solar industry for the world, and if you think they are not going to make Americans pay more as Chinese customers pay less, forget it.

But anyway, on the provisions related to China, they made them almost unmanageable. It is going to kill nearly every wind and solar project out there because the standard is laughably unrealistic. What does it mean? Projects already in the works will shut down. It means that people will lose

their jobs—it is estimated 840,000 jobs. Add that to the healthcare jobs. Wow. Americans will pay hundreds of dollars extra a year on electricity as soon as the next year.

Thanks to the Senate Republicans caving in to Big Oil, it will be China, not the United States, that likely becomes the world leader in energy production in years to come. Self-destructive. Needless. Harmful to both our economic and national security. It just shows how tight Big Oil's grip is on Senate Republicans.

Remember, 80 percent of these clean energy investments, my colleagues, have gone to Republican districts. The investments support, as I said, over 800,000 jobs. Republicans are so beholden to the fossil fuel industry that they would rather kill jobs in their own communities than upset the Big Oil lobby. Disgusting, shameless, and done, of course, while most Americans were asleep.

Again, Republicans are trying to pull a fast one on the American people. Republicans are pulling a fast one even on their own Members and certainly on their own constituents. This will hurt the reddest of States badly.

If Republicans proceed, Senate Democrats will hold them to account. We will gear up for another night of vote-arama very soon. We will expose this bill piece by piece. We will show how it cuts healthcare, raises costs, rewards the ultrarich.

We welcome this debate, and if Republicans proceed and follow Donald Trump over the cliff with this bill tied to their ankles like an anvil, they will not only doom their own communities, they will doom their political fortunes—their own political fortunes—and have no one to blame but themselves.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. MORENO. Mr. President, as I said earlier and I predicted earlier, our Democrat colleagues have come out totally mischaracterizing this bill. So let me just go through this again very slowly so that they can watch it and listen.

The question really is, Is this a bill that helps working Americans or is this a bill that helps billionaires? Again, let me just pause on the irony that it wasn't too long ago when they were saying millionaires until they themselves realized that they became millionaires. Forgive me. Different topic.

If you take out a car loan for an American-made automobile and you can deduct that interest, the bill, in the text, specifies that you cannot make more than \$100,000 per year. I think by definition, somebody who makes less than \$100,000 a year is not a billionaire. So it is indisputable that that part of the bill does not help billionaires; it helps working Americans. Notice that was not addressed.

Second, no tax on overtime. I don't think there are a lot of billionaires that punch a clock. That is clearly something that helps working Americans.

No income tax on tips. Once again, I don't see a lot of billionaires serving us at restaurants or taking care of us at nail salons or barbershops. It is clearly something that helps working Americans. As I predicted, they did not address that particular provision.

No tax on Social Security, and that is capped at \$150,000 in income—again, by definition, not a billionaire.

A \$5,000 tax increase is prevented. That does not help billionaires; it helps working Americans that don't want to see their taxes go up. They didn't address that.

Now, when 10 million illegals invade this country and drive down our wages, drive up our housing costs, do you think Jeff Bezos or Mark Zuckerberg or Elon Musk is worried about the price of housing? Jeff Bezos just had a \$55 million wedding in Italy. I don't think he is worried about his housing costs going up.

I don't think there are a lot of criminal aliens who are going to Beverly Hills or Palo Alto or Martha's Vineyard to buy homes. They are going to places like Springfield, OH, where we saw our average rents go from about \$1,000 to two or three times that amount because we had a surge of 18,000 aliens in a city of 50,000 people. Insurance prices went up because we had a massive amount of car accidents and crashes. That is the real world. That happens, and that affects working Americans. What this bill does is it deports them.

Now, what isn't said by my Democrat colleagues is that they have a lot of their friends that love criminal-alien labor. They can't complain. They get paid a lot less money. That doesn't benefit working Americans. Working Americans don't have five gardeners and three nannies and a house in Martha's Vineyard, but my Democrat colleagues' friends sure do. Go spend a summer in Martha's Vineyard; you will see exactly what I mean. You will see decadence unlike anything you have never seen in your life—\$30, \$40 million homes, private jets to get there. Do you know what they do? They sip cappuccinos in the morning, talking about climate change when they heat and cool their homes 365 days a year. That is who funds the Democratic Party today. It is quite sad, honestly, because the Democratic Party used to be the party of the working class. It

used to be the party that would champion the things in this bill.

There is a \$2,200 child tax credit. Do you think that billionaires are really going to think about \$2,200 as a child tax credit as something that is really going to motivate them? Do you think billionaires are going to rush out and get married and have kids because they are going to get a \$2,200 child tax credit or do you think it is going to allow them to buy groceries?

The Democrat leader spoke about SNAP benefits and taking food away from children. Those are the kinds of hyperbolic statements that I think all of us here in the U.S. Senate should be above. Nobody is suggesting that we take food literally out of the hands of children, but what their policies did do over the last 4 years—inadvertently maybe; I will give them credit—was raise grocery prices to the point where working Americans had to make a decision at the cash register on whether to buy something or not.

I saw it with my own eyes. I saw it with my own eyes when I went to Giant Eagle in Westlake, OH, and I would see people come in to buy groceries, and they would have to make a decision—maybe the bigger cereal box, they can't do it. They have to go to generics instead of the Kellogg's because their grocery bill is just too high. Imagine what that feels like. You are a working American. You worked your whole life. In front of your children, you have to say look at them and say: I can't afford to get you cereal today. I can't afford to get you that extra snack you want.

They drove up the price of inflation. The One Big Beautiful Bill will lower it. They didn't talk about that.

They didn't talk about the \$1,000 fund that goes in for American citizens. Again, do you think billionaires care whether \$1,000 goes into a fund that could be maybe \$100, \$200,000 when those kids turn 25, 30 years old? I don't think that makes a difference to Jeff Bezos. I think his children will be just fine. It is something that helps working Americans. Again, they don't address that.

At least be honest about your objection to the bill, and their objection to the bill is pretty straightforward: They don't want President Trump to get a win.

Let's talk about healthcare. Do you think the billionaires worry about their healthcare premiums? Working Americans do. What are we doing? We are preserving these healthcare programs for the people who need them. We are strengthening Medicaid.

What they have allowed to happen is that States have been gaming the Federal Government, drawing down funds to pay for other projects and other benefits. And the people who are going to be eliminated from the Medicaid system are illegal migrants. We shall see whether in this bill they object to that provision, because in our current draft—again, they don't refer to this—it says that you cannot receive any

welfare programs unless you are an American citizen. They will have the opportunity to object and remove that from the bill. That doesn't help billionaires, but it does crush working Americans.

They didn't talk about the dangers all over the world. Congo and Rwanda just signed a peace deal in the White House yesterday. Pakistan and India averted a massive war. We now have a cease-fire between Iran and Israel. In 6 months, President Trump has brought peace and prosperity around the world. But our military was depleted because they insisted on funding a proxy war with Russia. We are fixing that.

They didn't talk about the investment in the Coast Guard. They would leave that out because, again, they want you to think that this bill is about billionaires. It certainly is not.

They didn't talk about the air traffic control system. My colleague has been here almost as long as I have been alive. He had the opportunity when he controlled this Chamber, controlled the House, controlled the Presidency, to fund a modernization of our air traffic control system. He didn't do it. He isn't talking about that.

Let's talk about the Green New Deal—the green new scam. Let's talk about that for a second. Let me just walk you through it if you are not familiar with what this is.

Let's say that you want to build a solar project, for example, in London, OH. You can go out and buy acres of land for way more than market value. Why? Because the Federal Government will pay you 30 percent of what you think the project is worth.

Let me just repeat that for a second. Let's say that a project is going to cost you \$10 million to build. The Federal Government will pay you 30 percent of what you think it is worth. That is in the Inflation Reduction Act. It is what they call fair market value.

So let's say you find a friendly appraiser that says: Hey, this solar project is really worth \$30 million. The Federal Government will write you a check for \$9 million of the \$10 million it costs to build that project.

If you are really savvy, you then go to a bank and say: Hey, look, I have this project that is worth all this money. Can you give me a loan?

Maybe they get half—\$5 million. Before it produces 1 electron, you have put \$4 million in your pocket. Do you really care if the project succeeds? Why would you? You just made out like a bandit.

This is why the Inflation Reduction Act, when it was passed, was supposed to cost about \$1 trillion, and it is costing exponentially more than that. These are scams on the American people.

Now, in Ohio, we have thousands of years of natural gas, thousands of years—the cleanest energy you can imagine, the most abundant, reliable energy. What did the Democrats,

through the administration, do? Completely kneecapped it—and liquid natural gas exports; made it virtually impossible to explore for new natural gas; removed permits from Federal lands; canceled the Keystone Pipeline. Who did that affect? Do you think that billionaire buddy of one of my colleagues who has a compound on Martha's Vineyard cares if his energy price went up 30 percent?

By the way, he doesn't even pay the bill. He has somebody who he knows that has somebody beneath him that has somebody beneath them that actually pays the bills. He has no idea if his energy price went up 30 percent. It wouldn't even affect their life.

I was with somebody in Martha's Vineyard a couple or 3 years ago. They gave a quote that I will never forget. I want to put this into the RECORD. It was a quote from one of my Democrat colleagues. Now, in the spirit of decorum, I will not mention their name, but here is the quote.

In front of a \$35 million home that most of the guests flew their private jets to, that had several boats anchored—with, by the way, gigantic outboard engines that used probably 30 gallons of gas every 5 minutes—they said the following quote—are you ready, Mr. President, for this quote? "If you want to live like a Republican, vote for a Democrat."

Think about how callous that is. He said the quiet part out loud.

I am proud that the Presiding Officer and I are part of a new Republican Party. I think the Presiding Officer and I represent a new vision of the Republican Party, a party that is about helping working Americans actually live a better life. That is why I am here. I know that is why the Presiding Officer is here, and I know that is why the Presiding Officer and I are so proud of this bill.

And, again, I will close with this, and I know there is lots of noise out there right now all over this building. We have an opportunity for the first time—first time—in American history to say that in this Chamber, in this Congress, with this President, we are going to make the lives of working Americans better the way I just outlined.

And while my colleagues—I don't expect them, it would be kind of, quite honestly, odd for them to agree with us on everything. Just don't lie. Just don't come out here on the floor and say this is a bill for billionaires. This is a bill for working Americans. And I would challenge any of my colleagues that are going to speak that when they make those statements, reference the page number and the exact line in the bill that helps billionaires, just point that out.

And by the way, on these solar scams, we are not banning solar panels; we are not banning windmills. What we are saying is we are not going to make you filthy rich if you build one of these projects. But if you want to build a

solar panel project somewhere in Ohio, you can do it. You are just not going to do it with massive subsidies from the Federal Government.

So, again, I will urge all of my colleagues, let's unite as a party. Let's show the American people that Republicans have the ability to govern; that we can come together to pass a transformative and historical bill.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from the great State of Minnesota.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I rise today to speak in strong opposition to the recently revealed Senate congressional budget bill. I will note that this is a 940-page bill that was just put out there at midnight. For me, that was a moment because, one, I realized that nothing has changed in terms of the proposal—it has actually added to the debt—and, two, from about \$3.4 trillion to one analysis says \$4 trillion, and it actually adds more Medicaid cuts, another \$100 billion, up to \$900 billion in Medicaid cuts. Those are the top lines, and I don't think anyone has had the time to look at every single detail of that bill, but to me it meant something else. That meant that I knew I was going to stay here, along with my colleague Senator SMITH, because we have a job to do that is really important on this budget.

But it was hard to not go home and grieve for one of my very good and beloved friends Melissa Hortman and her husband Mark, whose funeral was held today in our State. And I would have been there in person. Because of the gravity of the legislation we are considering today, I was able to watch it online.

One of the things that I most remember and will always remember from that funeral, in addition to the beauty of it, in addition to the trees and the bushes that awaited the guests outside because Melissa loved the beauty of the world and cared a lot about the world around her, but it was the words of our archbishop, Archbishop Hebda. It was a very religious service, full mass. My husband got to be there and take part in that mass.

But Archbishop said at the close of the ceremony, he quoted the new Pope, Pope Leo, who recently said that politics is one of the greatest forms of charity. Melissa always believed that. She believed that in how she lived her life and got things done for people. Whether it was school lunches or better paid family leave or more fairness for people in our State, she believed that to her core, and her husband did too.

When their kids wrote just a few days after their parents were murdered by a madman, their two kids in their twenties—one is going to get married in December, his fiancée was there, Melissa was planning the wedding—they

asked people to make the world just a little bit better. They said: Plant a tree, pet a dog—hopefully, a golden retriever—because they loved dogs so much, do something small or big.

So I figure that is what we are going to be doing the next few days, and this is big. But it is something that is going to make a difference to people in this country if we don't do something about this bill right now.

What does this bill do? It kicks 16 million people off their healthcare—16 million people off their healthcare—in order to finance tax cuts for the wealthiest, in order to give multimillionaires a \$400,000 tax cut? That doesn't make the world a better place.

Adding \$4 trillion in debt—a trillion of it is interest, which is going to make mortgage rates go up. It is going to make it harder for young people to be able, maybe, to get their first house or pay their rent. It is putting it on their backs. It is putting it on their shoulders.

That is why I don't see this as a Big Beautiful Bill, I see this as a "Big Beautiful Betrayal" of the hard-working people of this country.

Why are our colleagues scrambling to get this done in 2 days? Just because the President sets a deadline and says: Jump, and they say: How high?

Why are they always rubberstamping things that they don't actually believe in? We still know this newest draft, the 940 pages that no one has really read—we know that the bill still rips away healthcare for millions of Americans and closes hundreds of rural hospitals. It still shifts costs to States and threatens food assistance for families across the country. It still adds trillions of dollars to the Federal debt.

People in this country, the more they hear about this, the more they don't like it. A FOX News poll recently, 60 percent of the people don't like it; 2 to 1 people say: This isn't going to help me; it is going to help wealthy people.

People on Medicaid, they don't want to lose access to healthcare. One out of two people in assisted living are actually on Medicaid. You know, when my dad was in assisted living, he had some savings. He was married three times so a lot of that money had gone away. Better to talk about another time. But I knew the exact day that that savings was going to run out. I knew the exact savings day because I was going to move him over to a Catholic Charities place that actually took Medicaid because that was the day that his Medicaid would kick in. And it gave me some solace, even though he was in a place that didn't take Medicaid, that I had a plan for him. I had a place for him to go. He worked hard his whole life. Grew up in a hardscrabble mine. He deserved to have the end of his life be a life of dignity.

This is not what the American people voted for. When I get out to rural Minnesota—I visit all of 87 counties every single year. I have done 49 so far. So I have been in a lot of our rural counties

in the last 6 months. They are scared to death of what this is going to do to rural hospitals because the debt is so huge in this bill, it actually triggers some rules on Medicare that will cut \$500 billion in Medicare, in addition to the Medicaid cuts I already laid out, which are now up to \$900 billion. That is devastating for rural hospitals. It is projected 300 rural hospitals will close. This is the lifeline—the lifeline—for people in rural America.

When they get something, a very, very serious illness, yes, they will go to another hospital in maybe a bigger area, bigger town, metro area, but when they need emergency care, unless they are going to get a helicopter coming in to get them or they break a leg—and there are a lot of people working outside in rural areas, farming, logging, you name it—they need to have a local hospital there. They need to have local doctors there.

There is no avoiding the facts: 16 million people cut off healthcare, closing over 300 rural hospitals and 500 nursing homes across the country.

Republicans want to say the updated text will help rural providers with additional funding, but the bill is now making over \$900 billion in cuts instead of the \$800 billion when it comes to healthcare.

I have heard from a working mom of two whose parents rely on Medicaid for healthcare. She told me she doesn't think it is fair to shift the cost of care to families like hers to pay for tax cuts for the wealthy. Duh. She said we need to draw the line and say this is enough.

I have heard from so many people across my State about the food assistance cuts: 4 million people off of food assistance. Do you know who are the majority—vast majority—of people on food assistance? Veterans, seniors, people with little kids, old people. Those are the people on food assistance.

Grocery stores, in rural areas, you may have one grocery store in a town, more likely in a county, more likely in four counties. They are operating already—many of them are independent groceries—on thin margins. You make these kinds of cuts, you make these kinds of cuts to SNAP, the results are going to be that you are going to lose these grocery stores.

As ranking member of the Senate Ag Committee, I have heard over and over again from farmers who are already facing headwinds—the Trump tariffs—they don't have markets now that they had markets before; the cuts to the international food assistance that we were always so proud of in this country, that was other organizations buying American farmers' food; the input costs; what is happening with avian flu and other things, and now you add this? This is food that is produced by American farmers when you cut \$200 billion, as the Senate bill does, from the SNAP program.

The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has confirmed that the Senate bill would end SNAP for 2.9 million

Americans, including over nearly a million seniors and 270,000 veterans. The bill passed by the House would add \$3.4 trillion, as I noted, to the national debt, and this Senate bill is now up to \$4 trillion. And it uses this funky budgeting, which let me just explain an easy way, it is called baseline budgeting.

Everyone that looks at this from the outside says this is a \$4 trillion debt adder, but they use something where they say: OK, let's say—the Washington Post did this today. You go to a movie and you buy a movie ticket. Let's say it is \$10. Then you get some popcorn. And you do that one week because you want to see that "F1" movie, the new movie. Then, 2 weeks later, you go and you want to see it again, but you get some popcorn for \$5—small popcorn for \$5. OK.

Instead of saying, "You are paying your 10 bucks for the ticket and your 5 bucks for the popcorn," they say, "Oh, it is only 5 bucks because that is how much it went up over the last few weeks." That is the funky budgeting. That is the joke. That is the faux budgeting that is going on, on the other side.

So \$4 trillion in 10 years—that is what it costs. This is not what Americans voted for.

The President promised to lower costs and stand up for the middle class. This bill does the opposite. It raises costs. It takes from working people to pad the pockets of the wealthy, and that is why this bill is so unpopular.

Whether it is a mom from Louisiana whose son has Down syndrome and counts on Medicaid or a busdriver from Kansas, like the one I met, who uses SNAP to feed her kids, the American people are speaking out against this bill.

We will have the weekend to fight this bill, and I think people, in the middle of the summer, maybe they are not tuned in, but they better tune in because we should be protecting healthcare, not taking it away; defending food assistance, not raising grocery costs. We should not be giving tax breaks to the wealthy. We should be helping out the middle class and hard-working Americans.

That is what our job should be. It is not what this bill is.

I yield the floor.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, we have before us today a once-in-a-generation opportunity to deliver legislation to create a safer, stronger, and more prosperous America. With one bill, we can deliver on a number of priorities: tax relief for hard-working Americans; eco-

nomie growth; a stronger national defense; a more secure border; a more reliable energy supply; and reductions in waste, fraud, and abuse across the Federal Government. We seldom have an opportunity to take the kind of action that we are planning to take on just one of these priorities, let alone all of them.

When was the last time we considered legislation like this to give a \$150 billion boost to our defense spending?

After serious declines in our military readiness, we are on the verge of a notable investment in a number of critical military priorities: shipbuilding, missile defense, defense manufacturing capacity, critical munitions, drones and counter-drone technology, an expanded Air Force fighter fleet, nuclear modernization, U.S. infrastructure in the Pacific, and more.

And while it is no substitute for robust yearly defense funding, our bill represents a real chance to start to turn our readiness deficiencies around. There is no time in which we can afford to let our military readiness slide, but, above all, at this time of increased global instability, it is especially vital that we ensure that our military has the resources it needs to deter our enemies and defend our country.

So just by itself, the national defense section of our reconciliation bill represents a historic opportunity, and that is just one section of the bill.

We are also looking at historic investment in border security—\$160 billion. Yes, that is right—\$160 billion to undo the damage done by the Biden border crisis and secure our border for the long term. More Border Patrol agents, more Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents, funding to complete the border wall and implement critical border technology—it is all there.

We have the opportunity to take the gains the Trump administration has made in securing our border and deporting criminals and make that progress permanent. Like the defense section, the border security provisions of this bill would be an impressive and historic piece of legislation all on their own. But, again, they are just one section.

We are also looking at the chance to increase our energy independence, making us safer and more prosperous, and we are looking at an exceedingly rare opportunity to root out waste, fraud, and abuse, including the first real entitlement reform in decades—reform that will put these programs on a more sustainable path for today's recipients and for tomorrow's.

Once again, these are impressive opportunities all on their own, but even more incredible when you consider that we are looking at the prospect of being able to do all of these things in one bill.

And then, of course, there is the tax relief. Talk about a section of the bill that would be an achievement all on its own. We are looking at the opportunity

to make the 2017 tax relief permanent. That means permanently extending the lower tax rates; permanently extending the increased standard deduction; and not only permanently extending the enhanced child tax credit but enhancing it even further to \$2,200 per child and linking it to inflation so its value will never go down.

But not just that, there is more. We are eliminating taxes on tips for millions of tip workers. We are eliminating taxes on overtime for millions of hourly workers. We are putting in place an auto loan interest deductible when you buy a new car manufactured here in the United States. And we are increasing the standard deduction for millions of low- and middle-income seniors, making their retirement a little easier and more prosperous.

We are also implementing a program to create saving accounts for newborns, with an initial deposit of \$1,000 to help parents save and invest for their children's future needs.

And that is still not all. We are also looking at the chance to grow our economy by making the rest of the Tax Cuts and Job Act's business tax relief permanent. That means lower effective rates for small and medium-sized businesses—the job-creating 199A small business deduction and full expensing for new equipment and for domestic research and development. And we are adding to the 2017 tax relief with new pro-growth provisions, like a provision to boost domestic manufacturing by implementing full expensing for new factories and factory improvements.

Thanks to the pro-growth provisions in our legislation, we can expect to see GDP as much as 4.9 percent higher as a result of our bill. And that, of course, means more jobs and opportunities and better wages for hard-working Americans.

Republicans made some promises to the American people last November. We promised to grow our economy, to extend the 2017 tax relief and prevent a \$4 trillion tax hike on the American people, to secure our border and enhance the safety of our communities, and to unleash American energy.

We made those promises, and the American people elected us to office. Now they expect us to deliver. The opportunity is before us to deliver on our promises and make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

Fifty-three Members will never agree on every detail of legislation; let's face it. But Republicans are united in our commitment to what we are doing in this bill: securing our border; strengthening our national defense; growing our economy; unleashing American energy; cutting waste, fraud, and abuse; and preventing tax hikes on hard-working Americans.

Mr. President, it is time to get this legislation across the finish line.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 1

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I understand that there is a bill at the desk that is due for a second reading.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will read the bill by title for a second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, in order to place the bill on the calendar under the provisions of rule XIV, I would object to further proceeding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection having been heard, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. THUNE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

(Mr. YOUNG assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. MORENO assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. BANKS assumed the Chair.)

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

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

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT— Motion to Proceed

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to Calendar No. 107, H.R. 1.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the motion to proceed.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed to Calendar No. 107, H.R. 1, a bill to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

VOTE ON MOTION

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

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, 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 51, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 329 Leg.]

YEAS—51

Banks	Crapo	Hyde-Smith
Barrasso	Cruz	Johnson
Blackburn	Curtis	Justice
Boozman	Daines	Kennedy
Britt	Ernst	Lankford
Budd	Fischer	Lee
Capito	Graham	Lummis
Cassidy	Grassley	Marshall
Collins	Hagerty	McConnell
Cornyn	Hawley	McCormick
Cotton	Hoeven	Moody
Cramer	Husted	Moran

Moreno	Rounds	Sullivan
Mullin	Schmitt	Thune
Murkowski	Scott (FL)	Tuberville
Ricketts	Scott (SC)	Wicker
Risch	Sheehy	Young

NAYS—49

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

The motion was agreed to.

(Mr. CURTIS assumed the Chair.)

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCCORMICK). The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

AMENDMENT NO. 2360

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I call up amendment No. 2360.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. THUNE], for Mr. Graham, proposes an amendment numbered 2360.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the reading dispensed with.

Mr. SCHUMER. Reserving the right to object—and I will object—Senate Republicans are scrambling to pass a radical bill, released to the public in the dead of night, praying the American people won't realize what is in it. If Senate Republicans won't tell the American people what is in this bill, then Democrats are going to force this Chamber to read it from start to finish.

I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The clerk will read the amendment.

The legislative clerk continued with the reading of the amendment.

(The amendment is printed in today's RECORD under "Text of Amendments.") (Mr. MCCORMICK assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. MULLIN assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. LANKFORD assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. BUDD assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. SHEEHY assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. CURTIS assumed the Chair.)

(Mrs. MOODY assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. CASSIDY assumed the Chair.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORENO). Pursuant to the order of February 29, 1960, the hour of 12 noon having arrived, the Senate having been in continuous session since yesterday, the Senate will suspend for prayer by the Senate Chaplain.

PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

Lord of creation, You established day and night and the orderly movements of the seasons. That same providence orders the lives of our Senators, our Nation, and our world.

As our lawmakers seek to do what is right, give them the wisdom to discern what is best. Show them the pitfalls to avoid and the opportunities to seize. Lord, keep them from becoming weary in their pursuit of Your purposes as they remember Your promise to bring a bountiful harvest. May they cling to the enduring principles of Your truth that will lead them to Your desired destination.

We pray in Your wonderful Name. Amen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will continue reading.

The assistant bill clerk continued with the reading of the amendment.

(The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore assumed the Chair.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORENO). The majority leader.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I would like to start by just taking a moment to thank the clerks who stayed up all night reading the amendment and getting us to this point. I know it was a long night and that we are not finished yet, but I want them to know that the Senate appreciates their dedication, their stamina, and their service.

In just a moment, I am going to make a point of order against the substitute amendment that I offered on behalf of Chairman GRAHAM. I believe the Chair should rule that there is no point of order against the amendment because, under the Budget Act, the Senate looks to the Budget Committee to assess the budgetary effects of an amendment. Basically, this has to do with the current policy baseline that we decided to use in the budget resolution for this bill and how we handle points of order related to it. This is an issue that, I think, we need to deal with right off the bat.

POINT OF ORDER

Therefore, I make a point of order under section 313(b)(1)(E) of the Congressional Budget Act against substitute amendment No. 2360.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the Congressional Budget Act and the precedents of the Senate, the chair must rely on determinations made by the Budget Committee in assessing the budgetary effects of the amendment.

Section 312 of the Budget Act states:

For purposes of this title and title IV, the levels of new budgetary authority, outlays, direct spending, new entitlement authority, and revenues for a fiscal year shall be determined on the basis of estimates made by the Committee on the Budget of the House of Representatives or the Senate, as applicable.

Unless the Budget Committee, speaking through its chairman, asserts that the amendment causes a violation of the Budget Act, the Chair will not so hold.

The point of order is not well-taken. The Democrat leader.

APPEALING THE RULING OF THE CHAIR

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I appeal the ruling of the Chair, and I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

The yeas and nays are ordered.

The appeal is debatable for 1 hour under the Act.

The Democrat leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, first, let me thank everyone who stayed overnight to take part in the reading of this bill—my colleagues, the cloakrooms, the floor staff—everyone who made it possible.

I would say this to the cloakrooms and, particularly, to our great floor staff: You are all amazing. You are the unsung heroes of what goes on here. Without you, none of us could do our work. So thank you for your dedication, your excellence, your perseverance, your strength.

Senate Democrats will now commence with four parliamentary inquiries to show the hypocrisy of what Republicans are trying to do here in the Senate and to expose how they are trying to hide the true costs of their billionaire giveaways to the American people. I thank my colleagues who will speak momentarily, as well as all of my colleagues who have come to the floor, as we debate this bill before vote-arama.

Before I yield to them, I just want to hammer home exactly what is going on here in the Senate for the people back home.

Republicans are about to pass the single most expensive bill in U.S. history to give tax breaks to billionaires, while taking away Medicaid, SNAP benefits, and good-paying jobs for millions of people. The CBO, just this morning, said it will explode the debt by \$3.3 trillion, and they said it will likely cost more than that over time—closer to \$4 trillion. Rather than being honest with the American people about the true costs of their billionaire giveaways, Republicans are doing something the Senate has never, never done before: deploying fake math and accounting gimmicks to hide the true cost of their bill.

Look, Republicans can use whatever budgetary gimmicks they want to try and make the math work on paper, but you can't paper over the real-life consequences of adding tens of trillions to the debt—sky-high interest rates, higher borrowing costs for cars, for homes, for credit cards. Americans are going to feel this, unfortunately, everywhere they look. Americans' household wealth will be permanently hobbled. There aren't enough budgetary gimmicks in the world to change that fact. And for what? Why are Republicans doing this? So that billionaires can pay less in taxes while tens of millions lose their healthcare benefits and pay more for everyday expenses.

I yield to my colleague from Oregon for the first parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state his inquiry.

Mr. MERKLEY. When the House bill was first laid before the Senate, was the operative baseline under which it would be considered the current law baseline under section 257 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

The Democrat leader.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I rise for a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state his inquiry.

Mr. SCHUMER. Has the Senate ever used a baseline other than the current law baseline under 257 for the enforcement of budget points of order, including under section 313 of the Budget Act, during the consideration of a reconciliation measure?

Has it ever been used?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. No.

The Senator from Oregon.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, what the Republican majority is doing right now on the Senate floor is hiding trillions of dollars in handouts to corporations and the wealthy—trillions of dollars. If you measure this bill the way we measure every other reconciliation bill, it simply doesn't comply with the rules. The Republican majority has figured out a trick that allows them to sidestep the Parliamentarian, violate the Congressional Budget Act, and lift the filibuster for Trump's entire legislative agenda in one fell swoop. It is fakery. The budget numbers are a fraud, but the deficits will be very real. The prospect of a catastrophic death spiral is very real. The hardship this terrible bill is going to inflict on tens of millions of Americans will be very real.

So my parliamentary inquiry will proceed now: Does the score of the finance title of the Senate substitute, which the chairman asserts complies with its instruction, rely on the use of two distinct baselines: current policy for taxes and current law for health provisions like Medicaid?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

The Senator from Washington.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state her inquiry.

Mrs. MURRAY. Are the remaining nine titles of the Senate substitute scored by the CBO using a current law 257 baseline?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I have been here a long time. Not only have I been the Budget chair but I am the longest serving Democrat on that committee, and in my 33 years here in the

U.S. Senate, things have never, never worked this way where one party so egregiously ignores precedent, process, and the Parliamentarian, and does that all in order to wipe away trillions of dollars of costs for a bill that could just be the most expensive legislation this body ever passes.

Forget Senate procedure for a minute. Math has never worked that way. I taught preschool, and I will tell you, even our littlest kids know the difference between a trillion and zero. It doesn't take a preschooler to tell you they are using magic math or that you can't just ignore the rules you don't like.

How many times have my colleagues cried about the debt? How many times have they told me: I know you want to invest in childcare, Patty, but we have got to get this budget under control?

But now that it is tax cuts for billionaires and corporations, suddenly, the budget doesn't matter anymore. Suddenly, the rules do not matter anymore. Suddenly, a couple trillion goes away with a sprinkle of fairy dust, and bypassing the Parliamentarian and precedent isn't really bypassing if you just close your eyes and just pretend real hard.

Have you no shame? If you think you can look the American people in the face and tell them we have to bring down the debt after passing what might be the most expensive bill in history—if you think you can do that and then be taken seriously, well, do you know what? If you believe that, maybe you are foolish enough to think that zero and a trillion are the same.

I can't believe this is what we are doing today, because I can tell you right now, if this happens, we will all laugh you out of the room because we have never seen anything like this, not in my time here in the Senate, not in my time on this planet. We are not going to let anyone forget that you are trashing the rules in order to pass this egregious bill.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I want to share a couple comments with my colleagues, my Republican colleagues, because I have made these remarks on the floor. Generally, the floor is empty, but you are here now.

In 1974, 100 Senators agreed on reconciliation as a fast track, filibuster-free, but only for one purpose: reducing the deficit. It had three pillars: first, reduce the deficit over a 10-year period; second, reduce the deficit in each and every year after that 10-year period in each title of the bill; and, third, use honest numbers.

In 1996, the Republican team was in the majority and decided on a nuclear option to allow that reconciliation process to be used to increase deficits in the 10-year window. That was unfortunate because it destroyed the agreement all 100 Senators had agreed to in 1974.

But now, today, if we proceed with this current policy baseline, there are two other pillars that you are destroying of the architecture to create fiscal discipline. The second pillar was no deficits after the 10-year period. That has been destroyed. The third was to use honest numbers from the Congressional Budget Office on a current law basis comparing each provision in the bill as compared to the provision not being in the bill.

So here we are, taking a step that is as significant as it was in 1996. All three pillars will be brought down not by Democrats but by Republicans. It is not necessary to do this to get what you want within the 10-year period. Why tear down these additional two pillars of honesty about the numbers—of no more smoke and mirrors—and creating deficits after the 10-year period? It is extremely unfortunate if you press forward with that vision in this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I want to pick up on the point that my colleague from Washington State touched on.

Everybody ought to understand that this is the nuclear option. It is just hidden behind a whole lot of Washington, DC, lingo. The only difference is, instead of pressing a big nuclear button right at the beginning of the Congress, Republicans decided that they would hide behind the cloak of Senate procedure and go nuclear for every individual bill they want to pass on party lines.

I just say to my colleagues: There is going to be a lot of horrendous messes to clean up after this legislation.

But my colleagues need to understand that the move, as my colleague from Washington State has said, cuts both ways.

I yield the floor.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democrat leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask that debate time come off the bill unless otherwise advised.

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

Mr. SCHUMER. I yield to the Senator from Rhode Island.

H.R. 1

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, in this place where big money now rules and in which fakery is now the order of the day and numbers no longer have to be real, there is one point that stands out, and that is that the fakery on the floor is belied by the language of the bill. If these assertions were true, they would not need to raise the debt limit.

All of these fun and games, all of this parliamentary mischief that is happening right now crashes into the fact that, in real markets, in the real world outside of this fakery, the debt limit is actually a real thing.

I will take a moment to read from page 754 of this midnight monstrosity,

what it actually says, where it collides with the real world.

Subtitle C—Increase in Debt Limit.
SEC. 72001. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON THE PUBLIC DEBT.

Line 20:

The limitation under section 3101(b) of title 31, United States Code, as most recently increased by section 401(b) of Public Law 118-5 (31 U.S.C. 3101 note) is increased by \$5,000,000,000,000.

Five trillion dollars—that is the real number here. That is where the rubber hits the road in real life.

The maneuver that is being pulled right now to avoid that fact—the fact that the debt limit has to be increased by \$5 trillion so the Republicans can give immense tax breaks to billionaires—has not been used for this before.

I used it once. In the year 2000, a deal had been struck on how to score activities of the Power Marketing Administration. Does anybody really know about the Power Marketing Administration? It is a small thing.

Over the years, the Congressional Budget Office started scoring the program differently than the Senate had agreed to in 2000. So in 2023 and 2024, the Senate Budget chair—me—and the House Budget chair, JODEY ARRINGTON, on a bipartisan basis invoked this section to have CBO return to the original Senate agreement and not the variation that they had created.

This is what section 312 has been used for—to resolve technical ambiguity to advance a bipartisan appropriations deal, not to create Senate floor fakery, belied by the \$5 trillion debt limit hike that Republicans are obliged to pass to make good on this huge billionaire blowout we are forcing through the Senate floor now.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I am using and yielding time off the bill.

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

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, the debate and eventual voting on the Big Beautiful Bill has begun. Hallelujah. It has taken a while for us to get here, but we are going to have a debate worthy of a great country. We will have what they think and what we think, and we are going to vote on this bill in the coming days. I am excited about that. I have worked a long time with my colleagues to get to where we are today.

So, to the American people, the debate is beginning right now regarding the Big Beautiful Bill. I will tell you why that is good news for you, but let me take a little bit of time to talk about current policy versus current law.

I know everybody is on the edge of their seat at home, but here is what I would tell you about numbers and Budget chairmen. I am not the first Budget chairmen. There have been those who came before me. In 2008,

Chairman Kent Conrad—a really nice guy from North Dakota—used a new baseline in the budget so he could get the farm bill in the budget.

Judd Gregg—a really smart guy, a former Budget chairman—said:

The chairman of the Budget Committee declared the new baseline under a new budget. . . . The Budget chairman has a right to do that.

That is what I am doing. I am setting the numbers. The Parliamentarian said that is my job as Budget chairman.

The resolution we are operating under to get us here—we voted to make that the case. So we are not doing anything sneaky. We actually voted to give me the authority to do this, and it passed.

Again, I am not the first chairman to change a baseline for different reasons—one, to get the farm bill in, and on another occasion, Senator SANDERS changed the baseline in 2022, when he was Budget chairman, under budget reconciliation to issue a budget rule allowing the numbers to change to get more money for Head Start. So Senator SANDERS, as Budget chairman, directed that a new rule be written to get more money for Head Start.

So don't tell me you have never done this before in terms of changing the baseline as Budget chairman.

The Budget chairman, under 312, sets the baseline. This has been acknowledged by Republicans and Democrats. The baseline has been changed in the past based on the Budget Committee chairman's desire, one, to get a farm bill in, and the other, to change the numbers—a new rule—to get Head Start spending. So this has been done before.

But I will be the first to say that what we are doing here is historic in a good way.

In 2017, we passed the Trump tax cuts. They are due to expire in December. Why is that? Before I got here, current law was the way to score or implement tax policy. After 10 years, the tax cuts expired—current law.

As Budget chairman, I have decided to use current policy when it comes to cutting taxes. If you use current policy, they never expire. So the policies that were created in 2017 would not end in December; they would continue. That is a good thing for the American people, and that is a good thing for the economy because it gives you certainty.

So I made a decision as Budget chairman, working with my colleagues, to look at tax cuts as something important for the country, to give certainty to businesses and individuals, and make sure that after 10 years, they don't arbitrarily go away and have a cliff. I made that decision, my colleagues backed me up, and that is in the budget resolution governing the debate we are here for today.

So why do we want to make the tax cuts permanent? Because if they expire in December, the average family of four in South Carolina will have a

\$1,700 increase. I don't want that, and I bet you people at home don't want that. So we have to deal with that. That cliff is coming, and not only do I want to avoid that cliff, I don't want to put us in that position ever again.

The tax cuts have generated more revenue for the government than CBO estimated in 2017.

The one thing about our friends at CBO—I appreciate all your hard work; you have worked really hard—when it comes to taxing, they always get it wrong about how much revenue is to be collected.

When you look at the years that have passed since 2017, on the corporate side and on the individual side, the revenue to the government has actually grown because of those tax cuts, and that is a good thing. So cutting taxes means more money for you and your family.

Our friends on the other side, if you are waiting on them to cut your taxes, you are going to die waiting. They are never going to do it. Why are we doing it? Because they won't do it. We could never get 60 votes for this.

The bottom line is, we are going to make these tax cuts permanent. That is a good thing for businesses. Expensing will be allowed, so you can invest in growing your business. You can buy new equipment. You can write it off sooner. That will get more activity in the economy. It is not me saying that; there is a track record.

Mr. President, you have been in business. This stuff works. They don't like it, but it works. If you are in business, and the Tax Code encourages you to invest in your business, you will.

This stuff literally works, and they hate it because it is money that could have gone to the government but went back into the economy. What they don't realize is, actually, the government gets more money. They just keep spending it. We could do better on the spending side, and we are going to do better on the spending side.

So this bill makes the 2017 tax cuts permanent. It avoids a tax increase for your family that is coming in December if we don't act now.

It secures the border. One of the reasons there are more of us than our Democratic friends is how you screwed the country up for the last 4 years. We went from secure borders to completely open borders, absolute chaos. That is why we are winning, and you are losing.

You want to take us back to open borders. We are not going. We are not going back to your policies that allowed 8.3 million encounters at the border, 1.7 million "got-aways," and chaos in cities and communities.

We are not going back to the policies that led to Laken Riley's murder in Georgia, where the man convicted of murdering her was captured several times, released because there was no detention space to hold him in Texas and he left—a free man—went to Georgia, and killed this lady. That has happened too many times, and it is going to stop.

Now, what are we doing to secure the border? We went from lawless borders to the most secure borders in 6 months because of President Trump.

President Trump, you should be exceedingly proud—Homan, the whole team. You have locked that border down. But we want to do it in a way that it will stay locked down for the President after you and beyond.

So how do we secure the gains made by President Trump and his team? We are going to, in this bill, hire more ICE agents to expedite removal of people who shouldn't be here, particularly criminal elements, people who are dangerous. We are going to finish the wall. Not one Democrat—maybe one—no way would we get 60 votes to hire more ICE agents. No way would we get Democratic help to finish the wall. We are going to go from 40,000 detention beds to 125,000. This securing the border is about \$175 billion. New technology along the border and fiber cable so we don't go back to the days of open borders—this is in the bill.

To those of you who voted for us and President Trump to secure the border, we are delivering through this bill. And they would never do what we are doing. I will be the first to admit, when it comes to securing the border, they are never going to do what we are doing. We are hiring more ICE agents; we are finishing the wall; and we are increasing more detention beds so we don't let people out that can go and murder.

I am very proud of this. I wrote this part. This is money well spent. This will secure that border in perpetuity.

President Trump, this is your bill. It is in our bill. Well done.

To my friends on the other side, you had your chance, and you screwed it up big time. That is why we are in charge.

Revitalized our military. The world is a dangerous place. We have \$150 billion in this bill to help build out the Golden Dome, to help improve the quality of life of the men and women serving the military by improving their barracks and housing. They need the money—more weapons—to send this bill, and we didn't have to get extorted to buy a bunch of butter to get \$150 billion.

We reduced government spending over a decade by \$1.6 trillion. We are running a deficit in our national debt of \$37 trillion. So what have we done here?

In the last 5 years, from 2020, basically, to now, Medicaid has grown by 50 percent. So what has happened is that Medicaid was originally intended for children and poor families—children—and people who were disabled and couldn't work to provide healthcare.

Count me in for that. Makes lot of sense.

Along comes President Obama. He expands Medicaid to include able-bodied adults for the first time. And what he did was he incentivized States to include these people in Medicaid. For every new able-bodied adult, you get 90 percent of the cost from the Federal

Government, 10 percent from the States, and Medicaid has grown 50 percent. It is going to take over Medicare because of what President Obama did.

So what are we going to do? We are going to try to deal with that in a responsible way.

What about this idea: If you are not a child, if you are not disabled—if you are able-bodied and you don't have any children under 14—we are going to have a 20-hour-a-week work requirement for you to stay on Medicaid.

That is a good thing. It is a good thing for the individual involved to be working. It is a good thing for the taxpayer for them to be working. But that seems to be a crime on the other side to ask somebody to work that can work.

How many people out there listening to this—I don't know how many there are—but are you working every day? Are you going to work with kids? A lot of people do that, by the way.

So one of the reforms in this bill is to introduce a work requirement to the additional population that President Obama put on Medicaid that was never intended under the original purpose of Medicaid. This work requirement is going to save a bunch of money.

Finally, we are addressing the biggest scam I have seen in a very long time. Somewhere along the line, somebody figured out at the State level, if you tax doctors and hospitals and medical providers on the funds they get and take that revenue, you can actually get more Medicaid money. This is a money laundering scheme. It needs to come to an end as we know it.

States have gone up to 6 percent of a provider tax. They take that tax revenue, and they use it to get more money from the Federal Government. The hospitals and doctors don't lose. They get the money back. The State doesn't lose. They get more money. The only group that loses is the Federal Government, and we are deep, deep in debt.

So we are going to reform the provider tax system that I think is abusive—very abusive.

As to Medicaid, it is on a growth trajectory that will overtake Medicare. Now is the time to put commonsense reform in place not only to slow the growth—and we are not talking about cutting Medicaid, we are slowing the growth—but try to create some sense of fiscal responsibility.

So to our chairman of the Finance Committee, you have constructed a package better than 2017. You have included some growth elements in the package that will allow the economy to grow because it will be in business's interest to invest, and I want to applaud you for this growth package.

Now what does this all mean? Current policy, current law.

If you do what I have decided to do, make the tax cuts permanent and you implement these reforms to Medicaid in other areas, you will, over the next 10 years, reduce the deficit by \$507 billion. That is CBO, not me.

Now, how do you do that? You grow the economy, and you begin to control spending in a commonsense way. Most people can relate to that because they do it all the time. People at home sometimes have to work extra to meet the needs of their family, and they have to tighten their belt. So what have we achieved here in the One Big Beautiful Bill?

We are going to make your border as secure as it possibly can be and never go back to open borders. We are going to put in place border security measures to keep it secure. We are going to make the tax cuts permanent so your taxes do not go up in December of this year, and we are going to add additional growth policies to help our economy.

We are going to reform Medicaid in a way that makes sense, deal with the waste, fraud, and abuse of that program so that there is more money for the disabled and children because the more money you give the able-bodied who can work is less money for children and people on disability.

And one of the most perverse things about what President Obama did is that the reimbursement rates to States are higher for able-bodied adults than they are for disabled people and children—90 percent. So President Obama created a system to entice States—lure them in—to add people to Medicaid that are not disabled, not poor children, because his goal was to put everybody in the country under government-run healthcare. And the government reimbursement is higher for an able-bodied person than it is for a poor child or a disabled person.

We are going to stop that because that is not fair. It is not fair to the taxpayer. It is not fair to the population that we are trying to help.

So we are going to control spending in a commonsense way; we are going to revitalize our military at a time of great need; we are going to secure the border; and we are going to make the tax cuts that expire in December permanent so we don't have to deal with this every 10 years.

It is a big beautiful bill if you believe in cutting people's taxes, securing the border, having a strong military, and controlling government spending.

It is a nightmare—this bill—for those who want to raise taxes, who want open borders, who want a weak military, and never want to control one dime of Federal spending.

This bill is your nightmare if you are for open borders. This bill is your nightmare if you want the government to grow without any limitation. This bill is your nightmare if you want a weak military because it is going to give us a stronger military.

So why do we have this debate? That is what they—through years of effort—have done. The military is always the last thing that gets funded when they are in charge. When they are in charge, you have no border—completely broken, millions of people running through our country lawless.

When they are in charge, there is no limit to growing the government. They entice everybody to grow the government. And when they are in charge, they are never going to cut your taxes in any meaningful way.

The tax rates since 2017—the top rate has been 37. If these tax cuts expire, your taxes—if you are a family of four—will go up by \$1,700, and we will go back to the 49.6 rate.

Here is a question for the country: How much should the Federal Government take of anybody's income? What is a fair share?

Thirty-seven percent seems pretty damn fair to me—over a third of what you make, and that doesn't count State and local taxes.

The number they would pick is probably 90.

So is 37 percent fair? I think yes. Most Americans think 25 percent is fair. You know, Jesus wants 10 percent. There is no number they won't embrace. So somewhere between 90 and 10—37 is fair.

This is not rewarding the wealthy; it is creating a number that makes sense. Thirty-seven percent going to the Federal Government is a fair share. It is over a third of what you make. That doesn't count State and local taxes.

This has been long. It is been hard, but we are about done. In a couple of days, we are going to pass the One Big Beautiful Bill. President Trump is going to sign it. MIKE CRAPO and his staff deserve at least one day off.

I cannot thank you enough for what you and your team have done. To my budgeteers, you have been terrific. You have worked really hard. To CBO and Joint Tax and all these people, hats off to your efforts to get us a quality product.

To all of my colleagues who have rode the boat with us, we are about to reach the shore. And when this boat comes ashore, every family in America can heave a sigh of relief. Your taxes will not go up this December. You will get a Christmas present of not having a tax increase.

To those who have been yearning for a secure border, it will be secure. To those men and women in the uniform, you are going to get some help. You desperately need it. To those who think we should do something about the government's growth in a commonsense way, we have achieved that.

I am very proud of this bill. I am very proud of President Trump. I am very proud of the Republican team that has gotten us to this point.

To my Democratic colleagues, we will work together where we can, but nobody over here ever expects you to do anything about the border because you have proven you can't. Nobody over here believes you are ever going to reduce the size of government because you don't want to.

The bottom line is, we are about to make history, Mr. President. This is your first term. I don't know what comes later for you. I hope you are

here for a long time if that is what you want to be. You are a great Senator. You are a good businessman. You made a real success story: family from Colombia, created a lot of job opportunities.

I doubt if you will ever do anything more important than this.

Senator CRAPO, you have been here a while. You are one of the smartest guys I have ever met. Everything you have done in all your life has led to this moment. This is what you were built to do. This is what you were meant to do. You are the right man at the right time to do what this country desperately needs to stay on track to be safe and prosperous.

To all my colleagues who are going to vote for this bill, you should be proud, and you should talk about it because it is going to make us all safer, and it is going to make us all more prosperous.

My being Budget chairman is a quirk in the history of the Senate. This is not my thing normally, but I have really gotten into it. And I have learned a lot thanks to my colleagues, and I am proud to have the honor of being Budget chairman at a time I think it matters the most.

Mr. President, with that, I yield to my good friend.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the use of calculators, whatever they are, be permitted on the floor of the Senate during consideration of the bill.

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

The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, first of all, let me thank my colleague from South Carolina Senator GRAHAM for his very kind words. I return the same kind of compliments to him for his great work in helping to build this bill and get us moved to this point.

I am going to make just a few remarks right now in response to some of the allegations and mischaracterizations that my colleagues on the other side have made about how this bill has been structured in terms of its evaluation and its scoring. And then, later, I will come and give a much longer speech—I am sorry, sir—on the bill itself.

Mr. President, the things that were said this morning just have to be responded to. First of all, it was said that the reason that we are going to increase the debt ceiling in the bill is because we are spending so much money and driving the deficit up.

Well, first of all, our bill drives the deficit down, not up; and, secondly, the reason we are dealing with the debt ceiling in the bill is because, under the previous administration's operations, the debt ceiling has already been breached. It was breached on January 2, and we are limping along with extraordinary measures—that is what we call them here in Washington—to try to keep the government funded until Congress can extend the debt ceiling.

This has nothing to do with President Trump. It happened before he even was sworn into office. It has nothing to do with this bill. It has to do with the profligate spending that drove us into a breach of the debt ceiling on January 2.

Secondly, my colleagues on the other side tried to characterize our choice of the current policy baseline as a gimmick and said it has never been done before.

Well, they should have been more careful in their words because the current policy baseline is currently utilized in the current CBO baseline for many spending programs. In fact, many spending programs—about \$2.5 trillion of spending programs—are measured under the current treatment which the Democrats have been using for decades to make it so they don't have to count spending increases as an increase in the deficit.

They are correct that that policy has never been applied to taxes before, because it was not intended to apply to taxes. That ruling and that system that was set up was intentionally designed to favor tax increases over spending cuts and to force Congress to increase taxes and increase spending. It was a strategy to achieve what we all know as tax and spend.

And no matter how they try to cover it over, today, in their debate, it comes down to this: They are furious that we refuse to raise taxes in America by \$4.3 trillion on Americans; and they claim that our refusal to raise your taxes, America, is going to run up the deficit because they can't get \$4 trillion more of your tax revenue into their pockets.

Well, the first failure of that rationale is, if you believe that you give them \$4.5 trillion by letting them raise your taxes again, if you believe they are going to use that to pay the debt down, let me tell you, there is not a tax increase that I have seen in this Congress, in my lifetime, that was used to pay the debt down. It was used to increase spending. It is called tax and spend, and it is that bias in our scoring system that we are fixing today. We are fixing it so that current policy is how you treat taxes, just like you treat \$2.5 trillion of spending this year in your scoring system. We are evening the balance board between taxing and spending, and America should breathe a sigh of relief that, finally, we are fixing our scoring procedures so that we don't have a built-in drive to increase taxes.

Let's put it another way. One of my colleagues said that even children can understand the difference between a trillion dollars and zero dollars. I think they can also understand that if you don't raise taxes, you are not changing the Tax Code; you are making it bring in the same revenue that it brought in before. You are not increasing the deficit; you are protecting their wallets.

The bottom line here is very simple. I think every American—at least 90 percent of them—intuitively understand that the refusal to let your taxes

go up by \$4 trillion is not a deficit increase. You are not responsible. Us keeping your money in your pocket is not making you responsible for increasing the deficit. Deficit increases come when Congress keeps spending your money and never ever controls its spending. The problem is not a lack of revenue; it is too much spending.

So let's make it clear. This is not a gimmick. The gimmick is the one that has been used for all these years. We are making a balance between the treatment of tax and spend so that those taxpayers in America have at least a fair chance against the rules of this Chamber.

Now, one other point that I think needs to be made here is there was a lot of talk on the other side—and then I will stop and bring in my longer speech later. One other point that needs to be made here is that it was suggested that this has never been done before, even on taxes. Well, there is a President named President Obama, who faced a similar situation like we face today. Only, then, he was President when a huge tax cut that President Bush had accomplished was expiring. And all of those tax cuts that President Bush had been able to achieve were going to go away, and everybody's taxes were going to go up. And President Obama said: No, I am not going to let that happen.

So he put a bill out on the floor to stop those tax increases from happening. And he was attacked, actually, for increasing the deficit by not letting taxes go up. And President Obama, through his OMB Deputy Director, said that keeping tax policy current should be scored under a current policy and that his act in letting those tax increases be kept in place should be scored as current policy, not as a tax increase.

So you have got one of your own Presidents from the Democratic Party saying that letting existing tax law stay in place and protecting against huge tax increases on the American people is the appropriate approach to take; that current policy—and those are their words—is the way we should treat tax policy.

So I say to everybody in America who has been hearing all the politics of fear about what we are doing here in running up the deficit: You need to remember that only in Washington, DC, is the refusal to raise your taxes an increase in the deficit. And we are not going to let that happen.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If no one yields time, time will be charged equally to both sides.

The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. PETERS. Mr. President, I rise today in opposition to the widely irresponsible legislation that is before us now. Although our colleagues are calling it the Big Beautiful Bill, this bill would instead be a betrayal to our economic future, hard-working American

families, and some of our most vulnerable seniors, children, and people with disabilities.

This bill will blow up our national debt, kick millions of people off of their healthcare, and take food off of families' tables, while cutting food assistance.

And for what? What are our colleagues mortgaging our country's future for? What are they slashing healthcare and food assistance to pay for?

Well, they are doing it for tax cuts for billionaires.

So before my colleagues rush to pass this irresponsible, reckless legislation, let's take a moment to go through exactly how much harm this bill will actually cause and hear from the people in my State who will suffer if this bill becomes law.

To start, this bill will blow up the national debt. Since President George Washington gave his Farewell Address, our Nation's leaders have warned against the dangers of accumulating a national debt. Fifteen years ago, ADM Mike Mullen, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated:

The most significant threat to our national security is our debt.

The national debt is at an alltime high—\$36.2 trillion. And just in the last 16 years, it has tripled. Our annual deficits frequently exceed \$1.5 trillion, including a record \$3.1 trillion deficit in fiscal year 2020 during the Trump administration.

Unfortunately, these are the first of many grave financial milestones that we face. Within the next decade, our country will spend more on servicing the debt than we do on any other Federal account outside of Social Security.

Our fiscal house is basically on fire, but if our Republican colleagues jam through this bill, it is not going to pour water on that fire, it is going to pour gasoline on those flames.

Democrats have tried to make efforts to pay down that debt in recent years. In fact, under the Inflation Reduction Act—a law that this bill attempts to actually gut—we reduced the deficit in that bill by nearly \$250 billion. In 2023, we passed the bipartisan Fiscal Responsibility Act, which responsibly addressed the debt ceiling and had the potential to reduce deficits by up to \$1.5 trillion. But, unfortunately, the bill before us basically wipes all of that away.

I have always said that I am open to making smart cuts to spending, but those cuts should be matched with increases in revenue. Doing so would put us back on a sustainable financial path. Our Republican colleagues are doing the exact opposite. They are making drastic cuts to revenue, and according to the nonpartisan Joint Committee on Taxation, the tax provisions in this bill alone would decrease revenues by \$4.2 trillion and add—yes, add—\$3 trillion to our national debt.

This is a recipe for disaster. If we face another emergency like a pan-

demic or global financial crisis, we will be too hamstrung by our debt to respond effectively.

We are on the brink of a financial disaster, and passing this bill could push us over that edge—all so my Republican colleagues can cut taxes for billionaires. At the same time, our Republican colleagues are not making smart, sensible spending cuts to cover the costs of those billionaire tax cuts. Instead, they are gutting healthcare for millions of Americans, including hundreds of thousands of Michiganders. It is reckless, and it is wrong.

Medicaid is a lifeline for people in every single community across this country. It ensures that millions of Michiganders and Americans can have access to quality, affordable healthcare.

Right now, folks across my home State of Michigan are scared—are scared about what this bill will mean for their families.

I have heard from thousands of my constituents from every corner of the State of Michigan on how these cuts are going to hurt them. So today, I just want to tell you, through my constituents' stories, just how detrimental this bill will be for most Americans.

Take Isaac from Lansing for example, who says Medicaid is the only lifeline he has to pay for the medicine that literally—literally—keeps him alive.

We have also seen how more and more Michiganders and people all across our Nation have shouldered the burden of serving as a primary caregiver for an aging parent. It is the ultimate gift that we can give to the people who have raised us. But the cost of critical nursing home and assisted living care continues to rise. Medicaid has become an essential way for our aging seniors to pay for the care they need.

Take Gwen from Grand Rapids, who says that she wouldn't be able to pay for an assisted living facility for her grandmother without Medicaid.

Many of us know someone or maybe even love someone who lives with a disability. Thanks to Medicaid, people with disabilities can get the care that allows them to live healthy and independent lives. That is the case for Wanda from Westland, who takes medication for an eye condition. Without Medicaid, she would not be able to afford her medication, and she could actually go blind.

As too many of us know from personal experiences or from friends and loved ones, our country is facing a mental health crisis. Medicaid has become a saving grace for those who desperately need mental healthcare but simply cannot afford it.

Take Allen from Fort Gratiot, who says that losing Medicaid would feel like losing the life he has been given back through mental health care through Medicaid.

Under this bill, rural communities will be especially impacted by cuts to Medicaid. In some counties in Michigan's Upper Peninsula, there is only

one healthcare provider, meaning some Michiganders will have to travel up to 50 miles to get routine or emergency care. Medicaid helps keep these hospitals open. If this bill passes, people in these rural communities are going to be cut off from basic health services.

Medicaid also plays an essential role in making sure that children across Michigan get the care they need. I heard from Gladys, a mother from Flint, who says that Medicaid is the only reason her kids can get their asthma medication or have regular health checkups. Expecting mothers also reached out to share their concerns. While she is busy preparing to welcome a newborn baby into the world, Chelsea from Fennville is now afraid that she will lose her access to both pre- and postnatal care under this absolutely disastrous bill.

I simply can't understand how my Republican colleagues would leave thousands—thousands—of people across Michigan without the care they need, all so they can give a tax break to billionaires.

On top of that, my Republican colleagues are also proposing deep, harmful cuts to food assistance delivered through SNAP. SNAP serves as an absolute lifeline for millions of Americans, including children, seniors, people with disabilities, and working families.

So, simply put, if this bill is passed, it will mean people in Michigan and all across our country will go hungry. They will not be able to put food on the table, while billionaires pay less taxes. That is just wrong. But it also makes no economic sense, either. Every dollar in SNAP benefits generates more than \$1.50 in economic activities. This supports local grocery stores, farmers all across our country, and the entire food supply chain. So on top of jeopardizing families' ability to put food on the table, to feed their children, these proposed SNAP cuts would also hurt businesses and jobs, particularly in rural America and in low-income areas.

This bill produces the most amount of pain for the least amount of gain of any legislation I can remember in all the years I have had the privilege of serving here in the Senate. I can't believe that we are standing here debating this reckless, irresponsible bill. The harm this bill will do to the American people and to the people in my State of Michigan who are counting on Medicaid for healthcare and on food assistance to help feed their families is absolutely reprehensible. The damage this bill will do to our Nation's economic security is not only reckless, it is unconscionable.

This is not what our constituents want us to be focused on. They want us to help make their lives better. But instead of focusing on that, here we are on the brink of passing a bill so irresponsible that it will destroy our country's economic health, harm millions of Americans—all so a handful of billionaires, the wealthiest of the

wealthy, can have another tax break. I will never support such a reckless and catastrophic plan.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

MR. CRAPO. Mr. President, I am here to talk now about the centerpiece of this reconciliation bill: making the 2017 tax cuts permanent. The One Big Beautiful Bill prevents the largest tax hike in history and provides groundbreaking new tax relief for middle-class workers and families.

This legislation permanently extends the Trump tax cuts, which proportionately benefited the middle class the most. If these tax cuts were allowed to expire, taxpayers in all income groups would see massive tax hikes. A point that my colleagues on the other side seem to consistently forget or ignore is that the vast majority of them—\$2.6 trillion worth of those tax increases—would fall on taxpayers making less than \$400,000 per year, and the vast majority of that is on taxpayers making and earning in the middle and lower middle income categories.

But before I go on to discuss what would happen, I want to address an issue that is just a constant, constant theme on the other side, and that is that this bill is going to be a huge increase in the deficit.

Now, here is a quick, handwritten chart that my colleague from South Carolina made quickly to respond to that.

You heard the previous speaker say that CBO has scored this bill to have a huge, multitrillion-dollar deficit increase. The fact is that CBO has scored this bill to have a \$507 billion deficit reduction—you heard that right: a \$507 billion deficit reduction. Later on in my remarks, I will point out that that score doesn't even take into account the growth in the economy and the revenue that will come to our Treasury from revitalizing and giving a boost to our economy.

So now let's go to the next chart. What will happen if we don't do this? What will happen if we do what the Democrats are demanding that we do, and that is to let this tax increase happen so that they can say they are going to use it to pay the deficit down? The average family of four would see a tax hike of \$1,700, and their child tax credit would be cut in half. Twenty million small business owners would face massive tax hikes, with some of them facing rates as high as 43 percent. The standard deduction, which simplifies tax filing for 90 percent of Americans, would be cut in half. Small businesses and farms would see their debt exemption cut in half.

The Council of Economic Advisers warns us that this \$4 trillion tax hike would also lead to an economic downturn and potential recessionary headwinds, noting that the impacts would disproportionately fall on young people, minorities, and workers without college degrees.

We have been working for more than a year on legislation that prevents that outcome and provides an opportunity for us to have additional tax relief—additional tax relief that is specifically targeted to benefit low- and middle-income families and workers.

Despite the rhetoric of fear, the rhetoric about tax cuts being for billionaires and corporations, the reality is that this legislation prevents a massive tax hike across the board and overwhelmingly benefits middle-class households and job creators.

According to the Joint Committee on Taxation, this bill provides more than \$600 billion—that is \$600 billion more—of new tax relief for hard-working Americans. How does it do that? There is \$73 billion in inflation tax relief targeted at income brackets below \$100,000 per year; \$205 billion in tax relief to the 90 percent of taxpayers who claim the standard deduction; \$93 billion in additional tax relief for seniors through a \$6,000 bonus exemption; \$124 billion in investment in children of low- and middle-income families, in addition to the permanent, doubled child tax credits. I am going to say that again: the permanent, doubled child tax credit.

The significant tax relief we are providing to hard-working families includes: permanent lower tax rates, letting Americans keep more of their hard-earned money; permanent increased and enhanced standard deduction, claimed by over 90 percent of taxpayers.

On top of making that doubled child tax credit permanent, we are also increasing it for tens of millions of families.

There is tax relief for seniors in the form of a \$6,000 bonus exemption for low- and middle-income seniors, slashing their tax burden; no tax on tips for millions of tipped workers, like waitresses, barbers, hairstylists, and taxi drivers; no tax on overtime for millions of America's hourly workers who work overtime and keep America running; no tax on auto loan interest for new cars made in the United States, allowing the hard-working families of America to fully deduct auto loan interest on American-made cars; enhanced \$29 education savings accounts, making education expenses more affordable and accessible for families; new Trump savings accounts for newborns and children set up, up to the age of 18, building financial security for the next generation.

We make childcare more accessible and affordable for working families by enhancing the child and dependent care credit and the dependent care assistance program.

The list goes on and on.

We extend the paid family and medical leave credit and expand health savings accounts for healthcare expenses.

We repeal onerous IRS reporting requirements on gig workers, reduce the paperwork burden for small businesses, and much more.

And all of this is just on the individual side of the code.

The business side of the Tax Code has the potential to generate phenomenal economic growth. When my Republican colleagues and I began talking about how to best extend and enhance the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, we agreed that one of our top priorities was to make it permanent—the reforms we made in 2017—including lower rates for corporations and small business owners, along with the international tax reforms, increased domestic investment, boosted economic growth, and increased take-home pay.

A growing economy powered a strong labor market. Workers saw record wage growth, and the unemployment rate fell dramatically to the lowest in 50 years, at 3.5 percent.

Corporate inversions, which we used to debate and debate endlessly—or businesses leaving America—became a thing of the past. They literally ended, and America became the place to do business again. Capital formation exploded in the United States.

Restoring these critical business provisions and making them permanent is a key to driving additional growth and investment in the United States.

For businesses that spur investment and economic activity across the country, this bill makes the 20 percent small business deduction permanent, enabling job creation and spurring local economic activity.

It restores and makes permanent full expensing for domestic research and development, encouraging domestic innovation; restores and makes permanent full expensing for new capital investments, like machinery and equipment, boosting domestic production; restores and makes permanent interest deductibility, helping to finance critical domestic investments and keeping America globally competitive.

It includes full expensing for new factories and factory improvements to accelerate domestic manufacturing; permanently renews and enhances the Opportunity Zone Program, driving a hundred-plus billion dollars of investment to rural and distressed communities.

According to the Tax Foundation, “permanence for the [bill’s] four cost recovery provisions,” which I have just reviewed, “would more than double the long-run economic effect.”

The National Association of Manufacturers predicts that \$248 billion in economic growth will come from the manufacturing sector alone, along with over 1 million jobs and over \$100 billion in new wages.

The National Federation of Independent Business says that making the small-business deduction permanent will create 1.2 million jobs over 10 years, growing to 2.4 million jobs in the long run. That growth also means more Federal revenue created right along the way.

And the Council of Economic Advisers estimates that the tax legislation alone—this tax legislation alone—will drive more than \$2 trillion in offsetting

deficit reduction, thanks to permanent provisions that power economic growth and incentivize investment. Over a 10-year window, with this legislation in effect, the Council of Economic Advisers estimates that debt as a share of GDP will fall to 94 percent, compared to 117 percent if the Trump tax cuts expire.

And this chart is important to look at. This is what happens to our deficit if we pass this tax legislation and grow our economy.

And this is what happens if we don't. The red line is what happens if we don't.

Over a 10-year window, with this legislation in effect, as this chart shows, the estimate is 94 percent compared to 117 percent if the Trump tax cuts expire.

So while my colleagues on the other side complain and complain that we will not let taxes go up, this is what will happen if they do go up.

Far from adding to the deficit, this legislation will finally put us on a sound financial footing as we power growth and curb spending.

For those who claim that this bill will add over 4 trillion to the deficit, it bears repeating: Preventing a \$4 trillion tax hike is not the same as deficit spending.

And for those who say that we should let a \$4 trillion tax hike go into effect to pay down the national debt, every tax increase that Congress has adopted, for as long as I can remember, was not used to pay down the national debt. It was used to increase spending, and that is exactly what is going to happen if the Democrats have their way and force this tax hike to happen. It was used by Congress to spend more money, not to reduce debt.

Extending current tax policy means that tax revenue as a percent of GDP will remain relatively unchanged. We do not have a revenue problem in America. We have a spending problem. That is why we asked JCT to score this legislation under a more realistic scenario, using a current policy baseline.

The Council of Economic Advisers estimates that making the Trump tax cuts permanent, combined with other Trump administration pro-growth policies like regulatory reform and so forth, will increase Federal revenues by more than \$4 trillion, far more than offsetting any deficit estimates.

When combined with the \$1.6 trillion in spending reductions, this bill represents historic savings for taxpayers, far exceeding the spending reductions in the past by hundreds of billions of dollars.

And I want to look at this chart. I have talked a lot about tax cuts and protecting against tax increases, and the economic growth that happens from that. But reducing spending is another critical priority that we must address, and in addition to the pro-growth tax policy that I have just described, we cut spending by \$1.6 trillion.

This chart shows how other bills have tried to take a shot at reducing spending in the past. We far exceed any spending reduction bill that Congress has ever passed. We are paying attention to the revenue side, and we are paying attention to the spending side.

To achieve this record level of savings, we are slashing President Biden's Green New Deal spending and promoting an "America First" energy policy. We are eliminating hundreds of billions of dollars of the Green New Deal subsidies, including ending wasteful credits like the EV tax credit. We stop penalizing fossil fuels in favor of unreliable and expensive green energy, and instead support consistent energy sources, making energy affordable again.

We are also rooting out waste, fraud, and abuse in Federal spending programs, as my colleague from South Carolina mentioned, like those that we have identified in Medicaid. This will not reduce benefits for those who are qualified and for whom Medicaid was intended. It will reduce waste, fraud, and abusive scams that are being used to get the American taxpayer to funnel money into States or into other programs.

This program was created to help pregnant women, children, and seniors in America and those with disabilities. We are continuing to protect them. They will not lose benefits. And the politics of fear that you hear constantly are simply false.

But in recent years, the Democrats have incentivized Medicaid to enroll healthy Americans and illegal immigrants, driving up costs for taxpayers and risking the program's sustainability for those who need it the most.

This is what has happened. This is what is happening to the enrollment and the spending in Medicaid.

The fate of this expansion is an unsustainable path and puts the future of the program at risk, including the U.S. Federal debt.

As spending has surged, so have inappropriate payments and ineligible enrollments, along with gimmicks and loopholes.

People are alarmed by these statistics, but official reports indicate that the Federal Government made \$543 billion in inappropriate Medicaid payments from 2015 through 2024. Some experts think that that number is closer to \$1 trillion.

That is what we are addressing in this legislation. We have the responsibility to ensure that programs like Medicaid work efficiently and effectively and remain financially viable for those whom it was designed to help.

For months, my Democrat colleagues have engaged in the politics of fear, warning that Republicans are going to rip this critical program from those most in need. Let me be clear: This legislation does not take Medicaid away from any recipients whom the program was designed to help. Children, the elderly, the disabled or infirm, adults

caring for children, and elderly relatives are protected by this bill. We would not be honoring our obligation to these recipients if we allow the program to continue to balloon, forcing vulnerable populations to compete for available resources with able-bodied adults who refuse to work.

One father recently wrote in the Wall Street Journal:

Medicaid was created to help people like my son. He is 17, has severe autism and epilepsy and needs constant attention. Yet thanks to Obamacare's Medicaid expansion, he is stuck on a multiyear waiting list for in-home care because able-bodied adults are competing for the same resources.

CBO estimates that over 1.4 million illegal aliens are receiving Medicaid benefits. I am talking about those who are not U.S. citizens and are not legally in the United States, receiving Medicaid benefits and pushing those like this man's 17-year-old son out of his opportunity to get access to those benefits.

BRETT GUTHRIE, the chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee in the House, correctly notes:

Every dollar misspent on illegal immigrants and ineligible individuals in the Medicaid program means less money going to our children, our pregnant women and mothers, individuals [and others] who are disabled, and seniors.

Republicans are committed to preserving and strengthening Medicaid for the people Medicaid was intended to serve. That starts with making commonsense reforms to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse in the program.

This bill targets rampant fraud in the program by removing illegal aliens, deceased recipients, or those enrolled in multiple States. It eliminates wasteful spending by ensuring that Medicaid payments align with levels in Medicare and other spending programs and increases the frequency of eligibility checks. It requires more personal accountability and promotes pathways to work for able-bodied adults.

The work requirements proposed in this legislation are simple. Many people are amazed that they are so easy to meet and yet so rigorously opposed. If you are an able-bodied adult without dependents, you can qualify for taxpayer-funded Medicaid by spending 20 hours per week working or participating in work training or going to school or participating in community service or volunteer work.

The majority of Americans agree that these rules are responsible guardrails to protect a program that was designed to protect America's most vulnerable Americans.

The bill also corrects abusive practices by freezing and reducing provider taxes, a financial gimmick used by States to increase Federal spending that they receive.

For those concerned about funding for rural hospitals, during the transition back to responsible funding levels, the legislation creates a bridge funding system to help stabilize rural hospitals and enhance that long-term financial solvency.

And while Democrats claim Republicans are slashing Medicaid spending, the reality is that even with these reforms, Medicaid spending is projected to continue to grow by billions of dollars over the next 10 years. Only in Washington is a smaller increase in spending considered a cut. In reality, these reforms will improve, protect, and preserve Medicaid for the most vulnerable Americans.

We have had a very robust debate over how to best deliver on President Trump's agenda, and I am proud of what we achieved in this legislation. The tax provisions in our bill—from the permanent extension of the lower tax rate to the increased child tax credit, to the permanent tax relief for businesses—will deliver financial security for American families and grow our economy. The healthcare provisions will protect and preserve Medicaid for the Americans that the program was designed to serve.

And while more work remains, this bill's economic growth, combined with deficit reduction that we have in it, finally puts our country on a much better fiscal trajectory.

Speaking of work, I would be remiss if I did not take a moment to thank the excellent staff from the Joint Committee on Taxation, the Congressional Budget Office, and the Senate legislative counsel for the hard work and countless hours they have put in to get us to this point. Some of them have been working with us on these provisions for years, and we greatly appreciate your partnership in this effort.

I ask unanimous consent to have these individuals' names printed in the RECORD.

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

JOINT COMMITTEE ON TAXATION

Thomas Barthold—Chief of Staff, Chris Giosa—Deputy Chief of Staff, Emily Acker, Lillian Aston, Azeka Abramoff, Jennifer Blouin, Nick Bull, Tanya Butler, Chia Chang, James Cilke, Angel Clarke, Matthew Comey, Taylor Cranor, Elena Derby, Clare Diefenbach, Connor Dowd, Tim Dowd, James Elwell, Brian Gallagher, William Gorman, Adam Gropper.

Sylvester Gunn, Sameh Habib, Jason Hayman, Mark R. High, Caitlin Hird, Nicholas Hoffman, Deirdre James, Damion Jedlicka, Sally Kwak, Andrew Lai, Paul Landefeld, Joseph LeCates, Jeremy Lent, David Lenter, Martin Lopez-Daneri, Bert Lue, Kathleen Mackie, Jamie McGuire, Debra McMullen, Rhonda Migdail, Katie Mikulka, Sanjay Misra.

Rachel Moore, Sidney Moorer, Jake Mortenson, Matt Muma, Merrick Munday, Jonathan F. Newton, Dennis Ortega, Christopher J. Overend, Brandon Pecoraro, Zachary W. Richards, Cecily W. Rock, Taylor Rose, Kristine Roth, Natalie Rudman, Chris Simmons, David Splinter, Sarah Trebicka, H. Brenton Trigg, Tracy Watkins, Tommy Willingham, Lin Xu.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE STAFF

Chad Chirico, Lara Robillard, Sarah Sajewski, Hudson Osgood, Austin Barselau, Robert Stewart, Carolyn Ugolino, Amy Zettle, Aaron Pervin, Emily Vreeland, Jessica Hale, Cyrus Elkland, Ryan Greenfield,

Ezra Cohn, Allison Percy, Ben Hopkins, Caroline Hanson, Claire Hou, Eamon Molloy, Nianyong Hong, Sean Lyons, Towo Babayemi, Rajan Topiwala, Noelia Duchovny.

SENATE LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL STAFF

Ruth Ernst, Kelly Malone Thornburg, John Goetheus, Davis Riley, Bill Baird, Allison Otto, Mark McGunagle, Vince Gaiani, Jim Fransen.

Mr. CRAPO. I also have to thank my incredible staff who have foregone sleep over the past several months to provide timely, indispensable insight, facts, legislative text, counsel, and so much more. Without them, we would not be at this point and ready to deliver this much needed growth-focused policy for the American people.

I ask unanimous consent to have the names of my entire Finance Committee staff printed in the RECORD.

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

SENATOR CRAPO FINANCE COMMITTEE STAFF

Amanda Critchfield Blum, Communications Director; Gable Brady, Senior Health Policy Advisor; Brian Bombassaro, International Trade Counsel; Becky Cole, Chief Economist; Courtney Connell, Chief Tax Counsel; Jamie Cummins, Senior Tax Counsel; Andrew Dell'Orto, Policy Advisor; Erin Dempsey, Deputy Health Policy Director; Eric Fejer, Deputy Press Secretary; Michael Gould, Tax Counsel; Randy Herndon, Deputy Chief Tax Counsel; Jared Hermann; John Kashuba, Counsel; Phoebe Keller, Communications Advisor; Kate Lindsey, Tax Policy Advisor; Clancy Lyles, Professional Staff Member; Kellie McConnell, Health Policy Director; Amy Nabozny, Health Policy Advisor; Molly Newell, International Trade Counsel; John O'Hara, Trade Policy Director and Counsel; Eric Oman, Senior Tax Policy Advisor; Mayur Patel, Chief International Trade Counsel; Gregg Richard, Staff Director; Charlotte Rock, Health Policy Advisor; Lara Rosner, Social Security Policy Advisor; Don Snyder, Senior Tax and Oversight Counsel; James Williams, Tax and Economic Policy Advisor; Staci Lancaster, Staff Writer.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, even with all that and all that we accomplish in this legislation, there are dozens of additional good ideas, smart policies, and commonsense reforms that we were not able to include today. I commit to working with my colleagues to advance those goals as well as we move forward. But today's historic legislation is more than a good start and will pay dividends for American families.

Extending good tax policy, delivering targeted relief, and reining in wasteful spending, as achieved in this bill, is the best way to restore economic prosperity and opportunity for all Americans. I look forward to getting it to the President's desk as soon as possible.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORENO). The Democratic whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, we are here today debating a clumsily assembled package—still a work in progress—that would rip away healthcare from 16 million American families, give tax breaks to millionaires, billionaires, and the largest corporations.

Think about that for a moment.

Republicans have decided that the best avenue to generate revenue that

they can then give in tax breaks to wealthy people is to eliminate health insurance coverage for 16 million Americans. That is going to have a dramatic impact on their lives. If you have ever been a young father with a baby with a serious medical problem, and you had no health insurance, you will never forget it as long as you live. I know; I have been there.

The notion of losing your health insurance leaves you as vulnerable as possible in some of the most important moments of your life. The day we consider this provision to eliminate health insurance coverage for 16 million families is unimaginable and cruel.

Let's not act like there is a unified Republican front on this issue. Even some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle don't want to be here at this moment, jamming this unpopular bill through this Chamber under arbitrary deadlines.

One of my colleagues took a look at tax breaks. You will hear them say over and over again: If we don't act, the average family has to pay more in taxes. There is a way around that. If we limit any tax breaks in this bill in this effort to people making \$400,000 a year or less—\$400,000 a year or less—it virtually eliminates two-thirds of the cost of this undertaking, and it means you don't have to take away the health insurance of 16 million families. So there are ways to do tax breaks which make sense.

Count this Democrat in with the Republicans for helping working families who are struggling to get by, and a lot of them are living paycheck to paycheck. The notion that we would say to them: We are going to take away your health insurance; we are going to raise the cost of health insurance for you, that is no answer to their problems.

Behind closed doors, my Republican colleagues continue to be consumed with infighting, bickering over the bill's substance, and for good reason.

We have a process here which is almost impossible to explain to an ordinary person of how we reach reconciliation. The Parliamentarian's office—she is sitting here—and God bless you for what you have been through the last several months and all your staff—have to make decisions on a daily basis, over and over again, as to whether or not provisions in this bill are eligible under the law that governs the U.S. Senate.

We are in the process of debating this on the Senate floor. I see our ranking member on the Budget Committee—the Senate Budget Committee—the Senator from Oregon. We are in the process of still appealing to the Parliamentarian's office on provisions in the bill. This is truly a work in progress.

I think what they do know is troubling, and it should be. This bill would be a disaster for hospitals. The Senate Republican bill, unfortunately, is going to endanger hospitals all over the United States. But if you happen to live in a small town, rural area—and I

represent a lot of them in the State of Illinois—you are the most vulnerable. You are the target. When they cut back on Medicaid Programs, these are the hospitals that will close their doors.

What is the impact of a hospital closing its door in a downstate community in Illinois? Devastating. Hospitals are not only the center for emergency medical care, good doctors, nurses, and such, they are also a major economic force in smalltown America. Take away a hospital and then try to attract a new business to your community—good luck.

This Senate bill cripples one of the main ways the States fund their Medicaid Programs and keep hospitals afloat, especially rural and low-income areas. It is called the provider tax. Earlier this week, a Republican Senator—a Republican Senator—circulated a flyer to his fellow caucus Members so they are all on notice detailing just how much each State will lose in Medicaid provider tax funding under the proposal.

Let's take a look at my neck of the woods, the Midwest. Iowa would lose \$4.1 billion; Missouri, \$6.1 billion; Kentucky, \$12 million; Louisiana would lose \$20 billion; North Carolina, \$38.9 billion.

Senator TILLIS and I were in a conversation yesterday, and he used that very same figure. His analysis says if we go forward with this bill, it cuts Medicaid reimbursement in his home State of North Carolina by a whopping \$38.9 billion.

This list of States and what they will lose was passed around by a Republican Senator to his own caucus. They know what they are up against here. If Republicans have their way and pass this bill, hospitals will be forced to shrink or eliminate services. In Decatur, IL, one of the hospitals facing a crunch time had to make a decision whether to keep their doors open. They did, but they eliminated OB-GYN delivering babies and all mental health and addiction counseling—two critical areas for the hospitals.

So this bill will force hospitals to shrink or eliminate services. Doctors and nurses will leave and, in some cases, the hospital will close. Imagine in a rural area or remote area, an extra 45 minutes, an extra hour in the car with somebody in the front seat you love very much who is in a desperate situation. As it stands today, half of the rural hospitals around the country already operate in the danger zone, and it is the same thing for children's hospitals. If you have one in your community you use—I do. These children's hospitals have warned us they can't keep their doors open if Medicaid is cut as dramatically as the Republicans want to cut it.

If Republicans have their way, we are going to see massive layoffs, fewer nurses, technicians, and doctors, along with decreasing quality of care.

The American Hospital Association has estimated how these cuts to Med-

icaid could impact not just jobs in red State hospitals but across the entire economy. Here is what they found. If the Republican provision goes through that cuts Medicaid reimbursement in order to provide tax breaks for wealthy people—Maine is an example of one State. They would lose 5,000 jobs; Kansas, 6,200 jobs; Iowa, 11,000 jobs; Missouri, 26,600 jobs. I have talked to the administrator of BJC in St. Louis, MO. The reason is, it is not just a Missouri hospital. They have facilities on the Illinois side of the river. In fact, one-third of their patients are from Illinois, and one-third of their patients, overall, use Medicaid to run their hospital. He has told me what is going to happen if the Republican measure goes through and cutbacks to these hospitals.

They came up with, incidentally, the rescue fund to solve the political problem. I want to check and make sure Senator MURRAY can back me up on this. Our overall cut in Medicaid now is about \$1 trillion?

Mrs. MURRAY. Correct.

Mr. DURBIN. One trillion dollars, imagine. This is Washington we are talking: cutting Medicaid nationwide \$1 trillion and the rescue plan for the small hospitals that are in danger—the ones that I talked about—\$1 trillion cut. How big is the rescue plan? It is \$25 billion. Do the math. It is a joke. It is a joke.

If Republican leaders think this is an adequate amount to alleviate pain, all of our Nation, through our hospitals, are going to feel like that is trying to put out a forest fire with a garden hose. This simply won't work.

I want to conclude by saying this. We passed the Affordable Care Act 15 years ago. Of all the things that I worked on in Congress, I think it had more positive impact to help the families across America than anything. We found a way to make health insurance more affordable for families 15 years ago. And to do it, we held hearings, 100 hearings on the Affordable Care Act—ObamaCare is what they called it—roundtables, walk-throughs. Two committees spent a combined 21 days holding markups so everyone could offer an amendment.

Do you know how many amendments were made to the ObamaCare program? Four hundred. There were 400 votes in committee and on the floor on amendments. One hundred forty-seven Republican amendments were included, though not a single Republican Senator ended up supporting ObamaCare when it was all over.

What do we have here with this measure, at the end of the day? That legislation, ObamaCare, allowed more than 40 million Americans to gain health insurance. Today, how many hearings have we had on the bill that is before us, this dramatic multitrillion-dollar bill? None. Zero. Not a single one. There are zero markups for Senators offering amendments. There were 400 amendments on ObamaCare—none on this one until it has come to the floor today with zero bipartisan input.

Our friends on the Republican side have said, basically, it is a big deal. Take it or leave it.

Should this bill become law, do you know what we will have done? Thrown 16 million Americans off health insurance and closed many vulnerable small hospitals—all to pay for tax breaks for millionaires and billionaires. Maybe some of my Republican friends are OK with that. I don't think the American people are.

I am hoping that sanity and commonsense prevail. We need four. We need four Senators to step up and say: Stop this train. We have got to sit down and do our homework. We cannot expose the American families and the American economy and do this in the name of preserving tax breaks for the wealthiest people. Elon Musk seems to be doing OK in life, right? He is the wealthiest man in the world. Do you know what the tax break will be for Elon Musk on the bill that is before us on the floor? It will be \$346,000—a lot of money. To him, he won't even notice it. They are giving him a tax break he won't notice and taking away health insurance from families who will be devastated—16 million around the country. It is an important choice, and we should make the right one.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. President, in deciding whether to vote for the "Big, Not So Beautiful Bill," I have asked a very specific question: Will the deficit be more or less next year? The answer, without question, is: This bill will grow the deficit. The Federal Government has fancy formulas and hundreds of wonky accountants who inform us of their projections over 10 years, but you often can't trust these projections.

In an excellent piece written by the Foundation for Economic Education, entitled "The CBO's Projections Are Worse Than Useless," Eric Schuler writes:

Long-term analysis and language is commonplace in U.S. national politics, but it achieves no useful outcome. It confuses far more than it clarifies. It does not provide accurate estimates of long-term results. It does not improve the average voter's understanding of policy effects. And it gives politicians a means to claim they are being fiscally responsible without actually exercising any prudence whatsoever.

Sometimes the predictions are off because a new Congress is elected and changes the law. Eric Schuler writes that, for any projection of a 10-year budget to be accurate, the Congressional Budget Office "has to assume the law won't change for ten years, even as most of the politicians that make the laws risk being replaced [every] two years—and all of them advocate for changes of one stripe or another . . ."

Schuler states what few in Washington will admit:

Congress has a knack for starting any proposed cuts in the later years, while letting spending run wild in the immediate future.

Sometimes these predictions are off by \$1 trillion or so because the economy grew more slowly or more quickly than anticipated.

Bruce Thompson, a former Senate aide and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury writes that the Congressional Budget Office “miscalculated the deficit [last year] by \$1 trillion.”

So in deciding whether to vote for any big, monstrous bill, it helps to ask the right question. To me, the most pertinent question is, How will the bill affect the deficit in the next year?

Currently, our deficit is estimated to be a little under \$2 trillion this year. What will happen to the debt in 2026 if this bill passes?

Well, in using the math most favorable to the supporters of the bill, referred to as a policy baseline, the deficit in 2026 will still be \$270 billion more than this year. So even using the math, even using the formulas that the supporters of the bill like, the deficit will grow by \$270 billion next year. That is just not good if you profess to be fiscally conservative.

Why will the deficit grow next year? Well, even if you argue that the 2017 tax cuts don't need to be counted in the calculation at all, the new tax cuts add up to \$234 billion to the debt next year.

In addition, the “Big, Not So Beautiful Bill” adds new spending of over \$500 billion—military, border, agricultural subsidies, et cetera. That spending is front-loaded and will be spent in the first 4 years of the 10-year window.

Legislative spending is one of the few items in the bill that is exact. It isn't estimated. If they say they will spend \$500 billion, they are going to spend \$500 billion in all of the first few years. So, in order not to add to the deficit, the “BBB,” the “Big, Not So Beautiful Bill,” has to have corresponding spending cuts to counter all the new spending. Unfortunately, the spending cuts are back-loaded to the final 5 years of the 10-year window when several tax cuts expire and the spending increases are finished.

In addition, elections occur every 2 years and could easily wipe out any perceived savings that might occur in the later years.

The only real certainty in this budget drama are the budget years coming in the immediate future. It is the next year or two that are the only things that are actually of any certainty. So, if we analyze this bill from that perspective, we discover that the bill increases the debt by \$500 billion in the first 5 years. This is not the CBO's projection that Republicans have not liked. This is the projection they are using that says the debt will add \$500 billion in the first 5 years. They say, somehow, miraculously, in the last 5 years, it gets to \$500 billion in savings. So it is a \$1 trillion shift from year 5 to year 10. The CBO scores it differently, not as encouragingly, and says it adds over \$3 trillion in debt.

So which is it? Does this bill save \$500 billion over 10, or does it add \$3 trillion over 10?

The truth is, even for a person with a magic crystal ball, it is anybody's guess, which brings us back to, maybe we have to judge the effects of the “Big, Not So Beautiful Bill” by looking at what happens to the debt next year.

Supporters of the bill admit it adds \$270 billion to the debt next year. That is the only thing we know for certain. We don't know what will happen in year 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, or 10; but we know that next year, this bill will grow the deficit by \$270 billion.

In addition, the bill increases the debt ceiling by \$5 trillion. What does that mean? That is an admission that they know they aren't controlling the deficit; that they know the ensuing years will add trillions more. So we are adding \$2 trillion this year, but they are anticipating—the authors of the bill are anticipating—adding more than \$2 trillion next year.

That doesn't sound at all conservative to me, and that is why I am a no. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, joining me on the floor are experts in the budget process, who are former chairs and ranking members: Senator MURRAY, who was the Senate Budget chair from 2013 through 2015; Senator WHITEHOUSE, who was the Senate Budget chair from 2023 through 2025; and Senator VAN HOLLEN, who was the ranking Democrat on the House Budget Committee from 2011 through 2017.

We are here to address a fundamental violation of the law—of section 313—the Senate rules for reconciliation.

To try to summarize this in the simplest words possible, 100 Senators voted to have a special fast-track, filibuster-free pathway solely for reducing the debt. The first principle was that no deficits could be created in a 10-year period. Our Republican colleagues blew that up in 1996 when they wanted to do a tax bill that would create massive deficits. Then a second pillar was no deficits in any title of the bill in any year after the first 10 years. This bill, right now, if this passes, blows that up. The third was to use honest numbers, Congressional Budget Office numbers.

I have a letter here from the Congressional Budget Office, and they say that the estimate is relative to the CBO's January 2025 baseline. The CBO is required to construct its baseline under the assumption specified in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act and the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act.

In response to your questions about the cost of title VII, the question was, Would title VII increase the deficit by more than the \$1.5 trillion over the 2025 through 2034 period? The answer is, yes, the CBO estimates that its enacting would increase the deficit by nearly \$3.5 trillion over the 2025–2034 period—\$3.5 trillion.

We then asked, Would it increase deficits in the years beyond 2034, be-

yond the 10-year window? The answer was yes.

But if you were to ask my Republican friends, they would say: No, no, no. We are inventing a new theory, and that is that anything that the 2017 tax giveaway to the billionaires put into law that expired after 10 years, we are just going to assume it would have continued, and, therefore, our continuing it doesn't cost anything.

That is a pretty crazy notion that if they didn't put it into the bill, the law says it ends, but they say: No, no. It would have continued anyway through some magical way; so, therefore, a tax break for the really wealthy costs nothing.

This is exactly—exactly—the type of lying to ourselves, smoke and mirrors that 100 Senators agreed to end back in 1974; and that piece of it has continued in place for 51 years until this moment, in this Senate, by this Republican majority, who says we are going to start lying to ourselves and lying to the American people about what this bill costs.

Well, we are not going to lie. We are going to tell you the truth. This bill costs well over \$3 trillion over 10 years and some \$30 trillion-plus on top of existing deficits and debt because of the provisions that are in this particular bill.

Our current national debt that has been run up since the Declaration of Independence is around \$36.5 trillion. This bill basically matches that in creating that much additional debt over the next 30 years. This is a huge assault on the programs that we have sustained as a nation for the people of America and for people struggling to get on their feet. So we want affordable housing programs. We want to have fair and quality healthcare. We want to have an education system that gives every child an opportunity to thrive. We want to create a robust economy through investments so there are good jobs, because no government program is better than a good job. All of those are imperiled by this bill because the Republican leadership is lying to the American people and lying to themselves. So we are here to tell the truth.

First of all, we are going to turn to Senator MURRAY who, as I mentioned, was the Senate Budget chair from 2013 to 2015.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Oregon and our other Budget chairs and ranking members from previous years because this is really important.

There are some things you can't change with legislation despite what my colleagues on the other side of the aisle seem to believe. For example, one plus one is two, and while a trillion might have a lot of zeroes in it, it is, in fact, a much, much bigger number. Now, that might sound obvious, but, apparently, my colleagues across the aisle need a little reminder because,

right now, Republicans are pretending not to get it. It is almost beyond belief, and it is certainly beyond common sense.

After years of complaining about the debt—in fact, at the same time they are talking about how we need to address the debt—Republicans now are suddenly pretending they don't know how to count. Republicans are suddenly pretending the Parliamentarian doesn't exist if they don't talk to her. Republicans are suddenly pretending that precedent doesn't exist if they just fake amnesia and that norms and consequences for breaking them will just disappear if they wish them away really hard. My preschool students had more common sense.

Republicans should know, if they replace math with magic, if they tear up the Senate process, if they blow off the Senate Parliamentarian, that bill will come due—and not just the bill for \$4 trillion blown on tax cuts for billionaires and corporations. The bill will also come due for trashing this Senate process and precedent when Republicans are no longer in the majority.

If Republicans are serious about plowing forward with rewriting or ignoring Senate procedure and the laws of mathematics, I would just ask: Spare me the empty excuses. Spare me the explanations that totally ignore the reality of what you are doing. I mean, do they really think it washes away everything to say: Oh, it is fine to break the process in half because we say it is fine; oh, it is fine; we have the authority to ignore math? Give me a break.

To every Republican who really thinks this is a convincing argument and to anyone who thinks “we can” is just acceptable rationale for going nuclear and pretending the most expensive bill in the history of our country can be paid for by some magic-bean counting, here is my challenge to you: Go back home and try that game with your constituents. Tell them it is OK. Yes, the debt is going to be \$4 trillion and higher 10 years from now. That is true, but it is fine. We voted on it, and we get to say a trillion is actually zero. Go ahead. See how that works for you. And you may as well tell them you are voting against gravity next because that is just as reasonable.

And don't forget: When you tell your families back home that trillions of dollars in tax cuts for billionaires and companies are free because you waved a wand or you said some magic words, don't forget to tell them those are just tax cuts for the billionaires, not for working families.

Don't forget to tell the folks back home: Yeah, I voted to say a trillion dollars is nothing, but we still need to kick people off of their healthcare. That is just too expensive. We still need to close those hospitals. We have to cut costs. And we still have to kick people off SNAP because the debt is out of control.

Don't forget to mention: No, we can't afford childcare. We can't afford paid

family leave. We can't afford to solve your problems.

Magic math is apparently just for billionaires. You all are getting less.

Please, Republicans, send that message to your constituents. Just see how it goes over because you can fool yourself, but you are not going to fool the American people. They don't get to balance their budget with magic math. They don't get to pretend \$1 trillion is nothing. And they don't get to pretend that this bill is free because at the end of the day, regardless of what policy baseline you all want to use in DC, those families back home are the ones who will be paying the actual cost.

I yield to Senator MERKLEY.

Mr. MERKLEY. Would the Senator yield for a question?

Mrs. MURRAY. I would.

Mr. MERKLEY. In the time that you were Budget chair, did you ever contemplate a situation in which you argued that renewing a tax break that was by law expiring would somehow have no impact on the deficit?

Mrs. MURRAY. To my friend from Oregon, I never would have contemplated it, and I never would have put it forward. I happen to know that if I would have suggested that, my Republican colleagues would have been all over me, telling me that breaks the rules.

Mr. MERKLEY. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Returning to Senator WHITEHOUSE, who was Senate Budget chair from 2023 to 2025.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Thank you, Senator MERKLEY.

I mentioned earlier the history of the section that the Republican Budget chairman is using to perform this multitrillion-dollar magical act of making huge, deficit-busting numbers disappear. It is called section 312. It has been used before, but it has always been minor, corrective, and bipartisan.

I mentioned earlier the adjustment that was made on a bipartisan basis to the Power Marketing Administration's numbers to return the CBO to an agreement that the Senate had previously made. That was not enormously consequential. This is almost certainly the first time you are hearing about it.

Again, in 2023, as Budget chair, with Republican Chair JODEY ARRINGTON on the House side, we made a \$105 million adjustment to a dairy program. Today, we are talking about trillions. This was a \$105 million adjustment—again, bipartisan, minor, and corrective, fixing a technical issue on a bipartisan basis.

Last year, Speaker Johnson and Leader SCHUMER agreed to direct CBO to score a feed program with an OMB estimate, and they used this rule again—collaborating on a bipartisan basis on a matter that was minor and corrective.

Well, this is different. This is trillions, and Republicans are using this rule to pretend that it is not.

There are a lot of ways to look at who is right. Time, obviously, will tell,

but this bill actually has a “tell” right in it. Page 754 of this bill is the reality check on whether or not they are running up the debt by trillions. We know they are running up the debt by trillions because they say so in this bill.

You can play Senate procedural fakery, you can wave magic wands around numbers all day long, but someday soon, you hit reality, and you hit reality in the real world of markets and selling Treasury bonds and having a legal debt limit.

If this did not raise the debt by trillions, they would not need to raise the debt limit by trillions.

Here is the text:

Subtitle C—Increase in Debt Limit.
Sec. 72001. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The limitation section 3101(b) under title 31 . . . is increased by \$5,000,000,000,000.

They are dodging the Parliamentarian's ruling by letting the Budget chair make a trillion-dollar magic-wand maneuver because they know pretty darn well what the Parliamentarian's ruling would be. And how do they know what the Parliamentarian's ruling would be? Because the answer is in their own damned bill.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MERKLEY. Would the Senator from Rhode Island yield for a question?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Of course.

Mr. MERKLEY. You mentioned the use of section 312, which gives some flexibility to resolve, as you put it, minor issues on a bipartisan basis to correct an issue, a technical issue. In those cases you mentioned, were those on a reconciliation bill?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Were they on a reconciliation bill? I don't believe they were.

Mr. MERKLEY. No, they were not. In fact, that power has never been used on a reconciliation bill because the following section, 313, gives very specific instructions. It says each provision must be costed out for its impact on both outlays, the spending side, or revenue, should it be a revenue measure.

If you are saying “Well, how do I do that?” you say “Well, if we pass this provision, what will it cost as compared to not passing this provision, not having it in the bill?” That is a comparison to current law.

This ability of the Budget chair—and actually the law says the Budget Committee—to correct technical issues or narrow issues on a bipartisan basis basically solves snarly little budgeting questions, like on the dairy program that you mentioned. It was never used on reconciliation, ever; never used on a broad basis, ever; never used to create a lie about what a bill costs in this fashion.

Now, we are turning to the Senator from Maryland, who was ranking Democrat on the House Budget Committee for 6 years, so he brings a lot of experience and knowledge about the budget process.

Senator VAN HOLLEN.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I thank my colleague and the ranking

member of the Senate Budget Committee, Senator MERKLEY.

I just want to start by reading a statement. This is a quote:

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.

That wasn't from Senator VAN HOLLEN or anyone on this floor; that is from a Republican Member of the House, Congressman SCHWEIKERT from Arizona, talking about exactly the issue we are debating here in the U.S. Senate.

Let me read you another quote—a little more colorful—again about this Republican accounting fraud:

This is fairy dust, and they're [just] full of crap. And I'm gonna call them out on it.

That is Republican Congressman CHIP ROY of Texas.

They are right. This is a fraud. This is a fraud that would make the Enron scammers blush.

I quote those House Members for a reason, because we can disagree with what they did in their bill—and I strongly disagree with it—but at least they used honest math, and at least they used the math that is required by the rules here in the Senate, the honest math that Republicans here in the Senate want to dodge because it will both tell the American people just how big the deficits are but also because it will screw up their whole entire plan.

Just so people listening have some sense of how these Senate numbers are designed to disguise the real impact of their deficits, look at, for example, the basic individual tax rates in the House bill. When they extended those tax rates from the Trump 2017 bill, it cost \$2.2 trillion under what we call the current law baseline, which is the reality baseline because that is what it will cost when you understand that they sunset at the end of this year, and that is what it will cost to renew them.

So under honest accounting, it is \$2.2 trillion. Under the Senate fraudulent accounting, that \$2.2 trillion deficit miraculously becomes an \$83 billion deficit.

Let's look at the House permanent extension of key deductions for businesses. That would cost—honest accounting—\$821 billion; under the Senate accounting scam, \$6 billion.

So what we are seeing here is this blatant, deliberate effort to mislead the American people about the true costs of this bill, about the deficit impacts of this bill, about how it will impact the debt.

We all know that when the debt goes up and we have to put more of our costs on Uncle Sam's credit card, it puts upward pressure on interest rates. That means Americans will pay higher interest rates on their mortgages, on their car loans, and everything else.

So when you try to hide the deficit impact, you really are trying to fool the American people, and we are here to blow the whistle.

Now, I just want to show our colleagues something that was put together by the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. If you look at the blue, you can see that for each year, starting this year—2025, 2026—the blue is what Senate Republicans claim their bill will add to the deficit. The red is how much more it will actually add to the deficit.

So at the end of this 10-year period, what you see is that Senate Republicans are claiming that their bill will add \$441 billion, which is still a big number, but the real number, when you do honest accounting, when you add up all of these, is \$4.2 trillion—a much bigger number.

I do want to point something out on this chart that I think everybody watching should understand. If you look at these orange parts—these are the additional deficits from tax cuts—starting here, in year 2029, 2030, you will see that they actually do start going down. Why is that? It is because the tax cut that President Trump promised for no tax on tips—they phase those out. This is all just a make-believe ruse: Yes, we start providing no tax on tips, but those disappear.

The tax breaks for wealthy people—they go on, and they go on not just for this 10-year period. But the reason they violate all the rules of reconciliation is because they keep going on after that.

As Senator MERKLEY said, if you look at the entire history of the Byrd rule—that is Senator Byrd—it was designed to make sure that 51 Senators, through a vote, could not make these kinds of permanent changes in any area, but specifically they were worried about areas that would increase the national deficit and debt.

So what Republican Senators are doing is not only misleading the American people, but they are violating the entire structure that carved out this special procedure that we call reconciliation for the budget, which was intended to lower deficits and debts, not have them go on forever.

As Senator MERKLEY has pointed out, I think if you look over a 30-year period, we are talking about \$35 trillion-plus additional to the debt, and Republicans want to hide that from the American people.

That is budget fraud, pure and simple, and it is a violation of the rules of the U.S. Senate, this whole special structure that was created not to blow bigger holes in the debt and deficits but to actually try to constrain them. So shame on everybody who is part of this fraud on the American people.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MERKLEY. Would the Senator from Maryland yield for a question?

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I will.

Mr. MERKLEY. I find it very interesting that the Senator pointed out that these tax provisions for the middle class—that no tax on tips is phased out and no tax on overtime is phased out.

And what the Senator is saying, I believe, is that when they put into this

bill that a tax break is ending, they are saying that it doesn't cost any more in the following years.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. So they are simply saying—their current policy baseline that they want us to make believe about would say that this wouldn't cost them; in other words, if they extended this, it wouldn't cost anything.

It is interesting to note—and not only does that expose the fraud behind the current policy baseline, but they made a very deliberate choice. Even though they now say that they can make these tax cuts permanent and still comply with the rules, they decided to make the tax cuts for very rich people permanent. But even though they say it is not going to cost anything anymore to provide tax cuts with no tax on tips, they are phasing those out.

And all of these areas are where President Trump made promises that he was going to take care of some working people. Well, those go away fast. The tax cuts for the rich, they go on for not just a full 10 years, but they keep going, which is why this is a violation of the entire reconciliation process.

Mr. MERKLEY. So I find two things very interesting. They are saying, if something was in the law that they passed in 2017 and it expires, they are pretending it doesn't expire and that, therefore, extending it doesn't cost anything. But in their own bill, when they say a provision expires, they are saying: No, it really does die, and, therefore, we are saving money in the years after.

How are those two things possibly consistent?

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Clearly, they are not. I mean, this is literally magical thinking. This is why Republican Congressman CHIP ROY called this "fairy dust" and why the Congressman from Arizona said this was pure intellectual and economic fraud. That is what it is. That is the bottom line.

Mr. MERKLEY. Well, I thank the Senator from Maryland for also pointing out that President Trump—he did—when he was campaigning, say he was fighting for ordinary families. But at his inauguration, who did he have standing behind him? Not champions for healthcare or champions for housing, and certainly not champions for nutrition or education, but, in fact, a series of five or six billionaires.

And now you are telling me that, in this bill—and I want to make sure the American people understand this—the provisions that were sweeteners to say we were helping working people are being phased out, but they are keeping all the tax breaks for billionaires.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Well, the Senator is right. It was right down this hall, actually, that President Trump was sworn in, and he said it was going to be a new golden age for working people. Well, as you are pointing out and this chart clearly shows and their own budget reveals, it is clearly a golden

age for billionaires and people who make a lot of money. And, in this bill, they make sure that that golden age for very rich people goes on forever.

They had a few little crumbs that they were throwing for a little while, we can see, to others, but just for a little while and just small amounts compared to the golden age for the billionaires.

Mr. MERKLEY. Well, I must say, my impression is—and I hope the Senator will correct me if I am wrong—that the Republicans are embarrassed by the fact that they are proposing a bill that creates over \$3 trillion in debt in 10 years and over \$30 trillion over 30 years and that the vast bulk of it goes to billionaires.

And so they want to say: We are so embarrassed because we mentioned fiscal responsibility when we were running for office. We were going to get the budget under control.

And they are doing the opposite, and they are embarrassed that they are doing these cuts in programs to fund tax breaks for billionaires, cutting regular healthcare—16 million people losing healthcare—for tax breaks for billionaires that, as the Senator pointed out, go on and on and on and are actually permanent.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Would the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MERKLEY. I yield to my colleague from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. When I was budget chairman and we were trying to focus, for instance, on the impending economic nightmare coming our way through climate-caused property insurance failures, what I would get is non-stop regular lectures from Republicans on the Budget Committee about how we had to take responsibility for the deficit, we had to reduce the debt. Nothing else mattered as much. It was absolutely vital.

Now, of course, we see that, as their very first shot with the power to do anything through their majority and using reconciliation, they are raising the debt, and they are raising the deficit—and not by a little but by trillions.

And I am wondering if, in the Senator's time as chairman or perhaps if in Senator MURRAY's time on the committee or perhaps in Senator VAN HOLLEN's time over on the House committee, you were favored with such constant lecturing by Republicans about the debt and the deficit and how credible that all seems right now.

Mr. MERKLEY. I yield to Senator MURRAY.

Mrs. MURRAY. I thank the Senator for his question because it is just stunning to me that the vast majority of debate—in fact, all the debate—that came from Republicans at the time I was chair of the Budget Committee and trying to put forward a smart budget for the United States of America—the only thing they talked about—was debt and deficit. The only challenge they made to us was debt and deficit. The

only time we tried to do anything for childcare, for healthcare, they threw the debt at us.

So this is pretty stunning to me that, now that they need to raise the debt for giving tax breaks to the very rich people who stood behind the President at his inauguration, then they play with the numbers and pretend it is not real, and “trillion” all of a sudden becomes “zero” and: I am using some rule you have never heard of to try and pretend that this isn't real.

It is fairy dust.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I just want to say, to answer the question from the Senator from Rhode Island and pick up on what my colleagues have said, that when I was the senior Democrat, the ranking member of the House Budget Committee, Paul Ryan was the chairman of the committee. And, look, we disagreed on many things; we agreed on many things. We both agreed that we should get our deficits and debt under control. We had different ideas on how to do it. He wanted to privatize Medicare. We wanted to close tax breaks for the rich. But the reality is that the Holy Grail—the only guiding North Star for Republicans at that time—was: We have got to bring down deficits and debt.

This is not that Republican Party—not in any way, shape, or form. They clearly don't give a damn. In fact, they are worried, as we can see, that the American people still care, which is why they want to engage in this fraudulent scheme.

But I will just close on this: I remember one of those years—I believe it was the 2012 Republican convention—they even put up a debt clock. They put up a debt clock at the convention.

Mrs. MURRAY. I can't find it.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Right? I am looking under my desk for the debt clock here because the Republicans seem to have hidden it away forever. They want to wish it away. That is what they are telling us.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. The bill, actually, is required to raise the debt limit by \$5 trillion. So, in reality, there is a huge hit to our debt, huge additions to our deficit.

And it makes me a little bit frustrated to think back to all those lectures that I had to receive as budget chairman, which the Senator from Maryland witnessed as a longtime member of the Senate Budget Committee, which the ranking member witnessed in his time on the Budget Committee, and which Senator MURRAY experienced when she chaired the Budget Committee. We have been lectured to death by our colleagues. And at the very first instance when they had the power to do something about it, they went 180 in the other direction and are cranking the national debt in order to give big benefits to the rich people who fund their campaigns.

Mrs. MURRAY. If the Senator would yield for a question—and I know we need to move on here—I just want to

add one thing. It is not just that it is going to be debt. It is the cost to families because of this debt they are putting in place.

I would ask the chair of the Budget Committee now, as he knows as I do: People's houses are going to cost more because their mortgage interest rates are going to go up. Their car interest rates are going to go up.

These are not just magic numbers sitting out there pretending. Real families are going to feel the cost of this debt and this deficit.

Mr. MERKLEY. I really appreciate that point from my colleague from Washington State because, in this bill, it creates so much necessitated borrowing that CBO estimates that that borrowing will cause interest rates to go up. And when interest rates go up for the Treasury, it goes up on your car loan, on your adjustable rate, the mortgage on your house, and just in general. These are costs that are borne by ordinary families.

And I find it very interesting because the Republicans were demanding what they called the dynamic score, saying: Well, won't these cuts produce such a great economy that it will kind of lift all boats and produce more revenue and maybe the deficit won't be as bad.

Here is what the Congressional Budget Office found. Again, that is the non-partisan honest broker. They found that because of the interest rates rising as a result of this massive sea of red ink that necessitates massive borrowing that, in fact, those rising interest rates will hurt the economy.

So there is no dynamic score that produces: Oh, well, it isn't so bad after all.

No, it is the opposite, and, in fact, that dynamic argument has always been wrong.

And we are looking at the folks who lectured my colleague from Rhode Island. I sat through many of those lectures as well. And I, in my head, went: Wait a minute. Aren't these the folks who did the massive ocean of red ink in the 2001 Bush tax bill? Aren't these the same folks who produced a massive ocean of ink in another tax bill, 2 years later? Aren't these the same ones that, in 2017, did a massive ocean of red ink? And now they are doing it again? How could they possibly be putting themselves forward as deficit hawks or debt hawks, not to mention that they cheered on two adventures that were a huge tragedy for the United States of America—trying to occupy Afghanistan and going to war in Iraq—which together added \$8 trillion to our debt?

And if you take a look at this chart, every time there is a Republican administration, the last deficit while they are in office compared to their first deficit goes up. For Clinton, it went down. That is fiscal responsibility. For George W. Bush, first term, it went up. For Obama, it went down. In other words, the Democratic Presidents, time after time after time—Clinton, Obama, Biden—they reduced the

deficits while they were in office, and the Republican Presidents, while they were in office, every single time, increased the deficits.

So none of us want to hear any more talk about fiscal responsibility from across the aisle.

Do you want to be fiscally responsible? Vote no on this bill. This bill takes and fires 16 million people off of healthcare to finance those tax breaks for billionaires. This bill says 4 million children will go hungry to finance tax breaks for billionaires. This bill is “families lose and billionaires win,” and the debt goes up, endangering our ability to do basic programs for the entire next generation. It is wrong on every count.

And I think, collectively, we urge our colleagues to honor the argument they have made over time that, in fact, they were concerned about the deficit and they were concerned about American families, because if you are concerned about the deficit and debt, if you are concerned about families, you must vote no on this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I really want to thank my colleagues. The Senator just said they used to call themselves deficit hawks. We need to call them deficit robins. They are robbing from you to pay for the billionaires. They are no longer deficit hawks. Agreed?

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. I thank my colleagues. And I think, as Senator MERKLEY said, if you care about the deficit and debt and you don't want working families to have to pay for these tax cuts for billionaires and the rich, vote no on the bill.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I would only add as my last words: Watch. Everybody who is here, watch as this goes forward, because we will give the Republicans a chance to reduce the increase to the debt and the deficit by peeling back just the tax cuts for the greedy billionaires.

We would be voting for working-class tax cuts, I am almost certain. We will have a chance to bring into stark focus through our amendments what really matters to the folks on the other side of the aisle. And that is the tax cuts for the superwealthy, for the billionaires, for the corporations that are offshoring jobs, and for the biggest polluters in the country. That is where their sweet spot is, and we will expose that through these votes.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, just a final word. Those votes, we are not sure when they will start because they are redrafting provisions of this bill right now. That is how little time this Senate will have to actually know what is in this 1,000-page bill with all kinds of special deals tucked into it for various Members. We will have little time because they are still writing it.

So those amendments that my colleague from Rhode Island mentioned—stay tuned. We are not sure if those

amendments are going to start at 2 in the morning or if they are going to start sometime later tomorrow, but stay tuned and pay attention because you are going to find out who stands with families and who stands to hurt families in favor of helping billionaires.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I think it is a really important discussion that we had right now about the deficit and the debt, but I want to talk a little bit more about this bill, in general.

You know, recent KFF polling shows that this Republican “Big Ugly Betrayal Bill” is overwhelmingly unpopular. In fact, this thing is more underwater than the Titanic.

Nearly two in three Americans view this bill unfavorably. That goes up to nearly three in four when they learn it will kick millions—millions—off their health insurance. And it goes up to nearly four in five when they learn it will choke off funding to their local hospital.

In other words, the more the American people hear about what is actually in this “Big Ugly Betrayal Bill,” the more they dislike it.

So with that in mind, I want to be here today to say a little bit more about what is in the Republicans' latest version. Spoiler alert: It is still big; it is still ugly; and it is an absolute betrayal of the people who sent us here to fight for them.

The Republican plan is still going to mean over 16 million people losing healthcare. As patients get kicked off their ACA plans, kids and struggling families will get kicked off Medicaid.

Rural hospitals are going to be forced to shut their doors. The Republican plan is still going to mean more starving families. New redtape is going to cut people off from their SNAP benefits that they need to put food on the table, and it is going to take away kids' school meals.

The Republican plan still rips away support from the people in this country who are struggling the most to give away billions in tax breaks to billionaires who need help the least.

In short, this latest version of the Republicans' bill would still be one of the biggest transfers of wealth from the people at the bottom to the people at the top in our Nation's history.

When it comes to healthcare, this Republican abomination will cause millions of people to lose their insurance and see their costs skyrocket in one way or another. It will create mountains of new paperwork and bureaucratic barriers that are positively meant to kick people off their Medicaid and ACA coverage. And there is new sabotage to the ACA healthcare markets, which will mean more people losing their affordable coverage.

Meanwhile, there is nothing—a big, fat zero—when it comes to renewing the tax credits Democrats passed to

lower your healthcare costs. That is right. While Republicans are showering their billionaire donors in new tax breaks, they will not lift a finger to extend healthcare tax credits that are saving millions of families thousands of dollars a year on health coverage.

Instead, they are going to make sure people lose healthcare coverage, including our seniors, people with disabilities, pregnant women, millions of patients who rely on Medicaid. And let's not forget, the cuts in their bill are going to shutter hospitals across the country, especially in our rural areas.

Do you have Medicaid? Medicare? employer sponsored coverage? Regardless, Republicans have some pretty bad news for you because it hardly matters what insurance you are on when you don't have a hospital to get care anymore.

In Washington State, we have 14 rural hospitals that are fighting to survive and would likely close under this bill, mostly in areas represented by Republicans, I should add; not to mention, we have six rural labor and delivery units that could be forced to close their doors under this bill.

Do you know what the Senate Republicans did? They made that problem worse. They put even more pressure on our rural hospitals. I am telling you, this betrayal is getting bigger and uglier by the day, and this cannot get lost.

Republicans want to shut the doors of one of the biggest healthcare providers in the country. They want to defund Planned Parenthood. That is wildly harmful and wildly unpopular. It would shutter at least 200 health centers that provide a wide spectrum of care, including cancer screenings, Pap smears, and birth control for millions of women.

And let's not forget Republicans are cutting nutrition assistance too. This big ugly betrayal would make one of the biggest cuts to SNAP in history. We are talking around a \$200 billion cut over the next 10 years. Now, it should be obvious, but that would be devastating for our country and for our kids' future.

And yet Republicans are not giving up on taking dinner off the table, taking school lunch off kids' trays, all so they can shovel tax cuts at billionaires and wealthy corporations.

It is worth underscoring the new redtape in their bill is even targeted at some of our most vulnerable families because it expands work requirements to apply to seniors and parents with kids in school.

When my dad—a World War II veteran—got sick with multiple sclerosis, he lost his job. He lost his job. My mom was at home—seven kids she was raising. My dad lost his job, and they had to spend—my mom had to spend some time getting some new skills so she could go back to work and take care of our family.

Do you know what? During that time, we had to rely on food stamps in

my family to feed those seven kids in my family. But under this Republican bill today, because neither of my parents had a job during those few months, my family would not be eligible for SNAP benefits. We would not have even gotten food on our table at the worst time in my family's life.

This is wrong.

Thanks to those food stamps, my family did get through that rough patch, and all seven of us kids grew up to give back to our communities, whether as a firefighter, middle school teacher, or even here as a U.S. Senator.

So I can't emphasize enough: Republicans want to cut families from SNAP and Medicaid Programs that give people a hand up in hard times. Why? So they can give an enormous handout to the richest people and the biggest companies in our country.

Oh, and at the same time, they are making it harder to afford groceries and healthcare. I should mention they are also gutting energy investments in a completely chaotic way. It is all but guaranteed to drive away jobs and drive up energy costs for all American families.

And at the same time in this bill, they are giving billionaires billions of dollars. Republicans are going to give students the short end of the stick. This big mess of a bill would tear away programs and protections that make it possible for many students to pursue a higher education. It eliminates grad PLUS loans. It cuts families off from parent PLUS loans. It punishes students who go into public service or a medical residency and more.

Meanwhile, they are tearing down the guardrails from gutting regulations that protect students whose universities commit fraud to opening up a Pandora's box for Pell grants with a new loophole that would let low-quality programs suck up our taxpayer dollars.

These changes are especially going to hurt students from low-income families and first-generation college students and our veterans. Some of them will have no way to go to college when Republicans take their support away.

Some will be driven into predatory private loans they can't afford, and some will get lured into low-quality programs that take their money, waste taxpayer dollars, and leave the student worse off.

If that wasn't enough, if the Secretary of Education wanted to try to stop this kind of fraud and protect students, Republicans will leave them about as much authority as the school hall monitor because in this bill, Republicans prevent any Secretary of Education from making regulations that carry added benefits for borrowers.

And it hardly matters if that is a good impact like saving students money, protecting taxpayer dollars from fraud, or making higher education more accessible. Republicans are going to make problems worse and

make fixing them even harder. Students in this country should be outraged.

I want to be perfectly clear about something: If Republicans charge ahead with this big awful mess, which they seem intent on doing, they can kiss any last shred of credibility goodbye, as we just talked about, when it comes to pretending to care about balancing the budget or addressing the national debt.

The idea was already laughable. For the entirety of the 21st century, the biggest driver of the national debt has been tax cuts that Republicans championed. But now, as we just talked about, they want to put at least \$4 trillion—that is trillion with a "t"—on the national credit card. Why? So they can shower the richest people on the planet with more money.

And then they are pretending all the math works, and it is kind of just easy peasy if they only just—they can do it if they kick people off healthcare or take enough meals away from kids or close enough hospitals or, better still, use some absurd accounting gimmick to pretend—to pretend—that billions of dollars in new tax cuts for their billionaire donors actually just don't cost anything.

Well, I have got some bad news for Republicans: Your math is terrible, and so is this bill. This thing is very expensive, and you don't have to take my word for it. Ask the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, which just said the latest version of this bill will add 4 trillion—"t" trillion—to the debt just over the next 10 years.

If Republicans want to ignore them, you can also ask the fiscal hawks at the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. They calculate that the House bill adds \$5 trillion to our debt when you include interest payments and the costs of making temporary provisions in this bill permanent. And we are told the Senate bill is even less fiscally responsible.

Everyone agrees this thing is not beautiful, but it is recklessly big, and it won't just increase the debt; it will blow it up. This may very well be the most expensive bill in history. I say it may be because Republicans are still planning changes. We have not yet gotten the final bill.

They already cut out even more taxes for multinational corporations, SNAP benefits, they are still on the chopping block. Healthcare, still on the chopping block. In fact, they want to cut Medicaid even more painfully. We may not know how expensive the Republicans' bill will be in the end, but we know who is paying for it—it is you, working families.

And it is important for people to know, as bad as this bill is, Republicans were trying to make it even worse. Now, Democrats have been fighting them every step of the way, and we have notched a few important wins by challenging every single provision we possibly could under the Senate rules.

So I want to talk about some of the things Democrats were successful in getting out because if Republicans had had their way, not only would this bill take away more food from our struggling families or shutter even more hospitals and kick even more people off their health insurance, it would have also sold off all of our public lands.

And instead of just slashing CFPB funding, it would have completely shuttered the doors of a very important Federal watchdog that protects Americans from getting scammed.

If Republicans had had their way, this bill would make it easier to buy gun silencers, harder to get your earned income tax credit, or pay off your student loans, and effectively impossible to get insurance plans on the Marketplace to cover abortion care.

If Republicans would have had their way, this bill would have also given Trump more power to deny funding to our constituents on a whim and less power for the courts to stop him.

We are talking about a full smorgasbord of really awful, unpopular ideas and policies that would have hurt our families and weakened our democracy—ideas that were this close to making it into this bill. But Republicans did not have their way. Democrats have been fighting back at every single step. We got those provisions tossed in the shredder, and we are still doing our darndest to send the rest of the bill to the shredder as well.

Now, let's be clear. When we talk about how unpopular this bill is with the American people, the reason is simple: This bill polls like garbage because it is garbage. That is why it should go nowhere except a trash bin.

Democrats are going to keep pushing back on this monstrosity with absolutely everything we have got at every step that we can. We are not going to stand by as Republicans shutter hospitals so the richest people in the country can build another vacation home. We are not going to sit around and let Republicans kick millions of people off of their insurance and raise working families' premiums so corporate executives can get a bigger bonus. We are not going to be silent as Republicans take food away from struggling families so they can help billionaires fuel up their private jets. We are going to keep speaking up, we are going to keep pushing back, and we are going to make sure everyone—everyone—knows exactly what is going on here.

This bill is deeply unpopular—that much is clear—but if Republicans keep pushing for this disaster, buckle up because we are only going to keep getting louder and louder about how big this is, how ugly it is, and it is only going to get more unpopular with the folks back home as these provisions are enacted if this bill passes.

I am pretty astounded by how far some Republicans are trying to stick their heads in the sand on this. One Republican Senator told their concerned constituents "We're all going to die."

Well, maybe that is a better name for the bill—at least it is more honest—because when you take healthcare away from people, when you make it harder to get, when you make it harder to afford, when you close the only hospital for miles, yes, you are right, people will die.

You would think my colleagues would show a bit more concern about that. Instead, that Senator actually doubled down, and in a response video, she filmed walking through a cemetery. I don't know how you get out of touch that much to misunderstand this, but let me be clear about something to our Republicans: "Whistling past the graveyard" is a metaphor to stop ignoring dangers; it is not a literal messaging suggestion.

If you thought Republicans couldn't be any more dismissive to their own constituents, this week, another Republican Senator who was speaking about people voicing their concerns about these Medicaid cuts said people will "get over it."

I have news for every one of my Republican colleagues who is trying to deny the reality of this bill and pretend the fairy tales they are telling themselves are true: When someone's local hospital closes, they don't get over it. When someone's kid is kicked off healthcare, they do not get over it.

If Republicans don't want to take my word for it, they can listen to the doctor I spoke with, who warned that when patients go uninsured, they delay care, and it increases costs for everyone. Instead of paying \$10 for diabetic medication, we will pay \$10,000 for an amputation.

Or Republicans can actually read the countless letters I am getting from my constituents sharing their stories:

My dad is a double amputee. He relies on Medicaid.

Without Medicaid, we couldn't get my kid's antiseizure medication.

Or, I am a full-time caregiver for my daughter with cerebral palsy or my son with spina bifida or my elderly mother, and this bill threatens to kick them off their healthcare and the supportive services they rely on to survive.

Better yet, Republicans can go out and talk to their own constituents, because I have no doubt they will hear similar stories. They will even come to you. Advocates have been here in DC all week. I have seen them in the halls. I have heard them from my office.

Now the Republicans can listen to the people across the country who are warning them about this bill, and they can do the right thing and abandon this effort or they can keep ignoring them. But make no mistake, in the end, the American people will have their voices and their votes heard, because at the end of the day, this bill, this monstrosity of a bill, is all in the goal of a tax break for multibillionaires and corporations, and the way they pay for it is by taking away your healthcare and your nutrition, the things your family or your neighbors

or people you know rely on. That is just wrong, it is un-American, and we are fighting back.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise today to oppose this partisan reconciliation bill. Republicans have named it the One Big Beautiful Bill, but you would only lose that kind of title if you were trying to hide something. And here is the simple truth: This bill takes health insurance and food assistance away from millions of Americans and gives President Trump's billionaire and millionaire friends giant tax cuts.

Indeed, this bill would provide hundreds of billions of dollars in tax giveaways to the country's 902 billionaires and millionaires while kicking 17 million Americans off their health insurance. Just weigh the balance: 902 billionaire beneficiaries with extraordinary tax deductions and tax benefits versus denial of healthcare to 17 million Americans. It doesn't balance.

And despite slashing healthcare, somehow this bill will add trillions of dollars to our national debt. It will further weaken our financial position in the world. It will, indeed, have many countries wondering if the United States is, as it has been since the end of World War II, the place to put their resources, their investments, their reserves.

This could have profound fiscal and monetary implications to the United States, and if you tie that together with this tariff battle, we are headed economically in the wrong direction, as we are socially.

And this bill is loaded with outrageous special interest giveaways and President Trump's personal political priorities; for example, \$7.5 billion for wealthy developers to use for luxury housing and other high-priced developments at a time when affordable housing for working families is a crisis in every State in the country; \$1.7 billion for gunmakers who will be able to sell silencers, sawed-off shotguns, short-barreled rifles, and other very dangerous weapons and components tax-free, making our streets more dangerous for police and for the American people, and, indeed, especially for the police because they are the first responders. They are the ones that are typically going to the door wondering if the person behind that door has an automatic weapon or some other weapon designed not to hunt or shoot but to kill.

Hundreds of millions of dollars in new tax cuts for extraordinarily wealthy oil-and-gas companies, and \$40 million for a Garden of Heroes, a sculpture garden to honor President Trump's favorite historical personalities. And at the same time, it slashes the budget for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which makes sure that shady payday lenders, mortgage lenders, and banks don't fleece American families.

And, in particular, the military division of the CFPB protects men and women in the uniform of the United States. We were able to pass an interest cap of 36 percent for Active-Duty personnel, and that is going to be ignored because there is no one to enforce it.

And we are going to see, as we have in the past, our soldiers, sailors, airmen, guardsmen exploited—systematically exploited—by all those little automobile shops and payday lenders and everything else that surrounds every military base in this country.

It is a tale as old as time. My Republican colleagues showering the rich with tax benefits and prioritizing favored industries and friends. President Bush joined with the Republican Congress to do that; of course, I opposed it. And by the way, when President Bush did that, we were projected to have over the next 10 years a multitrillion-dollar surplus. Of course, this legislation will lead us to a multitrillion-dollar deficit, and it is interesting because when I was younger, the Republicans all associated themselves with fiscal responsibility, balanced budgets, surpluses. That is not the case now.

President Trump exacerbated the situation in his first term by his grand giveaway, but this time, President Trump and my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are depriving millions of Americans of their healthcare coverage to pay for it. They are intent on punishing the most vulnerable Americans in this bill simply for the crime of being poor—in fact, in many cases, despite working very long hours and being poor.

I came here to Congress to the Senate after serving my country in the U.S. Army, as the Presiding Officer did with great distinction in the U.S. Navy as a Navy SEAL. I came here to serve my constituents and improve the lives of average Americans, and I think most of my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans alike, came with the same goal.

And according to press reports, a few of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are starting to realize that this bill is going to do great damage to their constituents. One Republican colleague has warned that this bill could leave 600,000 of his constituents without healthcare coverage and blow a \$38 billion hole in his State's budget. That would be a devastating effect.

One of the other aspects of this attack on our healthcare system is there are some people that believe, well, Medicaid doesn't touch me. It certainly does because when you extract that much money from the healthcare system, what will private health insurance do? They will raise their rates. Everyone will be paying more, and some won't be able to afford it. They will have to go without coverage. And that is going to be a tragedy for this country.

Now, knowing the damage this bill is going to do, one must ask why would

anyone support it? But this legislation is more than just numbers. I have heard from countless Rhode Islanders who are concerned about these cuts during meetings, in letters, when I bump into them at the grocery store, the pharmacy. They have been telling me about how Medicaid has helped them and their families.

I have been meeting, for example, with Christina from Smithfield, RI, for many years. Her daughter Lauren was born with cystic fibrosis and has endured countless hospitalizations, procedures, medications, and other challenges as she navigates her life with this disease. Christina, Lauren, and their family have private insurance, but Medicaid also helps cover the expenses not covered by private insurance for people with serious illnesses who are not able to work.

When President Trump and congressional Republicans began proposing these cuts to Medicaid, Christina told me:

Lauren was born with CF, a rare, genetic, progressive disease which affects her lungs, GI, and Endocrine systems.

I had no idea we carried this gene. When Lauren was born she spent a month in the hospital. We almost lost her. When she was 5, she contracted a germ that put her in the hospital for a month and almost killed her. Her lung function fell to 70 percent. At 13, I thought she was going to die. Her hospital stays were every 3 months for 2 weeks with IV treatments. Her lung function fell to 30 percent.

With one of the medicines for CF, she was able to finally get her lung function back to 65 percent at 23 years old. She still suffers every day, just trying to breathe is difficult. If she catches the common cold, it could put her in the hospital. She has a hard time keeping weight on and her GI is a disaster. She spends hours in the bathroom. She developed CF-related diabetes, which always puts her in danger.

Every day is rigorous treatments and medications, just to stay alive. It is with the help of the NIH and the FDA that she is still alive. Please do not make these cuts.

If Medicaid is cut, when she is 26, two years from now she will have no way to pay for all her hospitalizations, medications, and treatments. Few could afford to keep her alive.

It is this simple. Without Medicaid she will die. We need your help!

Carolina from Central Falls, RI, shared similar concerns for her daughter.

My daughter has special needs, and we rely on Medicaid for her needs. Not having Medicaid would create a sink hole for us.

People with profound autism need lifetime, 24/7 care. As you consider budget cuts, it is important to me as your constituent that you work to ensure that this vulnerable population has access to the critical supports that it needs to survive. I will be looking to you for your courage and leadership.

Indeed. And now we are looking across the aisle for courage and leadership to reject this flawed bill.

I received an email from one constituent, Wally from Cranston, RI. She is a 71-year-old retiree on Medicare. Her husband is 72, with Alzheimer's disease, living in a nursing home under hospice care and relying on Medicaid for his healthcare. She wrote to me

that she was "terrified at all the cuts to programs and services" that she and her husband so desperately rely on. Without Medicaid, she wonders if she or her husband would be able to continue receiving care.

I also heard from Diane in Coventry, RI, whose daughter gets lifesaving care through Medicare. Diane said:

Medicaid is important to me personally. Medicaid matters to my family. My 15-year-old daughter suffered a brain bleed and a stroke at age 5. It came out of nowhere and was very unexpected. She has spent a lot of time in the hospital, rehabilitation services, doctors' offices, appointments, etc. over the past almost 10 years. Medicaid allows her to be home and taken care of on a daily basis. Without Medicaid, she would not be able to receive hospital level care at home. She wouldn't have a wheelchair or any other durable medical equipment. She wouldn't be able to get her life saving medications or the nourishment she needs through her G tube. Please, I urge you to save Medicaid not only for my family, but millions of others. All of our lives depend on it.

Now, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle may say: We are not going to cut these people's Medicaid; we are just going after the fraudsters, the freeloaders who aren't working.

Now, who exactly are these fraudsters and freeloaders? Is it the elderly patient who needs expensive nursing home care? Is it the child with a serious, chronic health condition? Should we cut off these people's access to healthcare because they can't work, they physically cannot work, or because the constant paperwork requirements got lost in the shuffle?

Let's be clear. If my colleagues were serious about eliminating fraud, they would be providing States with more resources to investigate questionable claims and bad actors. Medicaid coverage is not extravagant; it is a lifeline. If my colleagues were sincere in their claims that these cuts are to protect the program "for the people who need it the most," as the majority leader has claimed, then they would be investing the so-called savings back into Medicaid instead of blowing it on tax cuts for the well-off. Instead, this bill is cutting funding to States for Medicaid, and States will have no choice but to pick and choose who will get access to care.

But don't take my word for it. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, CBO, estimates that this bill will cause nearly 17 million Americans to lose their health insurance—17 million people. That is not fraud. It is just making it harder for people to get healthcare.

On top of that, even if you are one of the lucky ones who gets to keep your Medicaid, will you still be able to get care?

Nursing homes rely on Medicaid. More than 6 in 10 nursing home residents in Rhode Island are on Medicaid. As Medicaid funding is cut, what will nursing homes do? I imagine some will have to close their doors or dramatically reduce the number of beds.

So you can be one of these fairly well-to-do Rhode Islanders trying to

get mom in a nursing home and you are willing to pay, but if it is closed or there are only 5 beds where there used to be 20, she is going to be where, in my generation, grandparents were: in the living room in a hospital bed being cared for—in those days, typically by your mother.

So this approach to Medicaid is going to touch every aspect of American life, and the same can be said about the community healthcare centers. Medicaid makes up a huge portion of the operating budget for community health centers, which provide primary, dental, and behavioral care to more than 200,000 Rhode Islanders. That is roughly one in five Rhode Islanders.

It is hard enough to find a doctor now; it will only get harder if a community health center closes its doors and thousands of patients don't have a doctor anymore. And where do all those patients end up when they can't get routine care? The emergency room. That means there will be lines out the door, and if you have a serious health event and need to get in, you better get used to waiting a long time.

This is not how a health system is supposed to run. And in Rhode Island, our health system is already on the brink. People are just getting by. People are waiting in the hallways of ERs for a bed upstairs. People are spending days on the phone trying to find a doctor.

We should be making these things better, not worse. But, again, Republicans' main priority seems not to be the physical or financial health of everyday Americans; it is providing massive tax cuts to President Trump's billionaire and millionaire friends.

There is certainly nothing wrong with being successful, and there is nothing wrong with wealth. That is something that has been part of the American dream since our beginning. But what it requires is opportunity, and one of the fundamental opportunities it requires is good health and good education. What this bill will do is destroy our healthcare system and force the States to make dramatic cuts to the education system. We are shutting down opportunity in America while we enrich the wealthy elite.

The American dream, as I believe it, is about the middle class and a government that is focused on them, not taking \$1 trillion from Medicaid so Republicans can gift to those who have already benefited from many other gifts.

Let's put the enormity of this transfer to the wealthiest in perspective. There are about 128 million households in America. Yet somehow this bill gives the top one-tenth of 1 percent of households a \$250,000 tax cut—a giveaway that is over three times larger than what the median American household makes in a year.

When confronted with this point, Republicans consistently try to hide the ball. Middle- and working-class Americans are getting tax cuts too, they say. Who cares if the rich get richer? Well,

the Senate bill raises taxes on the lowest income Americans—the same families from whom Republicans are ripping away healthcare and other benefits.

While we are voting on this bill without a full analysis of its impact on households, the Congressional Budget Office found that the House-passed version would take around \$1,600 away from these lowest income households each year after accounting for tax changes and benefits cuts. And it is not just low-income Americans. Researchers at Penn's Wharton School of Business have found that most Americans lose money under the House bill in future years too.

I want to be crystal clear. We need to reform our tax system. We need to make it fairer for working Americans, not just for the ultrawealthy. We hear from people so often that government is broken. They are right. Our tax system is unfair and needs reform. But giving the top one-tenth of 1 percent of Americans an extra quarter of a million dollars every year is not fixing the government; it is just adding to the sense of unfairness and brokenness that so many citizens feel.

We can do a bipartisan tax bill that is both fully paid for and that helps average Americans. In fact, we almost did that last summer when the House passed a tax bill 357 to 70 that would have extended the child tax credit and reinstated tax cuts for businesses without increasing the deficit. Forty-eight bipartisan Senators voted for that bill in this very Chamber, but it was blocked because Republican leaders wanted to pass something like this bill before us today.

My Republican colleagues have drafted a bill that is neither paid for nor helps most Americans. Worst of all, they have chosen to take from the poor and the middle class and the working class to give to billionaires.

This bill is very bad policy. It is almost un-American if you believe that the essence of America, as expressed by one of our greatest Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, is to give every person a fair chance in the race of life. This bill denies that chance to millions and millions of Americans while enhancing and filling the pockets of the wealthiest, and I oppose it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, I am honored to follow my colleague Senator REED, and he is absolutely right that this bill is almost un-American. In fact, I would say it is un-American because it is so destructive to the middle class, to healthcare, to education, to basic fairness and decency in our great country, the greatest country in the history of the world.

It would balloon the debt and the deficit by \$4 trillion, and yet my Republican colleagues have sought to disguise and hide that reprehensible pain and damage to the American system.

It would cut Medicaid by \$930 billion, which means billions in cuts for Connecticut, hundreds of thousands of Connecticut children and families off Medicaid, food nutrition shredded, and student loans decimated.

These kinds of impacts on Connecticut are mirrored through the whole country.

And the American people are beginning to get it. That is why this bill—this so-called One Big Beautiful Bill—is so deeply unpopular—in fact, by a 2-to-1 majority.

I want to talk not only about Connecticut but two of the States that are represented by colleagues here. They are so-called red States. But make no mistake, this bill is seismically catastrophic not just for Connecticut but for the whole country and for Louisiana, where this measure, if it is passed, will mean that my colleagues from Louisiana are voting to kick roughly 250,000 people in their State off health insurance. They will be voting for a bill that could close 33 rural hospitals in their State alone and cost their State's healthcare providers \$588 million for services that newly insured patients simply will not be able to pay back. Their State program would lose \$4 billion.

That is Louisiana alone in funding.

These numbers are staggering, and they are the reason that every major health system in Louisiana is opposing this bill. Just yesterday, they sent a letter warning that cuts in this bill—and I am quoting the Louisiana healthcare providers here—"would be historic in their devastation and warrant our shared advocacy to protect our patients and the care we provide them in hospitals and clinics."

I could go on about Louisiana. I am going to abbreviate my remarks and ask unanimous consent to put my full statement in the RECORD.

This bill also reduces SNAP benefits for 206,000 Louisianians. It eliminates the benefits entirely for 94,000 of them.

I want to see my colleagues from Louisiana go home and face their constituents, having cut the legs from SNAP and the Medicaid Program and many other benefits.

And in Utah, that same tragic scenario is unfolding in a State where 337,000 children and adults depend on Medicaid. Nearly half of all children in Utah are covered by Medicaid and 59 percent of nursing home residents, and 60,000 people living in rural Utah communities are covered by Medicaid.

If this bill passes, at least 180,000 Utahns will lose healthcare coverage, and Utah's uninsured rate will increase by a staggering 67 percent. If this bill passes, 31,000 of the people in Utah could see their benefits slashed, and 13,000 would risk losing their benefits entirely.

I just want to say, in conclusion, these numbers for Connecticut, for Louisiana, for Utah, for the State of Washington—and my wonderful colleague Senator CANTWELL will be talk-

ing shortly—they are not just numbers. They are faces. They are lives. They are children who are just beginning to be Americans, and their productivity and their contributions back to America will be hamstrung. Their lives will be financially handicapped, and healthwise, they will be impaired as a result of these irresponsible and reprehensible cuts.

I couldn't be angrier about these kinds of cuts in programs, done only so that the ultrawealthy will receive tax cuts. I am willing to bet that a lot of those billionaires and millionaires would forego those tax benefits if they understood the consequences. But my Republican colleagues, who are in disarray at this moment, they can't come together on a program because they know how abhorrent its effects would be on their States. They ought to listen to the people of America, not the ultrawealthy. The people are speaking in the polls. They are speaking through their elected representatives. And they are speaking because their conscience simply won't let them support a bill that does such abhorrent damage to the American middle class, the American way of life, and American values.

I am proud to stand here. I wish we weren't here going all night into Monday morning. But I am proud to stand here with my colleagues. I just wish my Republican colleagues were on the same side of these issues, because they are going to go home, and they will have to face the children and families who will be hurt so deeply by this bill.

Mr. President, I stand here today to, again, express my staunch opposition to the proposed Republican reconciliation bill. This legislation includes sweeping cuts that would raise costs for the American people and make it harder to access health care and food.

Over the past few weeks, my Democratic colleagues and I have spoken at length about the impact this bill would have on everyday Americans. This reconciliation bill is not about savings or government efficiency. In fact, the Congressional Budget Office found just last night that it will INCREASE the deficit by \$4 trillion.

Instead, this bill funds tax cuts for billionaires by gutting life sustaining services like SNAP and Medicaid that help everyone else. It will cut \$930 billion from Medicaid—that is \$930 billion that helps states provide health care services to their residents—and lead to nearly 12 million people losing coverage. That's 12 million people who won't have health insurance when their child breaks their arm on the playground, or when they feel a lump that could be cancer.

This budget is a disaster for Connecticut.

But this budget will not just harm Connecticut. It will not just harm those living in blue states. This budget will harm Americans in every state across the country. That is why I am joining my Democratic colleagues to share some of the impacts this legislation will have on the Americans whose

Senators plan to vote for these cuts. If my Republican colleagues do not want to highlight these harms, we will.

In Louisiana, nearly 2 million people are enrolled in Medicaid. This includes 64% percent of moms giving birth, 54% percent of children, and 74% percent of seniors in nursing homes. One-fifth of Louisiana's Medicaid population lives in a rural area where access to coverage is already difficult.

Medicaid also supports school health professionals, like speech pathologists, occupational therapists and school psychologists. Without Medicaid, many of the 96,000 students with disabilities in Louisiana schools could have essential services ripped away from them. Is Louisiana expected to pick up the bill for these kids? Will the parents be forced to pay? Or will these children just lose out on these services entirely because their legislators decided that tax cuts for the rich are more important?

Currently, the state of Louisiana receives \$13 billion in federal Medicaid funding every year. That means that my colleagues from Louisiana are voting to kick roughly 250,000 people in Louisiana off their health insurance. The majority of the Louisiana Congressional Delegation is poised to vote for a bill that could close 33 rural hospitals and cost the state's health care providers \$588 million for services that newly uninsured patients simply will not be able to pay back. The state Medicaid program would lose \$4 billion in funding.

These numbers are staggering, but they will never fully capture the impact on Louisiana families. How many couples will now have to pay out of pocket if they want to have a baby? How many will simply forgo having a child altogether? How many grandparents will see their care worsen because of cuts to nursing homes? How many kids will miss a doctor's appointment because mom and dad can't afford to pay the bill? These cuts aren't just numbers—they will impact lives and livelihoods for everyone, even those who keep their coverage.

That is why every major health system in Louisiana is opposing this bill. Just yesterday, they sent a letter warning that the cuts in this bill, and I am quoting Louisiana health care providers here, "would be historic in their devastation and warrant our shared advocacy to protect our patients and the care we provide them at our hospitals and clinics."

That is straight from the people providing care in Louisiana. Historic devastation for the state.

The letter went on to say, and I quote: "[The] economic consequences pale in comparison to the harm that will be caused to residents across the state, regardless of insurance status, who will no longer be able to get the care that they need."

The letter highlighted nearly 17,000 jobs likely to be lost in the State and tens of millions of dollars in lost rev-

enue. It is just senseless. It is a senseless cut to the State's budget, to the State's health care system, and to the State's economy.

However, Republicans are not stopping there. They are also going after SNAP benefits.

In Louisiana, one in six people live with food insecurity. The SNAP program helps. This federal program feeds hungry people. That is it. That is what the program does. SNAP supports 849,163 people in Louisiana, including over 22,000 veterans, 33% of households with older adults, and 50% of households with children. That means 377,258 children in Louisiana were fed, in part, by SNAP. This bill would reduce SNAP for 206,000 Louisianans and eliminate the benefit entirely for 94,000.

I want to be clear about what this means. SNAP feeds people. These taxpayer dollars make sure children and veterans have enough food to eat. They make sure our friends and loved ones who have fallen on hard times don't go hungry. They make sure our neighbors can afford to share a meal with family.

We can debate day and night about our Federal spending, but this funding—keeping our Nation fed—should not be controversial. But this bill will force people to go hungry. It will force kids to lose out on school meals. It will overwhelm already stretched Louisiana food banks. People facing hunger in Louisiana report needing an estimated \$528 million more per year to meet their food needs. This bill will exacerbate that. Simply put, the Federal cuts in this bill will force people in Louisiana to go hungry or pay more at the grocery store.

A similar and tragic scenario would unfold in Utah where 337,000 children and adults depend on Medicaid. Nearly half of all children in Utah are covered by Medicaid, 59% of nursing home residents in Utah are covered by Medicaid, and 60,000 people living in rural Utah communities are covered by Medicaid. If this bill passes at least 180,000 Utahns will lose health coverage, and Utah's uninsured rate will increase by a staggering 67%.

As a result of this bill, Utah's health care system will lose an estimated \$559 million per year in Federal funding, making it nearly impossible for the State to maintain current levels of coverage, benefits, and payments to providers.

Providers in Utah are speaking out. Kasey Shakespear, from the Rural Health Association of Utah, said of the bill, and I am quoting him here: "It's going to dramatically reduce the support rural Utah is getting from the state of Utah and take a lot of resources away from them that are crucial to their success."

An OB-GYN from Utah specifically spoke about the impact of the Republican bill on pregnant women and their newborn infants. He said: "I don't think I can count the number of times where Medicaid has made a difference in my practice."

He told us about the women he saw in his practice who, because of Medicaid coverage, were able to bring home a healthy baby. Moms in Utah who did not have to worry about accessing care or how to pay for coverage, and whose pregnancy complications were kept to a minimum as a result. This Utah doctor said, and I am quoting him again here: "If Congress slashes Medicaid funding, this kind of care disappears for thousands of Utahns."

Do my colleagues from Utah really support taking away support for new moms and their children?

Utahns will also face greater food insecurity. Right now, one in seven people in the State struggle to put food on the table and more than 178,000 residents depend on SNAP. This include nearly 5,000 veterans, 56% of households with children, and 32% of households with older adults.

If this bill passes, 31,000 Utahns could see their benefits slashed and 13,000 would be at risk of losing their benefits entirely. This could have severe consequences for the Utah Food Bank, the primary food bank distributing food to a network of over 200 partner agencies across the state.

These statistics are not just numbers, and these cuts are not abstract. They represent real people, real families, and real harm. It is our duty to protect our constituents, but it is also our duty to protect the American people. As U.S. Senators, we were not elected by a political party. We were elected by the constituents in our States who entrusted us with the responsibility of representing and protecting them at the highest level.

In publishing this reconciliation bill forward, my Republican colleagues are prioritizing partisan loyalty.

My Republican colleagues have access to the same data that I do. They know how devastating this bill would be and I implore them to remember that their responsibility is to their constituents, and the people of the country, and not to President Trump and his billionaire cronies.

I want to conclude by reading from the letter that Louisiana healthcare organizations sent. The letter ends by saying, and I quote the Louisiana healthcare community here: "Protecting Medicaid is not just about avoiding budget cuts; it is a commitment to our shared values of community, resilience, and economic vitality."

The letter goes on, and I quote: "We take no pleasure in having to speculate about the impact of these cuts. However, in light of the cuts being proposed, we must have honest conversations together, and with you—the communities we serve. Louisiana and our healthcare delivery system are at a crossroads. We face the largest cut to healthcare in our state's history. Will our leaders in Washington choose to protect the health of our people, hospitals and economy? We are counting on them to do so."

Mr. President, all of us, in Connecticut, in Utah, and in Louisiana, are counting on them, too. Let's hope our commitment to shared values rises above partisan politics, and that this devastating bill can be voted down.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I rise to ask my colleagues to turn down this legislation in front of us—to reject it and instead work together on fiscal policy that would help us by growing our economy more successfully and not devastating for our constituents.

Before I start, I want to thank the Presiding Officer for speaking up about not selling public lands. I very much appreciate his voice in that debate—and critical that we were able to successfully get that out of this legislation.

I want to work across the aisle to talk about these policies so that we can move our country forward in a competitive fashion. But I am afraid that what we have in front of us is not the answer to what will make America competitive, particularly at a time when we are putting tariffs on American imported products, when we are basically getting into a trade war, and when we are devastating what I think is the underpinning of the economy of today, that is an Information Age innovation economy, and here we are devastating all of our investments in NIH and NSF and in the competitiveness that we just implemented in the IRA and the CHIPS and Science Act that is making us the envy of countries around the world for innovation.

We do have great capital markets, and those capital markets help us innovate. And I think some of my colleagues think, well, we have a promise to families here to give them a tax break, and while many of us would support that, you are asking us also to give tax breaks to big corporations before they can get their tax break.

And that, we don't like. We don't like it because it raises the cost on everybody, and that cost for middle-class and lower-income people will be devastating, particularly at a time when we continue with this tariff policy.

This bill would make the entire healthcare system less responsive and more expensive for everyone by dismantling Medicaid and shifting more of the cost burden onto States and threatening the very existence of rural hospitals.

This bill also sells spectrum out from under our national defense and safety Agencies and forces States to choose between protecting their citizens from dangerous AI or providing broadband service. And it just gives away big breaks to companies like Meta—that is Facebook—or Google, who I am sure at this point in time don't really need that additional tax break.

Clearly, though, the most egregious and certainly most destructive part of this reconciliation is the changes to

healthcare—the fact that 17 million people will be uninsured and raise the cost on everyone. This is from the Congressional Budget Office.

We don't need to be raising healthcare costs on our constituents. The CBO analysis revealed that hasty, negotiated updates by Republicans discussed behind closed doors early Saturday morning, added that \$130 billion in Medicaid cuts to the bill. That is a whopping \$930 billion in total Medicaid cuts.

That is how CBO got to this number of 17 million people. The challenge is, nobody marked up a bill in committee. Nobody even had a hearing where somebody presented this information. No, this is all being changed on a daily basis, and everybody is trying to catch up, but what we are really trying to do is fight for our constituents and make sure that we know the impacts.

The impacts of these 17 million people will be severe cuts felt in every corner of the United States. State governments will be the first to feel the tsunami of cuts, and unlike the Federal Government, they must balance their budget, so they can't borrow the money to make up for the deficit.

In our State, the State of Washington, our Governor and legislators have to grapple with an estimated \$3 billion shortfall that this will bring to them as a result of this many people losing coverage.

Friday, I held a virtual press conference with a group of Republican State representatives. A Republican Utah State Representative Ray Ward, who just also happens to be a physician, warned that these cuts will amount to \$1 billion budget deficit per year in his State of Utah. That budget shortfall forces his State government to make some very difficult decisions. They have to decide whether to cut reimbursements to providers, cut medical services, cut more people off the rolls, or make drastic measures like increasing everyone's taxes.

Kevin Leonard and Steve Hobbs, one of them is the executive director of the Association of County Commissioners of North Carolina and the other a former Missouri representative, basically said, as county government leaders and State leaders, they are worried that this bill basically is an unfunded mandate on them. Commissioner Hobbs said where they will feel it most is that services like behavioral treatment will now have to be provided through the jails instead of a medical setting.

Our own Peninsula Behavioral Health expert, who was on the call, basically said that in their region of our State, this could be as much as a 25-percent to 45-percent cut in behavioral health.

So that is what happens when you cut people off of Medicaid. The amount of money, since \$1 in \$5 is a Medicaid dollar, you are going to take that much out of the system. These people do not operate on wild, profitable margins, oftentimes barely breaking even, or in behavioral health, oftentimes losing money.

But I guarantee you, if instead of seeing this Medicaid population in a behavioral health setting, you think you are going to see them in the emergency room or a jail, it is going to cost us a lot more money. It is going to cost our State, our county, and the local region a lot more money.

Not only will this bill diminish their Medicaid revenues, but it will also increase the uncompensated care some are estimating to be \$42 billion. Our rural hospitals, our rural healthcare challenges will be devastating.

In Washington, over 300,000 people will lose health insurance. And these are people who were easily treatable. Conditions that if you treat them, chances are they will be dealt with. But now, if you don't treat them, they are going to go to the emergency room, and they are going to raise costs on everyone.

These families depend on this care. Last week, I spoke on the floor about one of my constituents. Britton Winterrose talked about his daughter Leda, a 5-year-old girl who had a rare condition where she stops breathing in her sleep if she doesn't have oxygen. Mr. Winterrose talked about how, even though he had a very expensive platinum plan, it didn't cover her costs. And just by doing this Medicaid and covering their cost, basically they have saved her life, and they have enjoyed her, in the many years that they have given to them.

Why are we making the Winterroses sweat over whether their daughter is going to be able to keep Medicaid, about whether the whole system in their part of our State is going to be able to keep doing Medicaid?

Right now, people are estimating that 5.4 million people will get pushed into medical debt because of healthcare and the cuts in this bill, the total amount of medical debt that Americans will owe will increase by \$50 billion. So is it really worth it to take \$880 billion—or whatever it is now—\$930 billion out of Medicaid, so that you are actually increasing the personal debt of people, making counties basically have unsustainable budgets, or having State legislatures come back in to cover our costs? As one of these commissioners said, this is nothing more than cost shifting to the States. It is irresponsible.

According to the Center for American Progress, a 60-year-old couple, who will be in the Affordable Care market today, making \$85,000 a year, could see their annual premiums raise as much as \$15,400.

Why? Because when you have uncompensated care and you basically kick people out of Medicaid and off of the Affordable Care Act, what you are going to do is raise premiums on all of us.

A low-income Medicare recipient also qualifying for Medicaid could see their costs go up as much as \$8,340. So why

are we doing this? And the out-of-pocket expenses, now, that a Medicaid person has to pay for, they could be paying as much as \$1,650. You want to do that to give a tax break to Google and Facebook? That is why you are doing this? The tax break that you want to give them—multinationals.

And I could just say for a minute about this, when the 2017 tax bill came along and everybody said, the corporate rate is too high. We need to have our companies be competitive around the world. I would have considered lowering that rate to something. In fact, my colleague Senator KAINE from Virginia proposed something. But we didn't accept that. Instead, they lowered it to a very low rate, and then said, this year, we will smidge it back up. That means they will increase it back up a little bit this year. That was their plan.

But somehow, these multinational corporations have got to my colleagues on this side of the aisle and basically said, "Give us the same rate that we had in 2017." Now, the reason I didn't support that in 2017 is because it was kind of ludicrous. You were saying to companies like Microsoft, "We'll give you a tax break," I don't think they really needed that big of a tax break, and "But by the way, we're going to raise taxes on the people who work at Microsoft. We are going to raise, because of the SALT deduction, we're going to raise your taxes."

So, literally, hundreds of thousands of people in my State paid higher taxes to do what? Give Microsoft a tax break, which they gave in dividends. Now, did that help our economy? Did that help really grow our economy? I am pretty sure the innovation at Microsoft helped grow our economy. I am pretty sure the people who hustled on AI helped grow our economy. I am sure the investments that we made at Agencies across our Federal Government helped us meet the challenges that we are facing in innovation and competition from China, not that dividend. But now we are doubling up again. And how much is that multinational tax break? Over \$200 billion.

So literally, you could take half of that money, and you could give it to Medicaid instead and not cut Medicaid. Now, let's see, tax breaks to Meta and Google or paying for Medicaid? Tax breaks for Facebook and Meta—the same company now changing their name—and Google—or making sure there's enough revenue to pay for Medicaid?

This is ludicrous: the notion that we are continuing to make big corporations the priority when they knew this tax extension was not coming. And I am pretty sure if you look at the numbers that you see from Facebook—Meta—and Google, you will see they don't really need a tax break. They are doing pretty well right now.

So the budget reconciliation bill really threatens our progress on healthcare. Now, let me explain what I

mean by that. It is not enough to just say that this healthcare issue that we are really winning the day, when you look at what happened to us in healthcare, when our whole goal of doing the Affordable Care Act was to basically get more people covered under insurance. Why? Because we wanted to lower all the costs on healthcare overall. We wanted healthcare costs to go down, and we wanted the cost of premiums and the cost to individuals to go down and to be more like the rate of inflation: 3 percent to 4 percent. That has been our goal forever—forever.

And so, prior to the Affordable Care Act, rates on an annual basis—think about this—on an annual basis, your healthcare premiums, your healthcare costs, were generally rising about 5.4 percent a year. OK. Who could keep up with that? Who could keep up with every year your healthcare costs continuing to rise?

And so we did the Affordable Care Act—and guess what? We did get that into the rate of inflation. I think there is more we could have done. Lots of things happened in between, but we literally got it down to 3.7 percent, and we did that by covering more people.

The audacity of my colleagues over here to now claim that Medicaid expenses got too expensive when, in reality, we made this choice to drive down these premium costs, so they were only rising close to inflation, and that was our goal, and we succeeded.

So what are we doing now? Well, under the GOP plan, Wakely Healthcare Institute and the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, these are numbers that come from them, the GOP plan will now go back to raising your premiums and your healthcare costs between 7 percent and 11 percent a year—a year.

Right? So we are going to go blowing way past the 5.4 percent; we are going to go back here. And why? Because you are going to cut off millions of people from healthcare. You are going to increase the cost of uncompensated care. You are going to make people wait to go to emergency rooms, and then they are going to be sicker, and that is going to cost—I don't know how much it costs, but it is definitely a multiple of five or more.

I don't know if it is—what do you think it is, KEVIN, an emergency room? Ten. OK, 10. He says 10. It is 10 times more expensive to deal with somebody at an emergency room than to just get health insurance and get covered.

OK. So now we want to know, why are we raising the cost on everybody's health insurance, including these plans because this side of the aisle basically wants to cut a bunch of people out of a system that lowered the cost of healthcare plans overall and kept it more in the rate of inflation? Why? Why would you want to do this?

So it makes no sense, and I hope our colleagues will think long and hard about that. I also think that you could

still take the Google, Meta tax break for multinationals and pay for \$100 billion and cover the Medicaid.

You could take another \$100 billion from that big tax break, and you could pay for some of the energy tax credits that were so essential to combating the Chinese in what they are doing on the clean energy front. The Chinese firms are doing everything they can to invest and undercut the United States in EV and battery technology. The U.S. is responding aggressively to that. That is why we did the Inflation Reduction Act.

In fact, because of the Inflation Reduction Act, we basically enacted more than 2,000 new clean energy industrial manufacturing facilities, more than 980,000 private sector jobs, and more than 3.4 million Americans claimed clean energy tax credits that improve their efficiencies. In fact, the Joint Economic Committee estimated that the typical household could save between \$460 and \$1,000 in annual energy costs thanks to the Inflation Reduction Act.

But what do we have now? We have President Trump and inflation. We have inflation because of multiple issues, consumers struggling to keep up amid higher prices, mounting debt and fiscal uncertainty. That is what we have.

And so we are reversing the very tax credits that help lower the cost and were going to help us be competitive against China and help us succeed as a nation. And the one thing that I always think the United States is really great at, and that is innovation. I don't know if it just started with Ben Franklin or many other people along the way, but you give Americans the task, and they will do the job. If you give them the education, if you give them the R&D with a university partner, they will get the job done.

And so now, don't take my word for it. Take Mr. Musk's word for it: "The latest Senate draft bill [will destroy] millions of jobs in America and causes immense strategic harm to our country. Utterly insane, destructive. It gives handouts to the industries of the past while severely damaging the industries of the future."

Yeah, he said it best.

But back to that chart. We were doing the energy because we wanted to diversify, but we also wanted to lower costs, and we wanted to be competitive. Right here, it says the vehicle, vehicle, vehicle, OK? Natural gas, propane. OK. That is why we were diversifying—because all those things are going up.

So this bill is not going to help electricity. You are getting rid of the electricity tax credit. So again, instead of helping Meta and helping Google, you could be helping to lower the inflationary cost by making the investments in these tax credits.

But, Mr. President, there is more in this bill that I don't like. My colleague from Texas is proposing an AI moratorium. He literally wants to stop States

from regulating the rollout of autonomous vehicles like Texas Governor Greg Abbott, who signed a law last week to regulate how autonomous vehicles are licensed and deployed in Texas. And how do proponents of this moratorium propose to get started? By holding broadband money hostage unless you implement an AI moratorium.

Well, I know what the Heritage Foundation said. The Heritage Foundation said that the Federal AI power grab could end State protection for kids and workers. Again, you are giving States a big fat bill, and now, you are trying to override laws that have been on the books for a long time, protecting consumers from fraud, from abuse, and they are there to protect kids, and now, you want to get rid of them. So it is no surprise that stakeholders on the right and left opposed this in the bill—they include 17 Republican Governors and 40 attorneys general from both Democrats and Republicans, and other organizations ranging from the Heritage Foundation to the Center for American Progress.

So anytime you can get the Center for American Progress and the Heritage Foundation on the same side of an issue, chances are you should be listening to what they have to say.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD this letter from the National Association of Attorneys General.

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

May 16, 2025.

DEAR SPEAKER JOHNSON, MAJORITY LEADER THUNE, MINORITY LEADER JEFFRIES, AND MINORITY LEADER SCHUMER: We, the undersigned attorneys general (the “State AGs”), write to voice our opposition to the amendment added by the U.S. House Energy and Commerce Committee to the budget reconciliation bill that imposes a 10-year prohibition on states from enforcing any state law or regulation addressing artificial intelligence (“AI”) and automated decision-making systems. The impact of such a broad moratorium would be sweeping and wholly destructive of reasonable state efforts to prevent known harms associated with AI. This bill will affect hundreds of existing and pending state laws passed and considered by both Republican and Democratic state legislatures. Some existing laws have been on the books for many years.

The promise of AI raises exciting and important possibilities. But, like any emerging technology, there are risks to adoption without responsible, appropriate, and thoughtful oversight. In the absence of federal action to install this oversight, over the years, states have considered and passed legislation to address a wide range of harms associated with AI and automated decision-making. These include laws designed to protect against AI-generated explicit material, prohibit deepfakes designed to mislead voters and consumers, protect renters when algorithms are used to set rent, prevent spam phone calls and texts, require basic disclosures when consumers are interacting with specific kinds of AI, and ensure identity protection for endorsements and other AI-generated content. Perhaps most notably, of the twenty states that have enacted comprehensive data privacy legislation, the overwhelming majority included provisions that give con-

sumers the right to opt out of specific kinds of consequential, automated decision-making and require risk assessments before a business can use high-risk automated profiling.

As evidenced by this brief overview, states are enforcing and considering not just laws that seek to regulate AI or automated decision-making more generally, but also carefully tailored laws targeting specific harms related to the use of AI. These laws and their regulations have been developed over years through careful consideration and extensive stakeholder input from consumers, industry, and advocates. And, in the years ahead, additional matters—many unforeseeable today given the rapidly evolving nature of this technology—are likely to arise.

A bipartisan coalition of State Attorneys General previously recommended that an appropriate federal framework for AI governance should focus on “high risk” AI systems and emphasize “robust transparency, reliable testing and assessment requirements, and after-the-fact enforcement.” In that letter, the coalition stated that State Attorneys General should:

... have concurrent enforcement authority in any Federal regulatory regime governing AI. Significantly, State AG authority can enable more effective enforcement to redress possible harms. Consumers already turn to state Attorneys General offices to raise concerns and complaints, positioning our offices as trusted intermediaries that can elevate concerns and take action on smaller cases

Rather than follow the recommendation from the bipartisan coalition of State Attorneys General, the amendment added to the reconciliation bill abdicates federal leadership and mandates that all states abandon their leadership in this area as well. This bill does not propose *any* regulatory scheme to replace or supplement the laws enacted or currently under consideration by the states, leaving Americans entirely unprotected from the potential harms of AI. Moreover, this bill purports to wipe away any state-level frameworks already in place.

Imposing a broad moratorium on all state action while Congress fails to act in this area is irresponsible and deprives consumers of reasonable protections. State AGs have stepped in to protect their citizens from a myriad of privacy and social media harms after witnessing, over a period of years, the fallout caused by tech companies’ implementation of new technology coupled with a woefully inadequate federal response. In the face of Congressional inaction on the emergence of real-world harms raised by the use of AI, states are likely to be the forum for addressing such issues. This bill would directly harm consumers, deprive them of rights currently held in many states, and prevent State AGs from fulfilling their mandate to protect consumers.

To the extent Congress is truly willing and able to wrestle with the opportunities and challenges raised by the emergence of AI, we stand ready to work with you and welcome federal partnership along the lines recommended earlier. And we acknowledge the uniquely federal and critical national security issues at play and wholeheartedly agree that our nation must be the AI superpower. This moratorium is the opposite approach, however, neither respectful to states nor responsible public policy. As such, we respectfully request that Congress reject the AI moratorium language added to the budget reconciliation bill.

Sincerely,

Phil Weiser, Colorado Attorney General;
Jonathan Skrametti, Tennessee Attorney General;
Gwen Tauiilili-Langkilde, American Samoa Attorney General;

Tim Griffin, Arkansas Attorney General; William Tong, Connecticut Attorney General; Brian Schwab, District of Columbia Attorney General; John M. Formella, New Hampshire Attorney General; Charity Clark, Vermont Attorney General; Kris Mayes, Arizona Attorney General; Rob Bonta, California Attorney General.

Kathleen Jennings, Delaware Attorney General; Anne E. Lopez, Hawaii Attorney General; Kwame Raoul, Illinois Attorney General; Kris Kobach, Kansas Attorney General; Aaron M. Frey, Maine Attorney General; Andrea Joy Campbell, Massachusetts Attorney General; Keith Ellison, Minnesota Attorney General; Todd Rokita, Indiana Attorney General; Liz Murrill, Louisiana Attorney General; Anthony G. Brown, Maryland Attorney General.

Dana Nessel, Michigan Attorney General; Lynn Fitch, Mississippi Attorney General; Aaron D. Ford, Nevada Attorney General; Raúl Torrez, New Mexico Attorney General; Jeff Jackson, North Carolina Attorney General; Dave Yost, Ohio Attorney General; Dan Rayfield, Oregon Attorney General; Peter F. Neronha, Rhode Island Attorney General; Matthew J. Platkin, New Jersey Attorney General; Letitia James, New York Attorney General.

Drew H. Wrigley, North Dakota Attorney General; Gentner Drummond, Oklahoma Attorney General; Dave Sunday, Pennsylvania Attorney General; Alan Wilson, South Carolina Attorney General; Marty Jackley, South Dakota Attorney General; Derek Brown, Utah Attorney General; Nick Brown, Washington Attorney General; Gordon C. Rhea, U.S. Virgin Islands Attorney General; Jason S. Miyares, Virginia Attorney General; Joshua L. Kaul, Wisconsin Attorney General.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, this bill would affect hundreds—I am quoting now from this letter: “This bill will affect hundreds of existing and pending state laws passed and considered by both Republican and Democratic state legislatures. Some existing laws have been on the books for many years.”

So these are attorneys general from a variety of States who basically know the laws on their books, and they are basically saying, Don’t do this to us. Don’t ever override our laws.

Mr. President, I would also like to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter from 17 Republican Governors also against this provision.

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

JUNE 27, 2025.

Hon. JOHN THUNE,
Majority Leader, Senate,
Washington, DC.

Hon. MIKE JOHNSON,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR LEADER THUNE AND SPEAKER JOHNSON: President Trump’s One, Big, Beautiful Bill is a win for the American people, cutting taxes, moving welfare recipients off the path to dependency and onto the path to prosperity, growing the economy, and helping secure the border.

While the legislation overall is very strong, there is one small portion of it that threatens to undo all the work states have

done to protect our citizens from the misuse of artificial intelligence. As Republican Governors, we are writing to encourage congressional leadership to strip this provision from the bill before it goes to President Trump's desk for his signature.

In just the past year, states have led on smart regulations of the AI industry that simultaneously protect consumers while also encouraging this ever-developing and critical sector. In Arkansas, for example, the Legislature created basic copyright guidelines for generative AI, protected Arkansans from the nonconsensual use of their likeness, and prohibited the creation of sexually explicit AI images of real people—especially children. Similarly, Utah law requires disclosure if someone is interacting with AI and creates other consumer protections. Other states have made or are in the process of creating similar reforms—commonsense changes that every state, and Congress, should get behind.

As it's currently drafted, though, this provision added by Congress would prohibit these commonsense protections from going into effect for ten years, instead waiting on some as-yet-unwritten regulations to come from Congress.

AI is already deeply entrenched in American industry and society; people will be at risk until basic rules ensuring safety and fairness can go into effect. Over the next decade, this novel technology will be used throughout our society, for harm and good. It will significantly alter our industries, jobs, and ways of life, and rebuild how we as a people function in profound and fundamental ways. That Congress is burying a provision that will strip the right of any state to regulate this technology in any way—without a thoughtful public debate—is the antithesis of what our Founders envisioned.

We fully recognize that AI dominance is the next front in industrial competition between the United States and adversaries like Communist China. States have led on anti-Communist Chinese action, banning Communist Chinese-affiliated companies from owning farmland and property around critical infrastructure and military bases. But America should not sacrifice the health, safety, and prosperity of its people in this fight. We must curb AI's worst excesses while also encouraging its growth, which is exactly what states have done through the creation of their own regulatory frameworks.

As Republican Governors, we support the One, Big, Beautiful Bill and President Trump's vision of American AI dominance, but we cannot support a provision that takes away states' powers to protect our citizens. Let states function as the laboratories of democracy they were intended to be and allow state leaders to protect our people.

Sincerely,

Governor Kay Ivey, State of Alabama; Governor Brian Kemp, State of Georgia; Governor Jeff Landry, State of Louisiana; Governor Jim Pillen, State of Nebraska; Governor Mike Dunleavy, State of Alaska; Governor Brad Little, State of Idaho; Governor Mike Kehoe, State of Missouri; Governor Kelly Armstrong, State of North Dakota.

Governor Sarah Sanders, State of Arkansas; Governor Kim Reynolds, State of Iowa; Governor Greg Gianforte, State of Montana; Governor Kevin Stitt, State of Oklahoma; Governor Henry Dargan McMaster, State of South Carolina; Governor Spencer Cox, State of Utah; Governor Larry Rhoden, State of South Dakota; Governor Mark Gordon, State of Wyoming; Governor Bill Lee, State of Tennessee.

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, their letter I would like to read from is real-

ly about this point I was trying to make about fighting China. I mean, I thought we were here to be competitive against them, to basically beat them in a race on innovation, just like we did with CHIPS and Science to try to move for the future.

But basically their letter says:

We fully recognize that AI is dominant in the next industrial competition between the United States and adversaries like Communist China. States have led anti-Communist Chinese action banning Chinese-affiliated companies from owning farmland and property critical for infrastructure and military bases. But America should not sacrifice the health and safety and prosperity of its people in this fight. We must curb AI's worst excesses while also encouraging growth, which is exactly what states have done through their creation of their own regulatory framework.

So they are basically saying the States are on the frontlines of helping to protect on AI.

Now, Mr. President, I have no idea why the President of the United States has not protected the American people or the American military from the Chinese scams that are happening on TikTok. We would never let China own ABC News and put out Chinese Communist propaganda on ABC News, but we let them do that on TikTok.

This body and our colleagues said, No, stop that, and stop the Chinese. And yet we still haven't stopped the Chinese. So now, here we are in this bill cutting out the States' abilities to fight Chinese AI companies like DeepSeek or Alibaba—and they have no interest in stopping the scammers from using their AI products to harm Americans. They have none.

And if you think we are going to pass something here, I am always ready to sign up to get legislation done, but that isn't going to happen anytime soon. And so now you are telling these Governors, these attorneys general, yep, I am not even going to let you fight China because I am going to take that tool away from you. So clearly, I don't support this part of the legislation, and I appreciate my colleague from Tennessee and her attorney general working on this very important issue.

And finally, I come to the issue of spectrum. This is a very ill-conceived plan to auction off our precious spectrum. Such an auction will fundamentally compromise our defense capabilities, while endangering aviation and important Federal capabilities like weather forecasting and scientific research. This bill would require an auction of 800 megahertz of spectrum critical to our military and civilian infrastructure. It would compromise military radio frequencies and weather and other spectrum issues, most importantly, drone operations. And I know the Presiding Officer knows how much drones are now at the epicenter and forefront of warfare and is reshaping the battlefields across the globe. So why would we do this?

Well, my colleague Senator CRUZ is pushing for something that experts say

would risk military operations. Last Congress, we got the Department of Defense and the Department of Commerce to agree that we should testbed the next generation of technology because we don't like interference.

Now, I am sure most Americans sitting at home are thinking, What is she talking about? Well, if you drive in a car and you have a radio station and, all of a sudden, the radio station doesn't get its signal or has some interference, you know that there is an issue. The tower—not big enough, not strong enough—this is the same.

This radio spectrum has been used by Department of Defense for secure purposes, very important secure purposes. Mr. President, think of the Chinese balloon and the fact that we want to detect when a Chinese balloon is flying through our airspace. We want to be able to stop people from spying on the United States of America. And yet, instead of basically saying we are going to look at this military spectrum and make sure that it continues to be secure, my colleague is suggesting to all of us that we sell that and basically allow, I believe, for what is going to be a good amount of interference without solving this problem first.

Why does that bother me? Because I think we live in a world where you are going to see more and more spectrum, more and more warfare based on satellite and communication, and the landscape is changing. So I certainly don't want our military preparedness to be affected.

Air Force leaders warned that spectrum bands are crucial to this radar operations, and I am not going to go into more about why, but I am just saying, just like you can't have four radio stations basically interfering with each other, my colleagues want to allow the major telcos, mostly AT&T and Verizon, who are so hungry to sell more, whatever it is, \$79.99 plans or \$59.99 plans, they literally are going to give away national security just so they can sell more telephone plans.

In fact, I would ask them, what have you done to clean up the last disaster that you had when the Chinese hacked you on Salt Typhoon? Now, they didn't successfully hack the telecom company in my State because they were smart enough to do all the preparatory work not to be hacked. But these guys didn't do the work, and now, they are up here pushing our colleagues to say, give us more, give us more, give us more, without doing the homework required to figure out how to make sure our military is protected.

But what is even more infuriating is they want the same spectrum from our airlines as well. They want to cause confusion between the spectrum of aviation and in this telecommunication. Last time the Trump administration did this, there was a major, major debate, and the White House and the Biden administration had to come in and fix it.

It is all related to the altimeter on a plane. Again, the Presiding Officer

knows this well. An altimeter helps tell the plane what altitude they are at and what to do. But if you have interference with that altimeter, as we just saw in this helicopter accident—we are pretty sure now that this accident between an American regional jet and an Army helicopter, there were some altimeter issues, and that caused a discrepancy and a crash. So I am not for any interference with an aviation altimeter. I am not for it.

But instead of figuring this out, working together—both commercial and defense—we are jamming into a bill the overriding of the defense interests and saying, just give it to these two commercial bidders, maybe more, who then will basically just feel empowered to sell more of these telco plans.

Mr. President, our competitiveness is too important. Our effectiveness is too important. Collaboration and working together to solve these problems is how the United States is going to succeed. Basically trying to pit each other against each other in these kind of technology issues is not going to help us win.

I have outlined many issues here, and I have outlined how you could fund Medicaid without basically doing what we are doing here. There is no reason, according to the Penn Wharton budget model and analysis, families in the first 40 percent of earners are, on average, projected to experience losses in aftertax income and benefit transfers.

In other words, yes, extending the 2017 tax cuts does help some middle class families, and we would support that, but all the hits in other areas like health insurance mean they will actually lose money overall. The lowest 20 percent of income brackets are hit even harder. So in this massive bill, it is those who can least afford it who are going to be hit the hardest.

We don't need the Trump inflation. We need to protect healthcare. We need to make progress in America's competitiveness. But this is not the answer, and I encourage my colleagues to vote against it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, President Trump's so-called Big Beautiful Bill, now on the floor of the Senate, is the most dangerous piece of legislation in the modern history of our country. It is a gift to the billionaire class, while causing massive pain to low-income and working-class Americans. Actually, though, I am wrong. This is not a gift to the billionaire class. They paid for it.

This bill is an absolute reflection of a corrupt campaign finance system which allows billionaires to buy elections. And when billionaires spend hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars trying to elect a President or a Senator or a Member of Congress, they are not making that investment just for the fun of it; they want something

in return. And this legislation—big time—is what they are getting in return.

So what is in this bill that they invested in? Well, if you are in the top 1 percent, you and the class you represent will receive a \$975 billion tax break—\$975 billion tax break, at a time when the richest people in this country have never, ever had it so good.

Further—this is really quite unbelievable—if you are among the wealthiest two-tenths of 1 percent—I am not talking about 1 percent; I am talking about the top two-tenths of 1 percent—you will be able to pay zero taxes on your \$30 million inheritance.

So all of you folks out there who are waiting to inherit at least \$30 million, today is a good day for you. Collectively, you will receive approximately \$211 billion in tax breaks for the top two-tenths of 1 percent. Congratulations, you hit the jackpot.

If you are a large corporation and you want to throw workers out on the street and replace them with artificial intelligence, or maybe you want to shift your profits to the Cayman Islands or other tax havens, you are going to get a \$918 billion tax break. Congratulations to the CEOs of large, profitable corporations.

While the rich and large corporations make out like bandits in this bill, what does it do for low-income and working families? Well, let me say a few words on that.

If you are concerned about healthcare, which I suspect that everybody in the world is, this bill throws over 16 million people off the health insurance they have—according to the Congressional Budget Office—by cutting Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act by over \$1.1 trillion. In other words, the top 1 percent are getting a \$975 billion tax break, and that is coming directly by throwing 16 million people off of the health insurance they have.

This bill, for the first time, forces millions of Medicaid recipients, who make as little as \$16,000 a year, to pay a \$35 copayment every time they visit a doctor's office.

So what is the impact of all of that? You throw 16 million off healthcare, you force people who don't have any money to pay a \$35 copayment, so what is the impact of it? This is not my view. This is what the Yale School of Public Health and University of Pennsylvania determined based on a study that they did. This is the result—and it is almost so horrific, so grotesque that it is difficult to speak about, but they estimate that if this bill goes through with all of these cuts in healthcare, if 16 million people are thrown off the insurance they have, over 50,000 Americans will die unnecessarily every year—50,000 Americans will die unnecessarily in order to give tax breaks to billionaires who don't need them. In other words, this bill is literally a death sentence for low-income and working-class people.

Further, if this legislation is enacted, rural hospitals all over the country—and I come from one of the most rural States in America. Rural hospitals are already struggling. But when you make massive cuts to Medicaid, many of them are going to shut down or not be able to provide the level of services they do today. In other words, this bill would be a disaster for rural America.

It would also make massive cuts to community health centers and nursing homes, which are very heavily dependent upon Medicaid funding.

The bottom line is that this legislation is the most significant attack on the healthcare needs of the American people in our country's history.

We already have, as everybody knows, a healthcare system which is broken, which is dysfunctional. And instead of addressing it, instead of doing what every other major country I know does—guarantee healthcare to all people—we are throwing 16 million people off the health insurance that they have.

But it is not just healthcare. The future of America rests with our children, and yet in a nation which now has the highest rate of childhood poverty of almost any major country on Earth, this bill wipes out nutrition assistance for millions of hungry kids in America.

We are literally taking food out of the mouths of hungry kids to give tax breaks to Mr. Bezos and Mr. Musk and Mr. Zuckerberg and the other multi-billionaires.

If we understand that if we are going to compete effectively in the global economy we need to have the best education system in the world, this bill makes \$350 billion in cuts in education, with the result that working-class kids will find it much harder to get the higher education they need to succeed in life.

If you are concerned about the existential threat of climate change—and we are seeing heat waves right now all over the world—this bill decimates investments in energy efficiency and sustainable energy like wind and solar and moves us in exactly the wrong direction with regard to energy.

If you are concerned about our role in never-ending wars, this bill makes a bad situation even worse by handing out another \$150 billion to the Pentagon, a 15-percent increase in an already bloated Pentagon budget. We don't have enough money to feed hungry children. We don't have enough money to make sure that people continue to have the healthcare that they need. We don't have enough money to make sure the kids can get a decent education. But somehow the military-industrial complex is going to get another \$150 billion, a 15-percent increase.

In my view, nobody in the Senate or the House should vote for this legislation, and I applaud all of the Democrats for voting against it. And I want to congratulate two Republicans, Senator PAUL and Senator TILLIS, for voting against it—for different reasons, by

the way, than I have. But I do find it interesting, and it does tell us where we are as a nation today that when one of those Senators, Senator TILLIS, voted against it because he thought it was not a good bill for the people of his home State, North Carolina, suddenly the President of the United States went after him in a very, very vicious way. And, today, he announced that he will not be seeking reelection.

So it appears now that the Republican Party has really become a party of the cult of the individual. The only thing you have to do now, as a Republican, is say: I agree with President Trump. I love President Trump. President Trump is right all of the time.

Hey, that is all you have to do now to be a good Republican.

There was a day when Republicans and Democrats understood that they were elected by their constituents. Yes, you want to work with the President of your own party; nothing to do about that. But there was an understanding that you were also elected to represent your constituents and not simply pay homage and bow down to every wish and whim of the President.

During the vote-arama, I will be offering several amendments, which I hope will win support. No. 1, at a time when 22 percent of our Nation's seniors are trying to survive on less than \$15,000 a year, my first amendment would fundamentally improve their lives in two significant ways. No. 1, it would cut the price of prescription drugs under Medicare in half by making sure that our Nation's seniors do not pay any more than Europeans or Canadians pay for the same exact drugs; and, No. 2, with those savings, we are going to expand Medicare to cover dental, vision, and hearing. In other words, instead of throwing people off of healthcare, we are going to expand Medicare to provide a number of services that seniors desperately need and want.

Secondly, at a time of massive income and wealth inequality, my second amendment would eliminate the \$211 billion estate tax for the top two-tenths of 1 percent that is included in this bill. The top 2 percent, as I mentioned, get a \$211 billion tax break. That is insane. We are going to get rid of that.

And lastly, at a time when we spend more on the military than the next nine nations combined, at a time when the Pentagon cannot account for trillions of dollars in assets, we are going to end the provision that allows the Pentagon to receive another \$150 billion.

The bottom line is this country faces many crises: the high rate of childhood poverty, kids going hungry, the education system in deep trouble, the healthcare system completely broken. And in virtually every single area, this bill takes us in precisely the wrong direction.

When the wealthiest people in this country have never ever had it so good,

it is totally insane to be offering them a trillion dollars in tax breaks so that we can cut healthcare, education, and nutrition.

This bill is not what the American people want, and I hope very much we can defeat it.

Thank you very much, Mr. President. (Disturbance in the Visitors' Galleries.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCCORMICK). The Sergeant at Arms will restore order in the Gallery.

The Democratic leader.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for coming to the floor all day today. I thank them for speaking so fiercely and so clearly about what is at stake for the country. And the American people deserve to see this debate. That is why we, last night, forced a reading of the bill.

Republicans don't want people to know what is in the bill. They want to hide it. They know it is not popular. We all know it is not popular. We all know it is totally against what people want. But a small cabal of very wealthy people and hard MAGA people run that show, to the detriment of the party itself and, of course, the American people.

So we forced a reading of the bill last night and allowed people to catch up because the bill was just put on the floor right before the reading started—the amended bill.

So we are here today to continue to shine a light on how bad this bill is, and this debate will continue. Soon, we will turn to vote-arama and bring amendment after amendment after amendment to the floor so Republicans can defend their billionaire tax cuts, so they can try to explain their massive cuts to Medicaid to people back home—why kids who need healthcare shouldn't get it so there can be tax breaks for billionaires; why middle-class families who have someone in a nursing home who is now going to be removed from that nursing home because it is going to close, what they are going to do; and to try and sell to parents and kids why they are making unprecedented cuts to SNAP.

Taking food from hungry babies for a tax cut for wealthy people. What kind of world do these Republicans live in? It is a slanted world. It is really a corrupt world. Kids will get \$5 a day to feed themselves. You can't buy a dozen eggs for \$5.

And then they are killing millions of good-paying jobs. It is estimated—and, by the way, the clean energy cuts are even worse. Before this, it was estimated 850,000 jobs would be lost in America on clean energy alone, over a million jobs in healthcare. So 2 million jobs, approximately, lost—at least 2 million lost—because of this bill. That could create a recession.

So this has been a long few days in the Senate, but the hardest choices for Republicans are still in front of them because we know that so many of our colleagues on the other side aren't

happy with this bill. TILLIS is not an exception. There are many others who think the same way he does. Well, they ought to vote their principles, their conscience, and what is good for their constituencies.

Our side is going to give our Republican colleagues a chance to do the right thing in front of this Chamber and in front of this Nation. The American people deserve to know exactly—exactly—what is happening right now in the U.S. Senate because, right now, Republicans are concocting the ultimate rush job. They are trying to pull off a sneak attack on this Chamber and on the American people themselves.

The bill before the Senate is utter poison. Some Republicans are trying to rush through a bill that they released less than 2 days ago, under the cloak of darkness, written behind closed doors, molded in order to appease Donald Trump and the very special powerful interests.

Earlier today, my colleague from South Carolina came to the floor with a pretty interesting looking floor chart, where he claimed that his bill somehow reduced the debt by \$500 billion. What a joke. The Budget chair, respectfully, needs to check his math because somehow LINDSEY GRAHAM, chairman of the Budget Committee, said that his bill reduces the debt by \$500 billion.

The Budget chair, respectfully, check your math, Chairman GRAHAM, because not 1 hour ago, the JCT confirmed this bill does not reduce the debt; it explodes it. It explodes it. That is what it does.

Here is what his chart should have looked like: \$4.45 trillion deficit explosion.

According to the JCT, the Republican bill explodes the debt by \$4.5 trillion, as this chart, drawn slightly better than LINDSEY's, shows.

For those keeping score at home, my colleague got his math wrong by a whopping \$4 trillion. All this—all this—just so billionaires are rewarded while millions lose their healthcare, a \$4.5 trillion deficit explosion.

And that is not just an abstract concept. What does that mean? The average American will pay more to buy a home. The average American will pay more to buy a car. The average American will pay more on their credit card debt—on issue, after issue, after issue. Prices will go up because of this deficit because of taxes for the billionaires. That is \$4.45 trillion, all so some people—wealthy people—God bless them. They made a lot of money. OK. They don't need a tax break.

Let it be known that this bill is the death knell of the supposed party of fiscal responsibility. We always knew that this was a sham, and now this bill ends the charade of Republicans caring about the debt for all time coming. When they say they have to cut healthcare on any bill or food stamps on any bill because it reduces the deficit, we will know it is utter hogwash

because of the \$4.5 trillion they are doing now for tax breaks for the wealthy.

So Republicans want to move quickly. That is why we are here on the weekend. That is why they released a bill in the dead of the night—all because they want to hide the truth from the American people.

You know, it is hard to believe, my colleagues; this bill is worse—even worse—than any draft we have seen thus far. Every time the bill comes to the floor—a new bill, a new amendment—the hard-right handful over on the Republican side: We are not voting for it unless you hurt kids more, you hurt people who need healthcare more, you hurt rural hospitals more, you hurt clean energy more.

And the Republican leadership folds and does it. And the handful of more mainstream Republicans who know how bad this is right now haven't had the backbone to oppose those changes. We hope they find it.

So this bill is worse on healthcare, worse on SNAP. It will kill 900,000 good-paying jobs in clean energy. Folks, you don't like paying your electricity bills, you will pay 10 percent more on your electric bills because of this "Big Ugly Betrayal."

It will also kill a million healthcare jobs. You put it all together, and there is no other way to put it; at the very last minute, Senate Republicans made the bill more extreme to cater to the radicals in the House and the Senate. Republicans want to hide the truth so badly, in fact, that they are even ready to blow up the Senate rules to get it done.

Senate Republicans are doing something that has never been done before in this Chamber—never, by Democrats or Republicans—using fake math and budgetary hocus-pocus to make it seem like a gargantuan tax break for billionaires is going to cost virtually nothing. That is insane. It is delusional.

Current policy baseline doesn't take into account that actual budget numbers show these cuts expiring. So when you put them back up again, the deficit increases. It is simple math—second grade math.

But our colleagues just—again, in a frenzy to help the billionaires—are willing even to do that. Republicans know it. That is why they are squirming. You can see sort of the faces come on the floor. They don't look very happy because they know how bad this stuff is.

They can use whatever budgetary gimmicks they want. Republicans can use whatever budgetary gimmicks they want to make their math work on paper, but you can't paper over the real consequences of adding trillions and trillions to the debt in one fell swoop.

CBO, nonpartisan—everyone who looks at this says it is going to increase the deficit. Not the so-called party of deficit hawks. That is out the window.

So what is going to happen when they pass this bill, if they do—hope

they don't—our children and grandchildren are going to be faced with a lifetime of higher borrowing costs. As I said, mortgage costs, costs to buy a car, costs for a credit card, harder to start a business—every one of these will get worse.

And the economic ceiling of this country will close in on itself. The American engine that has been the driver of American innovation and growth and optimism for so many generations will sputter and ossify with this \$4.45 trillion deficit explosion.

It is deeply irresponsible to future generations, to our children, to our grandchildren to pass this bill. That is not just Members on this side of the aisle saying it. Independent experts across the political spectrum—many of them very conservative Republicans but who are, at least, honest about what they are doing—say it too. And plenty of Republicans in both the House and Senate say it.

It remains to be seen if their words and their actions will align.

The question has to be asked: Why is this even happening? Why is this nightmare of a bill moving forward? Why are Republicans forcing our country down this ruinous road when they know the fiscal harms, when they know this is a rush job?

Well, we know by now: tax cuts to billionaires and corporate special interests. And not just another round but, in fact, they make them permanent.

Our children and our grandchildren are going to be saddled with these cuts so that a handful of billionaires get a big break while working people lose their Medicaid, while hungry kids lose access to food funding, while clean energy jobs that support so many Republican communities are taken away.

I say to my Republican friends: When that plant that makes batteries or wind or solar or when a person who is employing hundreds of people to put panels on people's roofs all fold and the people lose their jobs, don't shrug your shoulders and say: I don't know why that happened.

You made it happen with a nasty bill.

It just makes no sense. We need more energy, AI. Everyone says we need more energy. And to take away the cheapest, quickest way to put more electrons on the grid—solar—makes no sense, except we know Donald Trump has an irrational, infantile, mania against clean energy; so they all listen to him. It makes no sense.

This bill is sabotaging America. It is the sabotaging of America. It is antithetical to what the country needs. It is antithetical to what the American people needed last fall. And our Republican colleagues don't even want to tell the American people the truth. That is why Democrats are here on the floor today, sounding the alarm, setting the record straight.

I also must say this: The way this bill is being passed so deeply violates the spirit of the Senate. The majority

forgets that this Chamber is unlike any other institution in government. It is meant to facilitate debate, careful consideration, sound judgment, honest numbers.

We are supposed to resist the passions of the radical extreme. We are supposed to hold the line against policies that would devastate our country. We are supposed to resist the gravitational pull of extremists like Donald Trump who gets these little bugaboos in his head and wrecks America because of it. And they all go along.

Senate Republicans are turning their back on the Senate's longstanding tradition of debate deliberation. By rushing this bill, by upending the rule of the Chamber, by engaging in what amounts to accounting magic to hide the cost of their bill, Republicans, simply put, are accelerating the erosion of the Senate to the nth degree.

Senate Republicans are turning their back on what makes this institution great. More importantly, they are turning their back on the people—their own constituents—in their own communities, people struggling to afford going to see a doctor. You have a child with cancer, and you don't have healthcare? How can we put people in that position?

Or families who have to choose between paying for groceries or paying for prescription drug costs or families who are watching their electricity bills going up and up; families who are paying more and more costs—this bill—America, you don't want to pay higher costs? We don't want you to on our side of the aisle. The Republicans are making it happen. You will pay more and more and more.

And about the future, they are not worried about our kids' livelihood. They are not worried that kids won't be able to find good-paying jobs. Families are worried about the future of this country; but the Republicans are not. And they are worried—Americans are worried about the continued radicalization of leaders in government. And here is the shining example.

So the bill is the wrong answer for the American people. By every objective standard, it is deeply irresponsible. It is not only a violation of how the Senate is supposed to work, it is a violation of the promises that Republicans and Donald Trump—when they campaigned—made to the American people to look after their issues, not those at the very top.

So I implore my Republican colleagues, there is still time. Abandon these terrible policies. We will continue to have this debate in a real way, not jamming it through in the dark of night. My Democratic colleagues and I will continue exposing the truth. And if Republicans go down that road, we will continue to make sure today, tomorrow, next week, next month, next year, that the American people know exactly what happened here.

I assure my Republican colleagues—I assure them this vote will not be forgotten. Their betrayal will not go unanswered. This bill must not stand.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, I thank our leader for setting the record straight.

It is really awful when you hear Republicans come down here and they just don't tell the truth about the bill that they are trying to pass. Maybe that is why they try to pass it in the middle of the night. They think no one will really notice.

Mr. SCHUMER. Does the Senator yield?

Ms. WARREN. I yield.

Mr. SCHUMER. All you have to do is look at their faces. They know what they are doing. They know it is unpopular. They know, as Senator MURKOWSKI said, that they are all afraid. But it is time for them to stand up, isn't it?

Ms. WARREN. Yup. Yup.

Mr. President, on Friday I met Vivian. Vivian is an 11-year-old kid from Winston-Salem, NC. Vivian likes school. She likes her friends. She likes reading Harry Potter. She is a lot like any other 11-year-old; but for Vivian, going to school and being with her friends depends on Medicaid because Medicaid covers the cost of her wheelchair, for her therapists, and for her health aide.

Right now, Republicans are trying to rip away healthcare from kids like Vivian. The cruelty is truly breathtaking.

I asked for one Republican Senator—just one Republican Senator—who plans to vote for this bill to look into Vivi's eyes and tell her that her healthcare is just not a priority for this country.

You know, MITCH MCCONNELL said to Republican Senators that he knew they were getting calls about Medicaid but not to worry about people losing their care because, according to MITCH MCCONNELL, "they will get over it."

So I ask the Republican Senators to look at Vivi and Vivi's sisters and Vivi's mom and Vivi's dad and say—if Vivi loses her Medicaid and her wheelchair and her therapists and her health aide, tell all of them that they will get over it, because here is the deal: Vivi won't get over it. Her family won't get over it. The people of North Carolina won't get over it. None of us—Massachusetts, Idaho, Louisiana—none of us will get over it.

The cruelty here is off the charts, but the part that really burns is the Republicans are trying to slash the healthcare that keeps kids like Vivi alive so they can hand out more tax cuts for billionaires. It is beyond cruel. It is obscene.

I am angry, and we should all be angry, because instead of playing at the pool or at the park like a regular kid on summer break, Vivian had to come here to Washington to beg Sen-

ators not to cut her healthcare. In a country as rich as ours, that shouldn't even be a question.

Now, I actually don't think that my Republican colleagues have lost their hearts. They have lost their spines. It seems that all they can do now is bow down to Donald Trump and his billionaire donors. They will bow down even if it means hurting families, community hospitals, and nursing homes in their own States.

Trump wants the Republicans in Congress to hand out giant checks to the wealthiest Americans and the biggest corporations, and the Republican Senators are willing to do that even if it means kicking Vivi to the curb.

Republicans know what they are doing. They know that this bill will hurt people. They know that this bill will kill people. And though it is hard to believe, they just look the other way. But on behalf of Vivi and millions of other kids and mommas and seniors and families that rely on the lifesaving care that Medicaid makes possible, my Republican colleagues should grow a spine and stop this awful bill in its tracks.

If it wasn't bad enough that this bill is set to rip away healthcare from 17 million Americans to pay for tax giveaways for billionaires, it actually has a bunch of other filthy giveaways buried in it too.

Who wins if Republicans pass this "Big Ugly Bill"? Billionaires; Wall Street; Big Tech; Big Oil; the wealthiest Americans and the biggest corporations.

Big Oil will get a special "get out of paying your taxes" card while millions of people lose their healthcare coverage. Billions of dollars for Big Oil, nothing for Vivi.

Meta—oh, man, Meta. There is a company that is really struggling. Meta will win \$15 billion to incentivize them to do research in 2022, 2023, and 2024.

Think about that. Unless a time machine comes with this, what Meta does in those 3 years is already done, but under this bill, Meta gets a \$15 billion check on the day this bill passes simply for existing, while families lose access to their healthcare.

Wall Street wins big with a provision Republicans squeezed in that would slash funding for the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Giant corporations want the opportunity to cheat American families again, so Republicans are desperately trying to take the cop off the beat.

And who loses thanks to this big, ugly bill? Americans who can't afford healthcare. Families who need a little extra help putting food on the table. Grandmas and grandpas in nursing homes. Little babies and their mommas.

If Republicans pass this bill, 17 million Americans will have their healthcare ripped away. That number has kept growing as the Republicans keep making more and more changes

to the bill. For them, it is just a question of how many more Americans they can rip healthcare away from. This bill would also make the biggest cut to food assistance for families, kids, and veterans in American history.

Here is one to underscore: One out of every four nursing homes in America would have to shut down under this bill.

You know, my Republican colleagues should just call a few seniors who are in nursing homes in their home States and just go over the plans for where those folks are supposed to go next. What exactly do the Republicans have in mind for them? Maybe call the daughter of someone who is in one of those nursing homes and explain how she has to become a full-time caregiver once this bill passes. Maybe call just a few of the people whose lives you plan to tear apart.

Budgets are about our values, and Republicans have made their values clear: They are willing to throw millions of Americans under the bus so that they can help out a handful of their billionaire buddies and giant corporations. They should be ashamed.

Here is what Democrats believe. Democrats believe that no baby should go hungry so that Mark Zuckerberg can buy another Hawaiian island. Democrats believe that no person with a disability who needs a wheelchair or a home health aide to live independently should have to give that up so that Jeff Bezos can buy a third yacht. Democrats believe that no grandma should be pushed out of her nursing home so that Elon Musk can take a subsidized rocket ship ride to Mars.

It doesn't have to be this way. What if, instead of tax breaks for billionaires, we make the rich pay their fair share? What if, instead of slashing healthcare for our kids, we make it possible for every American to see a doctor when they are sick without breaking the bank? And what if, instead of giving Big Oil more giant handouts, we make universal childcare a reality for families all across this country?

We can tax the rich. Dammit, if Jeff Bezos can afford to rent Venice for \$50 million for his wedding, he can afford to pitch in his fair share on taxes so the next kid has a chance to make it big and the kid after that and the kid after that.

We can make life better for working people. We can make it easier, not harder. We can lower costs for families, not jack them up even more like this bill does. We can put families first, not billionaires and billionaire corporations.

Democrats believe this. Democrats are willing to fight for this. We will vote no on this awful bill. And for kids like Vivian, for seniors in nursing homes, for families who rely on home health aides, and for the millions more Americans that this bill will hurt, I urge my Republican colleagues to grow a spine and vote no.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, before she leaves the floor, I want to thank my colleague, in particular for putting a human face on what this is all about for us on this side of the aisle—that small child, the senior you were talking about. I am going to pick up on what you said, and I thank you for your leadership.

I am going to get into the specifics of this horrifying bill, in a moment—all the details, the healthcare carnage, and the clean energy bloodbath that Republicans are dragging America toward. First, though, I want to spend just a few minutes on the state of the Senate and our democracy.

As of a few hours ago, the rules of the Senate are whatever Republicans feel like when the day begins. It is democracy-defying, plain and simple.

The bill before the Senate is loaded—loaded—with fraudulent budget math that hides trillions of dollars in handouts to corporations and the ultrawealthy. It is a violation of the rules that used to be followed for years for the reconciliation process. It is a violation of the Congressional Budget Act. It is a violation of common sense. Republicans decided that none of that matters. So they have kind of gone nuclear to advance the bill.

Apparently, in this Chamber, if the Republican chair of the Budget Committee says so, one plus one equals three. That is unsustainable. We are going to be a sicker, poorer, and weaker country if this bill becomes law, and the Republicans have used this process, going nuclear, to pass it.

But these moves cut both ways, and there will be a lot of cleanup for Democrats to handle down the road.

Now, in my time in public service, I have never seen a more destructive, regressive, commonsense-defying bill debated in the Senate. This bill is going to determine the future of healthcare in America. Millions of Americans will lose their health insurance if Republicans pass the bill.

My colleagues seem to be ignoring, for example, the fact that rural hospitals are the anchor of life in much of America. This bill will sever that anchor and set rural healthcare adrift.

Here is how flawed the Republican plan is. The danger they are causing for rural hospitals is so great that Republicans have had to create a rural hospital relief fund. It is a bandaid on an amputation.

I can tell you, one thing I know for sure is that only in Washington, DC, would you create a relief fund to address a problem that you caused. How about you just not cut \$1 trillion from Medicaid in the first place?

Now, I wanted to get a sense of what rural America thought of this legislation. So last weekend, I held four townhalls in three Eastern Oregon counties. It is as rural as it gets. Donald Trump carried these counties overwhelmingly.

One of them was Malheur County, where Donald Trump received more than 70 percent of the vote. This is where I held an open-to-all townhall meeting. It happens to have one of the highest Medicaid enrollments in the country. The message I heard was very clear and very loud: This bill will be a disaster for Malheur County on rural health.

Now, healthcare is a top employer in America. If these cuts go through, the healthcare workforce in rural areas of our Nation is going to be decimated. Nurses, doctors, and support staff will lose their jobs, and rural economies are going to suffer.

Many of the Americans that will feel the consequences of this legislation, today, walk an economic tightrope. Many have multiple jobs.

Millions more Americans will lose their benefits, like home care and mental health, and services that already fall far short of what our people expect. These are overwhelmingly kids, people with disabilities, seniors—all to pay for more tax cuts for multinational corporations and the ultrawealthy.

It is not just the cuts. It is also a whole lot more redtape, making it harder for people to get care.

At the center of the Republican Medicaid changes is a bunch of redtape thickets designed to entrap people into a never-ending maze of AI chatbots and phone trees that make it impossible for them to get the coverage they need.

And even if you manage to get through all that bureaucratic water torture and sign up for Medicaid, the Republican plan says: If you lose your job, you lose your healthcare.

Why would the Congress want to inflict that on more people?

Nobody I could find wants these cuts, no matter their political persuasion, and I was in places that were bright red.

I am sure most of us can agree there is a real debate to be had on how we can make healthcare more affordable and accessible, but this bill achieves none of that.

Let me mention seniors. My colleagues have touched on the elderly. Two in three nursing home beds in America are covered by Medicaid. If Republicans pass this into law, conditions will deteriorate. Seniors will be forced out of their nursing homes or forced to move in with a family that doesn't have the necessary skills to care for their aging parents or grandparents. Nursing homes would be forced to shut their doors as a result of these cuts, during a time when States are in desperate need of more nursing home options, not fewer.

The bill also repeals nursing home safety standards. That is going to mean fewer nurses in nursing homes. You would think that would be a concern of Republicans in the Trump administration.

But when the Finance Committee was considering the nomination of CMS Administrator Mehmet Oz, he said:

I believe we can provide quality of care equivalent to having a nurse in that nursing home using tools and technologies.

Dr. Oz was apparently talking about AI, and I said: You are for cutting nurses. What is going to happen when an 85-year-old woman has to go to the bathroom in the middle of the night and needs some help?

He had no answers. But he is still being a big booster on artificial intelligence.

I am deeply troubled about what the Trump administration has in store for America's seniors. That is on top of the fact that the home-based care that most seniors prefer will be one of the first benefits States are forced to cut because it is optional now rather than mandatory.

Hundreds of thousands of seniors are going to see a premium increase of about \$200 a month.

The bill also applies the worst forms of corporate redtape to the Affordable Care Act: shorter enrollment periods, more verification forms, more hoops, more bureaucracy, more redtape for Americans who just want affordable healthcare.

And the healthcare carnage may get worse with the Republican amendments coming up. It is my understanding that they are going to offer an amendment that would lower the Federal Medicaid match for new enrollees in what is known as the Medicaid expansion. That was a key part of the Affordable Care Act, which delivered affordable healthcare to roughly 21 million Americans last year.

If this amendment is adopted, taken together with the other awful policies in the bill, it would amount to repealing the Affordable Care Act and making good on the 15-year Republican crusade to dismantle that law.

Millions more working Americans are going to lose their health insurance, and it would break a promise to the 41 States that have expanded Medicaid, many of them red States.

These healthcare cuts aren't just going to be felt by Americans with Medicaid. Those who buy health insurance on their own are going to be similarly hit. Emergency room wait times are going to skyrocket, and premiums will spike.

Families will be one lost job or financial calamity away from being tossed onto a safety net that has rips and tears everywhere you look. So many are going to fall between the cracks.

I also wanted to touch on another horrendous provision on healthcare buried in the bill: the defunding of the Planned Parenthood program. And they are doing it in a way that is essentially a backdoor, nationwide abortion ban.

This provision is going to strip clinics of their funding and make it impossible for them to provide lifesaving healthcare, cancer screening, and annual exams. All of that will disappear for the people who rely on these clinics for basic care.

The healthcare cuts are getting a big focus with myself and colleagues because of the challenge for so many communities, but there is something else that is absolutely imperative; that is, the clean energy bloodbath, and it certainly deserves attention.

In the middle of the night Friday into Saturday, the bill that was already a disaster for clean energy got much, much, much worse. What Republicans have on offer doesn't just repeal the tax credits I wrote for wind and solar energy in the Finance Committee; now we have an actual massacre on our hands.

This Republican plan actually taxes wind and solar—a new tax on the cheapest and easiest ways to get new energy to the grid. At the same time, somebody tucked into the bill a brand new tax break for coal. So here we are, 2025, and the Senate is about to pass a bill that taxes wind and solar while subsidizing coal. It is so backward, it leaves you slack-jawed.

When you look at this bill, it is awfully clear that the Republican goal is to destroy key sources of clean energy in America. It is a death sentence for the wind and solar industries in our country, a total abandonment of hundreds of thousands of workers who are about to lose their jobs as a direct result of the bill.

The head of the North America's Building Trades Unions that represents millions of construction workers issued a stunning statement on the bill yesterday. I will read a few select lines from the statement. He said it is "the biggest job-killing bill in the history of the country," is how he described the Republican plan; "staggering and unfathomable job loss;" a threat to "an estimated 1.75 million construction [workers]." This union leader said it was "the equivalent of terminating 1,000 Keystone XL pipelines" and that it was "another lifeline and competitive advantage to China in the race for global energy dominance." He also said that "critical infrastructure projects [will be] 'sacrificed at the altar of ideology.'" Those are all direct quotes.

Hundreds of billions of dollars in clean energy investments, under the Republican plan, will simply disappear—not government subsidies or handouts; these are private sector investments we will not have. Even worse, this is a guaranteed way to hike utility bills for families and businesses of all sizes in every nook and cranny of America.

I have never seen this kind of economic self-sabotage. The demand for energy booms right now. Even the heads of companies involved in fossil fuels are saying to me and other Members of Congress: We need solar quickly to get more electrons to the grid. But Republicans don't want to listen, because this plan risks plunging us into an energy crisis. It would be a disaster and a total surrender to China on clean energy manufacturing.

It is clear as a sunny day that all the talk from Donald Trump and Repub-

licans about American energy dominance was just a fraud, nothing but a hollow campaign slogan.

I will close with this: There is no question in my mind that the American people went to the polls in 2024 to vote for cheaper groceries, cheaper utilities, and cheaper gas. They didn't vote to kick 16 million people off their healthcare so Republicans can give more tax breaks to billionaires and corporations. They didn't vote for an energy crisis that benefits nobody except Big Oil investors.

There is a real cost-of-living crisis facing American families right now, and this Senate ought to be focused on finding ways to lower drug prices, for example, expand access to quality and affordable healthcare, and bring down the cost of living. Instead, Republicans are using every ounce of their power to jam through another round of tax breaks for those at the very top, and they are doing it on the backs of everybody else.

There are serious challenges ahead, and there is going to be a serious mess to clean up, but until then, countless Americans will needlessly suffer and die as a direct result of losing their healthcare under this legislation.

I don't believe the American people are going to forget, and this side of the aisle will make certain that this topic is something that is dealt with again and again until the American people finally get a fair shake.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. SCHATZ. The Presiding Officer is a distinguished businessman. He understands capital flows. He understands investment. There are a lot of people in this Chamber and across the country who, on a nonideological basis, want a consistent tax code so that businesses can invest with certainty and predictability.

So let's look at some of the numbers here in terms of the impact of this bill. This bill will kill 300,000 jobs in wind and solar per year. We are going to lose out on \$450 billion in capital as thousands of projects go under. And because of that, we are going to generate about 500 gigawatts less energy in the next decade.

Now, there was a time—and I lived through it as a politician—there was a time when people who wanted to take climate action had to argue for that climate action because it is a planetary emergency, and there were trade-offs. And people on the other side said: Look, as we try to take action to deal with this planetary crisis, we can't create shortages. We can't increase prices. We can't impede economic progress.

All of that has flipped. This bill will create shortages. This bill will impede economic progress. This bill will increase prices.

The 500 gigawatts less energy in the next decade is pretty much exactly the amount of energy that we are going to need to meet rising demand. We are

going to have energy shortages as a result of this legislation.

And you don't have to love clean energy or be an environmentalist—and I love clean energy, and I am an environmentalist. But you don't have to care about the climate. I think you should. You don't have to care about the climate to understand that this is a basic question of supply and demand. Energy demand is soaring for the first time in decades largely—not exclusively but largely—because of AI data centers. And our best chance of meeting it in the next few years is through wind and solar, not oil and gas. Even nuclear and geothermal are going to take a while.

That is not just a political talking point or preference of mine. It is just a fact that gas turbines are stuck in a yearslong backlog. It is also a fact that 80 percent of the new capacity on the grid last year came from solar and storage. It is growing; it is cheap; and it works. And there are hundreds more projects that are in the pipeline waiting to be hooked up.

So the idea that we are going to kill the only energy—the only energy—that can be brought online in the short run the very same week that half the country was melting in a record heat wave which left tens of thousands of people without power is beyond absurd.

Let's talk about how this bill does all of this damage. Specifically, it creates an impossible deadline for projects to be operational in order to claim the clean energy tax credits.

Remember, these clean energy tax credits are Federal law. They are on the books. So when you have a Federal statute, it is not unreasonable as an investor to say: Look, I have got this tax credit. I am going to get x percent back from my initial investment. And you do the pro forma; you do the underwriting; and you figure out that the thing pencils out.

And now what they are saying is that you have got to be operational in 60 days. If anyone has even built a deck in their front yard or tried to do an extension, nothing gets built in 60 days, certainly not a clean energy project.

And it has to be placed in service. What does "placed in service" mean? It means not only do you have to have the thing built, you have to have a power purchase agreement through your public service commission or public utilities commission. You have to have a deal in place in the next 60 days after enactment or you get nothing.

So imagine you are a company investing in a solar or battery storage project. You have already put money down. You have secured land and a power purchase agreement, and you are working on permits. And when you started the project, the Tax Code said you could claim a credit to claim the upfront costs. Now, unless you are fully operational, you are out to luck.

On average, a project takes 4 years to go through the full process. So even if you have already started that progress, you now have very, very little time to get it done.

We are going to strand hundreds of billions of dollars in capital. And so the impact on price is going to be crazy. The impact on jobs is going to be crazy. But the impact on America as an investable proposition is the most dangerous part of this.

I don't know that we have ever, through Federal law, made a big subsidy, made a big bet on a certain industry, and then halfway through that process said: Never mind. We didn't mean that. You are stuck.

According to the Edison Electric Institute—and, by the way, I can guarantee you, this is the first and maybe last time I will ever, ever quote the Edison Electric Institute—that will cost people, not companies but people, ratepayers, \$60 billion in this decade alone. Your electric bills are about to go up.

A representative of a solar company in Hawaii put it this way:

It is really unclear in the current version of the bill what the renewable energy industry even looks like if it were passed today.

An owner of a solar company in Montana worried that the credits disappearing would force him to lay off half of his workers.

He says:

Montana is deeply red, but it's also a very practical place. And so green energy renewables became a taboo phrase somehow.

The practical energy needs are undeniable, and so if we can get past our disagreements about the phraseology and realize that it's electrons, watts . . . amps. And it's all cheaper.

A representative of a wind turbine company in Colorado said:

I don't look at what we do as green or blue or red. An electron doesn't have a color.

That is the point. Electrons don't have a color. Wanting cheap, abundant energy is not woke. Wanting a liveable planet today and for future generations is not radical. And wanting reliable power and to avoid blackouts and brownouts is not a leftist project.

But even if you set all of that aside for a minute, the States that have benefited the most from these investments are Republican States. According to estimates, nearly three-quarters of clean energy manufacturing facilities are located in Republican States.

It means that Republicans are going to pay more for energy. It means Republicans will lose jobs in clean energy because of a Republican bill. It means Republicans are going to have more blackouts in their homes and businesses.

Gutting clean energy is not somehow owning the libs.

And at least some Republicans in the Senate and House understand that, even if their votes have not manifested to say otherwise.

Here is a letter from 21 House Republicans earlier this year.

As our conference has long believed, an all-of-the-above energy approach, combined with a robust advanced manufacturing sector, will help support the United States' position as a global energy leader.

Countless American companies are utilizing sector-wide energy tax credits—many of which have enjoyed broad support in Congress—to make major investments in domestic energy production and infrastructure for traditional and renewable sources alike.

And it goes on:

As energy demand continues to skyrocket, any modifications that inhibit our ability to deploy new energy production risk sparking an energy crisis—

“[R]isks sparking an energy crisis.” Twenty-one House Republicans are worried about an energy crisis imposed by the Republican Congress.

It goes on:

This is especially true for energy credits with direct passthrough benefit to ratepayers, where such repeals would increase utility bills the very next day.

“[W]ould increase utility bills the very next day.”

This is not me, progressive Senator from the State of Hawaii who has made a career out of fighting climate change. This is 21 House Republicans saying: We are going to create a crisis here. Maybe we shouldn't pass this thing. A lot of this stuff benefits us.

If we are all out here talking about “all of the above,” why are we cutting off our nose to spite our face? Just because someone wants a talking point? Like, people are literally going to lose their jobs immediately upon enactment. America is going to become a very challenging place to make major investments in immediately upon enactment.

The AI industry may move abroad immediately upon enactment. And prices will go up pretty much right away, as well.

A group of 175 mayors and local leaders wrote:

For the first time, State and local governments, as well as essential nonprofit community organizations—such as houses of worship, hospitals, and schools—can access the same clean energy tax credits as the private sector through elective pay. This has led to major projects in our communities, like solar installations for town halls, alternative fueling infrastructure, and charging stations for local government fleets.

After one year of direct pay implementation, over 1,200 organizations, including 500 State and local governments, are already accessing these incentives. We are excited about these projects and the benefits that they will bring to our communities. However, as local leaders, we are concerned that repealing these tax credits would create economic uncertainty in our communities, as it would prevent us from accessing those important benefits.

You know, I grew up to understand Republicans. Look, I didn't grow up as a Republican, but I did understand Republicans were for avoiding unintended consequences. Republicans were against radical change too quickly. Republicans wanted a solid business environment that people could rely upon.

This is literally none of that. This is ideology manifesting itself as energy policy.

And what is going to happen is people are going to lose their jobs and pay tons more for electricity.

The Building Trades Unions called this bill “the biggest job-killing bill in the history of this country.” And they go on:

Simply put, it is the equivalent of terminating more than 1,000 Keystone XL Pipeline projects.

I have been here for a while. Keystone XL was a big deal to our friends in labor. I had some very tough conversations with my friends in labor about how important that project was to them and how it was in tension with some of our climate goals. But listen to what they say:

It is the equivalent of terminating more than 1,000 Keystone XL Pipeline projects.

These guys are not me or JEFF MERKLEY or EDDIE MARKEY or SHELDON WHITEHOUSE or MARTIN HEINRICH or Representative OCASIO-CORTEZ or any climate advocate. This is the Building Trades Unions. They are saying this is the biggest job killer, perhaps, in American history.

We actually don't have to do this. The impetus behind this bill was essentially border spending and preventing the Trump tax cuts from expiring. And then a bunch of stuff got added on because that is what happens.

We were there for our own version of this—our own BBB, our own Build Back Better—and everybody in your party piles on with something new. Then, the thing becomes a really challenging thing to pass because everybody has their hobbyhorse. And somebody's hobbyhorse is not just to have an all-of-the-above energy strategy, but to go out of your way to kill clean energy.

It doesn't matter that it is going to raise prices. It doesn't matter that it is going to kill jobs. People at all levels in the public and private sectors, across the political spectrum, are all saying the same thing, which is: This is a bad bill for regular people, for the economy, and for the planet.

One of the great things about our climate bill was that it made what was good for the planet also good for the economy. Clean energy became imminently profitable for businesses and widely accessible to consumers. And we made a choice there because some in our party didn't like the basic premise. They were attached to the idea of personal, political, and economic sacrifice because the planet is in peril.

And I understand that instinct. I understand that instinct.

But we paved a new path, and we decided—look—there is enough technology out there. There are abundant energy sources out there that we can actually solve our planetary crisis and create jobs and lower prices. And we can do it in such a way that blue States and red States, urban, rural, suburban all benefit.

Republicans are on the verge of undoing all of that, even though it will hurt their constituents. In doing so, they will virtually guarantee China's dominance in clean energy, for decades to come, because if you are China, you

cannot believe your luck. Your biggest competitor is willingly forfeiting the fight over who controls the energy technologies of the future because Donald Trump is too busy trying to get us back to the preindustrial age.

This is the worst piece of legislation for the planet in the history of our country, and it is not even close. Republicans are effectively codifying Big Oil's wish list into law without exception. They are killing clean energy. They are subsidizing coal. They are dramatically expanding oil and gas leasing. They are purposefully jacking up energy prices and creating shortages—and creating shortages. And for what? Partially, it is to find enough savings to funnel tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of dollars into the pockets of individual billionaires.

But even kicking more than 16 million people off of healthcare coverage, denying food to the poor, and adding almost \$5 trillion to the national debt was not enough. People voted for Donald Trump for all sorts of reasons. But no one voted for higher energy bills. No one voted for more frequent blackouts and brownouts and dirtier air or water. No one, whether you are a Democrat or Republican or Independent, wants that.

I want to be clear. This fight is far from over. This fight over this bill is far from over. But even if this bill passes, it will set us back. But the fight for the planet is bigger than any one bill or vote, and that includes the big climate bill that we passed in the previous administration. And as any movement that has successfully mobilized and made changes knows, progress is not linear. Progress always has setbacks and frustrations, and progress is not assured.

States like Hawaii will continue to do everything that they can to protect our environment, and the rest of the world will move on without us because doing nothing in the face of this worsening crisis is simply not an option.

Make no mistake, what Congress is doing today will cost all of us in the years and decades to come.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I rise today—and I will confess, I rise today a bit angry about this bill—this bill cooked up in back rooms, dropped at midnight, cloaked in fake numbers, with huge handouts to big Republican donors. It loots our country for some of the least deserving people you could imagine.

When I first got here, this Chamber filled me with awe and wonderment. Our leader, Harry Reid, frequently called me his happiest Senator, such was the awe and wonderment that I felt here.

Today, I feel disgust. This piece of legislation is corrupt. This piece of legislation is crooked. This piece of legislation is a rotten racket. This place feels to me today like a crime scene. Get some of that yellow tape and put it

around this Chamber. The midnight transfer of wealth in this bill is disgusting.

There is a backdrop here. The backdrop here is the wealth inequality in our country already, in which the wealthiest 1 percent of our population owns 30 percent of the wealth and the poorest half of our population, together, only own 3 percent of the wealth—the top 1 percent, a third of the wealth; the bottom half of the population by income, 3 percent of the wealth.

And against that backdrop, this bill transfers wealth from middle-class families to giant corporations, billionaires, and megabillionaires. And it transfers wealth from our children and grandchildren to present-day billionaires by adding \$5 trillion to the debt limit to run up the debt of the country to fund the tax giveaways to these special interests and wealthy billionaires.

How do they do that? They take away healthcare from 16 million Americans and give huge tax breaks to billionaires.

Most families have someone sit down once a month and go through the bills, and you try to figure out what bills you can pay. You may not pay the whole insurance bill; you may just pay the minimum. You may not pay your whole credit card bill; you may just pay the minimum. You are aware exactly how much money you have because you need to make those payments. That is kitchen-table world.

Billionaire world is different. You have a family office. You never see bills. You don't even know how much money you have, not even to the nearest \$100,000. And you don't care because you have more than you could ever spend in your life.

You could pay taxes, like regular people, but there is something about your acquisition of wealth that can't stop. So you won't pay taxes like a normal person. You demand special treatment. You pay less of a tax rate than a firefighter, for God's sake. And that is not enough for you?

Now you come here to this Senate floor wanting even more favors. You already don't know how much money you have. You could pay regular taxes, and it wouldn't take a day from sunning on your private island, a day from cruising in your private yacht, a jet trip on your private jet, a ski trip to your private chalet. Nothing in your life would change if you had to pay taxes like a regular person, but you just don't want to.

And the third is—I should add that, on the tax breaks, a lot of it goes to corporations. This bill doesn't just give big tax breaks to big corporations; it gives big tax breaks to big corporations that move jobs and investment offshore, away from America. And it just doesn't give tax breaks to corporations that move jobs and investment offshore, away from America. It gives tax breaks for doing that. It gives tax breaks for offshoring American jobs and offshoring American investment.

It is the world's worst tax policy. It takes an already-corrupted Tax Code and bends it even further in the favor of megabillionaires and big offshore corporations.

And last, what does this bill do? It causes this transfer of wealth from regular people to the wealthy. It raises your costs to raise their profits.

I am here to talk about one way that happens. Because of this bill, your electric bills will go up. The people behind this bill are counting on you not to know how that works. So I am going to take a minute here, and I am going to tell you how that works.

There are some rules for the grid about how this works. Generators who want to sell power to the grid put in a bid, and they give a price in which they will sell their electricity. You can imagine on this graph that each of these little hash marks is a different generation facility, and each has made a bid at its best price. Once it has the stack of bids, the grid manager, as the load comes onto the grid, dispatches the cheapest generators first and then goes up the stack to the more and more expensive ones. As demand rises, the costs go up. The last one that is called on—the most expensive one that is called on—sets the price for the whole grid, and this last one, the one that is the price setter on the grid, almost always is a fossil fuel plant, OK? It is almost always a fossil fuel plant.

So, if you look at this graph, you will see here that this measures the price that is charged to put those electrons on the grid for consumers, and this is the energy demand, how much consumers are asking. What does the grid need to supply?

If you look at the top line, this is the world without renewables. This is an all fossil fuel system, let's say, a base-load nuke. OK. Throw that in. As the demand goes up, the prices go up because more and more of these generators have to come online.

Eventually, let's say you get to this point, where you have this much load on the grid and you have this much supply, and the price is set by that generator.

That is the world without clean energy. Now you add clean energy. You add renewables to this equation. What do we know about the renewables? They are almost always cheaper. They are almost never the price setter. So they fill in down here, and they fill in below the price of the fossil fuel plant. So if you have load requirement X and you live in "fossil fuel only" world, you are going to be paying that price for energy on the grid—all of it—because it is set by that price setter generator. But if you filled in with renewables, then you are down here for price for that much load. You are saving huge amounts of money. The grid is way more efficient with renewables in the mix.

By the time you get to the same price that you had here for load X, for fossil fuel, you are all the way out

here. You have all of this extra load served before you raise that price. That is the theory. That is how the system works.

Let's see how clean energy fits in this specific area. Let's look at Texas.

Oh, by the way, last year, 95 percent of the power that came on the grid that filled in here was clean energy. If this bill kills clean energy growth, which is its intention, then it is going to kill off the power source that provided 95 percent of what was added to the grid last year. It is going to be a big, big hit.

So let's look at the Texas grid, which is easy to talk about because it is a stand-alone grid. Somebody just did a study of the Texas grid, and they found that with renewables—and Texas is 30 percent renewables, OK? So we are in the "with renewable" situation. With renewables, the average price last August was \$39 per megawatt hour. This was \$39. Then they calculated what happened if you backed out all the solar that had been added. If it weren't for the solar driving this price down, instead of \$39 per megawatt hour, it would have been somewhere between \$55 and \$90 per megawatt hour—a minimum \$25 differential, maybe more than twice the cost.

The punch line:

Had there been no growth in solar energy between 2018 and 2024, wholesale electric prices in '24 would have been at least 40 percent higher.

Without the clean energy growth of that 95 percent of supply that came out of the grid that was clean energy last year, electricity prices would have been 40 percent higher. And where would that 40 percent have gone? It would have gone into the pockets of the fossil fuel industry that was setting that price as everybody had to pay more and more and more.

So when you see the fossil fuel industry come here and take this shot at its clean energy competition in this bill, after having flooded that side with political money, they are going to make a fortune off of this, and consumers—consumers—will pay. That is how this bill robs you. It puts you back onto the fossil fuel side of that curve, not onto the clean energy added part of the curve, which lowers prices so dramatically.

The report concluded:

This isn't speculation or modeling; it is what actually happened in one of America's largest electricity markets.

By the way, while the fossil fuel polluters are out trying to damage their competition by using the power of government and the influence of their dark money operation to do so, they are also damaging America's competitiveness against China.

China has already put in 25 times the solar that we are putting in onto their grid. That gives them huge advantages as they construct solar panels, design solar technologies, and offer that to the rest of the world.

We are in a world market for solar technology just like we are in a world

market for electric vehicles. The fossil fuel industry's desire to destroy the American solar market and to destroy the American electric vehicle market is about as unpatriotic as you can get because it is taking these two technologies and saying: Go for it, China. We are out. We are out. Have the entire international market for solar and for energy. We are not going to compete. We are going to load up our people with new taxes. We are going to tear away the subsidies.

By the way, the fossil fuel industry that is telling you this—they are the recipients of the biggest subsidy in world history. They get \$700 billion a year in the United States alone from being allowed to pollute for free. It violates market economics to pollute for free. Milton Friedman, the most conservative economist, will tell you it is not proper market theory. When somebody is polluting for free, the cost of the pollution should be in the price of the product.

So they already benefit. The fossil fuel industry already benefits from the biggest subsidy in world history—\$700 billion with a "b"—\$700 billion every single year to compete unfairly against clean energy. On top of that, they want to rip away the investments that have been made, and they want to put a new tax on clean energy, and they want to drive consumer prices back up to their fossil fuel model.

There are some really big losers in this big loser of a bill. For anybody who cares about adding \$5 trillion to our national debt, that is a big loss. It comes through in interest rates for people with car loans and home loans. Healthcare—16 million people are getting chucked off their healthcare. Hospitals and nursing homes are facing receiverships as their revenues dry up from a nearly trillion-dollar hit to their revenue streams.

Taxpayers are getting clobbered by an already corrupt Tax Code that this makes even worse, for the individuals benefiting the most from the corruption of the Tax Code and who are the least deserving of our solicitude and who are the most able to pay.

I promise you there are people who will not know they even got this \$300,000 individual billionaire benefit. Because they are so rich already, it won't even count.

On the flip side of the coin, if they had to pay taxes like a normal American, they wouldn't even notice that either. They would still be able to sun on their islands, cruise on their yachts, ski at their chalets, and jet on their jets. Yet we are breaking the bank to the tune of \$5 trillion to take care of those people—creepy billionaires who can't even count their wealth but for some reason insist on coming to Congress and just seizing even more and looting the public trough.

Offshoring corporations get a special tax benefit for offshoring jobs and investment, moving them away from America. Remember, this was the

"America first" agenda—but not when you look into the weeds of this crooked bill.

So creepy billionaires, offshoring corporations, and, of course, fossil fuel polluters who want to pollute have got all the money in the world. They have made massive profits. They could do their own carbon removal and make their products safer. They choose not to. They choose not to because they want to pollute, and they want to kill their competition so they can pollute more and profit more and drive up consumer prices, as I showed here.

And guess what. The creepy billionaires, the offshoring corporations, and the fossil fuel polluters—what do they have in common? Huge donors to the Republican Party. That is what this bill is about. It is not about taking care of the economy. It is not about taking care of the public. It is payback to big special interests and billionaires who provide the dark money funding that floats the Republican Party, and now they are demanding payback for the majorities that they bought.

There is a wasp that lays its larvae inside another bug, and the larvae of the wasp inside that other bug are able to take over the nervous system of that other bug. They can take over the command and control system of the bug, and they start driving the bug around from the inside. They make it do what the larvae want it to do. They make it go where the larvae want to be. They make it hang where the larvae want it to hang. And then the larvae consume it from the inside. They eat it, and they turn into the next generation of wasps.

That is a pretty good analogy for what has happened here. Those creepy billionaires, those fossil fuel polluters, those big offshoring corporations have taken over the command and control system of the Republican Party. The bug over there is being marched around by those special interests, doing exactly what it is told. And it doesn't care about the 16 million people coming off insurance, it doesn't care about the added pollution, it doesn't care about the increased costs, it doesn't care about the unfairness, and it doesn't care about making the Tax Code more corrupt because the special interests are in that bug, running that show.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I come today to explain my vote yesterday for voting against the motion to proceed on this bill.

I spent most of my career in management consulting. I managed large, complex enterprise projects, multiyear, thousands of hours, with a lot of complexity that takes people, process, and technology to make them work. I learned a lot in that career, and I was able to go to the legislature and take that mindset as a member of the minority for two terms.

Then we got the majority in 2010, and I found myself being the speaker of the house. We were in the middle of the financial crisis. When I got sworn in in January of 2011, North Carolina had a \$2 billion shortfall on a \$20 billion general revenue fund, and I had 6 months to balance that budget.

We did something that had not been done in North Carolina. We took the time to understand every aspect and every dollar that was being spent in government. We determined how to cut government in a way that was sustainable. We cut 12 percent from the university system budget, not at the rate of growth but the actual spending.

I had some people say that it was going to be disruptive, and the University of North Carolina would never be the same again. But we did it in a way that was instructed by the operations of the university system. And we did it in a way in concert with the chancellors.

And do you know what happened? We actually balanced the budget. We did do those cuts. And the last time I checked, the North Carolina University system is still considered one of the greatest systems in the United States of America.

Why do I use that example? Because the Medicaid proposal in this bill bears no resemblance to that kind of discipline and due diligence. It has no insights into how these provider tax cuts are going to be absorbed without harming people on Medicare.

Even worse, most of my colleagues do not even understand, on either side of the aisle, the interplay of State-directed payments and the devastating consequences of the funding flows that are going to be before us.

Here is how I figured out the impact in North Carolina: I used to be speaker of the house. And I like the speaker and have a good relationship with the speaker and the President pro tempore, so I called them up. I had my staff ask them if they would do an impact assessment on what this proposed bill would do to the Medicaid Program in North Carolina.

But I didn't want just the view of the Republican partisan staff that report to the speaker and the President pro tempore on how they are going to absorb this bill. I decided to go to Josh Stein, the Governor. I went to his Democrat staff for Medicaid. I asked them to prepare an estimate, independent of the estimate that I had done with fiscal research.

But I took it a step further. I went to the hospital association. I asked three different independent groups—a partisan Democrat group, a partisan Republican group of experts, and a non-partisan group of the hospital association to develop an impact assessment, independent—not talking, not sharing, reporting to me.

What I found is the best case scenario is about a \$26 billion cut. Now, we have got a delay, so it may be 2 years; it may be 1 year. All it does is make that

\$26 billion happen in year 1 or year 12. But the impact is the same, and it is indisputable.

Now, when I actually presented this report, that you can find on my website, I had people in the administration say: You are all wet. You don't know what you are doing.

I said: Well, why don't we assemble a series of meetings. We are going to provide you our analytics. You go through it. Tear it apart.

And I told Mehmet Oz, whom I consider to be one of the most capable people in the Trump administration—he is a brilliant man. I encourage my Democrat colleagues to talk to him. He knows his stuff, and he is very focused on getting efficiencies out of CMS.

So we had three different conference calls with CMS, with Oz on the video and me on the video. I said this: Guys, I would love nothing more than for you to prove me wrong. I would love nothing more than for you to tell me it is not \$26 billion or \$30 billion; that it is \$2.6 billion or \$2 billion or \$200 million.

But after three different attempts for them to discredit our estimates, the day before yesterday, they admitted that we were right; that between the State-directed payments and the cuts scheduled in this bill, there is a reduction of State-directed payments, and then there is the reduction of the provider tax. They can't find a hole in my estimate.

So what they told me is that, yes, it is rough, but North Carolina has used the system; they are going to have to make it work.

All right. So what do I tell 663,000 people in 2 years or 3 years when President Trump breaks his promise by pushing them off of Medicaid because the funding is not there anymore, guys?

I think people in the White House, the amateurs advising the President, are not telling him that the effect of this bill is to break a promise.

Do you know the last time I saw a promise broken around healthcare, with respect to my friends on the other side of the aisle, is when somebody said: If you like your healthcare, you can keep it. If you like your doctor, you can keep it.

We found out that wasn't true. That made me the second Republican speaker of the house since the Civil War, ladies and gentlemen, because we betrayed the promise to the American people. Two years later, three years later, it actually made me a U.S. Senator because in 2010, it had just been proposed. And just anticipation of what was going to happen was enough to have a sea change election that swept Republicans into the majority for the second time in 100 years.

Now Republicans are about to make a mistake on healthcare and betraying a promise.

It is inescapable that this bill, in its current form, will betray the very promise that Donald J. Trump made in the Oval Office or in the Cabinet room

when I was there with Finance, where he said: We can go after waste, fraud, and abuse on any programs.

Now those amateurs who are advising him—not Dr. Oz; I am talking about White House healthcare experts—refuse to tell him that those instructions that were to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse all of a sudden eliminates a government program that is called the provider tax.

We have morphed a legal construct that admittedly has been abused and should be eliminated into waste, fraud, and abuse.

Money laundering, read the code. Look at how long it has been there. I was speaker of the house. I refused to do it. When I left North Carolina, I said we are not going to do a provider tax. I left it at 2½ percent. Now it is 6—a mistake on the part of the leadership.

Frankly, I know my friends are probably going to think I am a little bit crazy here, but I actually passed a law that made it illegal to expand Medicaid.

Why did I do that? Because I was convinced someday we would be here. I would have rather found a way to get more people on Medicaid at the standard FMAP than having this 90–10 match and watching it disappear and taking away desperately needed healthcare.

Over the course of the evening, I may look for an opportunity to speak again, but I am telling the President that you have been misinformed. Your supporting the Senate mark will hurt people who are eligible and qualified for Medicaid.

I love the work requirement. I love the other reforms in this bill. They are necessary, and I appreciate the leadership of the House for putting it in there. In fact, I like the work of the House so much that I wouldn't be having to do this speech if we simply started with the House mark.

I have talked with my colleagues in North Carolina. I know that we can do that. And I believe that we can make sure that we do not break the promise of Donald J. Trump that he has made to people who are on Medicaid today.

But what we are doing, because we have got a view on an artificial deadline on July 4 that means nothing but another date in time—we could take the time to get this right if we laid down the House mark of the Medicaid bill and fixed it.

My friend and colleague from New Hampshire, I jumped in front of her, so I am only going to take another minute or two.

But we owe it to the States to do the work to understand how these proposals affect them. How hard is that? I did it. How hard is it? How hard is it to sit down and ask the Medicaid office, ask the legislative staff, ask the independent hospital association what the impact is? If there is no negative impact, what is wrong with daylight? What is wrong with actually understanding what this bill does?

I know what it does because I spent a career implementing complex systems, and then I had the privilege of being speaker of the house, and I implemented a limited government setting. And since I have been here, I have focused on bills and watched their implementation from the cradle until they are fully implemented.

We owe it to the American people and I owe it to the people of North Carolina to withhold my affirmative vote until it is demonstrated to me that we have done our homework; we are going to make sure that we fulfill the promise; and then I can feel good about a bill that I am willing to vote for. But until that time, I will be withholding my vote.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session to consider the following nominations en bloc: Calendar Nos. 198 through 249, with the exception of Calendar No. 241, and all nominations on the Secretary's desk with the exception PN89; that the nominations be confirmed en bloc; that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that no further motions be in order to any of the nominations; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action and the Senate then resume legislative session.

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

The nominations considered and confirmed are as follows:

NOMINATIONS IN THE NAVY

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be admiral

Vice Adm. Charles B. Cooper, II
IN THE AIR FORCE

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be general

Lt. Gen. Alexis G. Grynkwewich

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. David M. Castaneda
Brig. Gen. Michael P. Cruff
Brig. Gen. Leslie S. Hadley
Brig. Gen. Jennie R. Johnson
Brig. Gen. Lori C. Jones
Brig. Gen. Preston F. McFarren
Brig. Gen. Stacey L. Scarisbrick
Brig. Gen. Stephen E. Slade
Brig. Gen. Dean D. Sniogowski

IN THE ARMY

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. John B. Hinson

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Kent J. Lightner

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grades indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Todd L. Erskine

To be brigadier general

Col. David G. Barrett

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following named officer for appointment as Staff Judge Advocate to the Commandant of the Marine Corps and appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 8046:

To be major general

Col. Christopher G. Tolar

IN THE NAVY

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral

Rear Adm. (1h) Christopher D. Stone

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral

Rear Adm. (1h) David M. Buzzetti

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral

Rear Adm. (1h) David J. Faehnle
Rear Adm. (1h) Joaquin MartinezDePinillos
Rear Adm. (1h) Donald M. Plummer

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral

Rear Adm. (1h) Kristin Acquavella

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral

Rear Adm. (1h) Matthew Case

IN THE SPACE FORCE

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Space Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Robert J. Hutt
Brig. Gen. Anthony J. Mastalir
Brig. Gen. Brian D. Sidari

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Aaron D. Drake

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Catherine V. Barrington

The following Air National Guard of the United States officers for appointment in the

Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be brigadier general

Col. Keolani W. Bailey
Col. John P. Flint
Col. Jeremy R. Ford
Col. Kristin K. Haley
Col. Bernadette Maldonado

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Chad R.W. Biehl
Col. Gregory D. Buchanan
Col. Connie L. Clay
Col. Allen E. Duckworth
Col. Mark J. Estlund
Col. Ethan P. Hinkins
Col. Michelle K. Idle
Col. Shariful M. Khan
Col. Michael C. Mentavlos
Col. Michael B. Parks
Col. Athanasia Shinas
Col. Xaviera Slocum
Col. Molly A. Spedding
Col. Gavin D. Tade

IN THE ARMY

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Matthew M. Cain
Col. Abigail A. Cathelineaud
Col. Michael B. Clark
Col. Ryan C. McDavitt
Col. Stephen M. Pazak
Col. Mark F. Schoenfeld

The following Army National Guard of the United States officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be brigadier general

Col. Isaac B. Martinez

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Marshall S. Scantlin

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. Patrick L. Pollak

IN THE NAVY

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Damian D. Flatt

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Reginald S. Ewing, III

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Raymond P. Owens, III

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Erin E.O. Acosta

Capt. Benjamin A. Snell

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Jereal E. Dorsey

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Kertreck V. Brooks

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Sharif H. Calfee

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Omarr E. Tobias

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Michael J. Thornton

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Jonathan J. Jettparmer

The following named officers for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Quinton S. Packard

Capt. Jonathan R. Townsend

The following named officers for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Christopher A. Carter

Capt. Matthew A. Hawkins

Capt. Suzanne JM Krauss

Capt. Rigel D. Pirrone

Capt. Kelly C. Ward

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Frank J. Brajevic

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Anthony L. Lacourse

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Kristin L. McCarthy

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Kimberly M. Sandberg

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Kevin M. Corcoran

The following named officer for appointment in the Navy Reserve to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Lester Ortiz

IN THE SPACE FORCE

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Space Force to

the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Casey M. Beard

Col. Todd J. Benson

Col. Robert W. Davis

Col. Christopher A. Fernengel

Col. Nikki R. Frankino

Col. Tyler N. Hague

Col. Matthew E. Holston

IN THE ARMY

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Army to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Karen S. MondayGresham

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Case A. Cunningham

Lt. Gen. John J. DeGoes

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be general

Lt. Gen. Adrian L. Spain

IN THE ARMY

The following named officer for appointment to the position indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 7037:

To be judge advocate general of the United States Army

Maj. Gen. Bobby L. Christine

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Benjamin T. Watson

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. William J. Bowers

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. David L. Odom

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Stephen E. Liszewski

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Gregory L. Masiello

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. Jay M. Bargerone

IN THE NAVY

The following named officers for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be vice admiral

Vice Adm. Frederick W. Kacher

Rear Adm. Elizabeth S. Okano

Rear Adm. Curt A. Renshaw

Rear Adm. Michael P. Donnelly

Rear Adm. Thomas M. Henderschedt

NOMINATIONS PLACED ON THE SECRETARY'S DESK

IN THE AIR FORCE

PN119 AIR FORCE nominations (44) beginning ALEXANDER A. ADELEYE, and ending NOAH C. WOOD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 28, 2025.

PN130 AIR FORCE nominations (228) beginning SARAHGRACE R. AGLUBAT, and ending CASEY L. ZOELLICK, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 29, 2025.

PN131 AIR FORCE nominations (40) beginning LAURA A. ABBOTT, and ending ANNE L. WILLEY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 29, 2025.

PN133 AIR FORCE nominations (141) beginning HUGO D. ALARCON, and ending NICHOLAS J. YELDING, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 29, 2025.

PN153 AIR FORCE nominations (18) beginning BRETT D. BARNER, and ending PETER S. VO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN154 AIR FORCE nominations (126) beginning DANIEL A. AGADA, and ending MARIO L. ZENTENO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN155 AIR FORCE nominations (55) beginning RODINANTHONYFIL R. ALARCON, and ending LISA M. YEATER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN156 AIR FORCE nominations (432) beginning LUCHEZAR A. ABBOTT, and ending ALEXANDER B. ZIMA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN157 AIR FORCE nominations (54) beginning VICTOR A. ACOSTA, and ending WILLIAM D. YAU, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN158 AIR FORCE nominations (68) beginning DUSTIN C. ADAMS, and ending DONNELL D. WRIGHT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN159 AIR FORCE nominations (1116) beginning HAVAL L. AARIF, and ending THOMAS P. ZOGAL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN160 AIR FORCE nominations (270) beginning JOEY A. ABELON, JR., and ending LOUIS J. ZIB, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN161 AIR FORCE nominations (170) beginning CRISTIAN AGREDO, and ending JENA M. ZANDER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN163 AIR FORCE nomination of Jeffrey A. Smith, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN164 AIR FORCE nomination of Joshua S. Stinson, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN165 AIR FORCE nomination of Cyrus A. Perry, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN166 AIR FORCE nomination of Benjamin R. Washburn, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN167 AIR FORCE nomination of Raymond E. Kerr, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN168 AIR FORCE nomination of Matthew T. Olson, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN169 AIR FORCE nomination of Lemuel J. Rios, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN170 AIR FORCE nominations (102) beginning JESSE C. ALLEN, and ending BRIDGET S. ZORN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN171 AIR FORCE nomination of Clayton J. Aune, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN172 AIR FORCE nomination of Garrett M. Wells, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN173 AIR FORCE nomination of Brandon G. Wagoner, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN174 AIR FORCE nomination of Garrett C. Guthrie, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN175 AIR FORCE nomination of Vanessa J. Moffett, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN176 AIR FORCE nomination of Ramon Morado, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN177 AIR FORCE nomination of John H. Diaz, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN178 AIR FORCE nomination of Brennan P. McDonald, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN179 AIR FORCE nomination of Tyler B. Smith, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN248 AIR FORCE nominations (501) beginning CLARENCE ABERCROMBIE, JR., and ending ANDREW P. ZWIRLEIN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN249 AIR FORCE nominations (30) beginning BRYCE D. ACRES, and ending CHRISTOPHER D. WESTFALL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

IN THE ARMY

PN98 ARMY nominations (30) beginning CAMISHA Q. ABATTAM, and ending RACHEAL L. WOOD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 1, 2025.

PN99 ARMY nominations (10) beginning DAVID M. BOLAND, and ending CHRIS-

TOPHER W. REMILLARD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 1, 2025.

PN100 ARMY nominations (52) beginning HARRIS A. ABBASI, and ending 0003080783, which nominations here received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 1, 2025.

PN101 ARMY nominations (13) beginning JACOB L. BARNOSKI, and ending JONATHAN SHEARER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 1, 2025.

PN142 ARMY nominations (15) beginning DANIEL J. BLAND, and ending ANNA MARIA TRAVIS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 6, 2025.

PN143 ARMY nominations (103) beginning JUSTIN M. ADAMS, and ending 0002993837, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 6, 2025.

PN144 ARMY nominations (129) beginning JOSEPH B. AHLBORN, and ending 0003951188, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 6, 2025.

PN145 ARMY nominations (30) beginning TIMOTHY W. ATKINS, and ending RICKY L. WARREN JR., which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 6, 2025.

PN162 ARMY nomination of Brent T. Bubany, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 19, 2025.

PN180 ARMY nomination of Margaret A. Nowicki, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN181 ARMY nomination of Arthur G. Brong, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN182 ARMY nominations (28) beginning SPENCER R. ATKINSON, and ending ANNA YOO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN183 ARMY nominations (161) beginning JOSEPH R. ADAMS, and ending LIANG ZHOU, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN184 ARMY nominations (18) beginning MICHAEL M. ARMSTRONG, and ending GARRETT G. WOOD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN185 ARMY nominations (77) beginning JASON B. ALISANGCO, and ending 0002875100, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN186 ARMY nominations (220) beginning KYLE L. AKERS, and ending BRIAN K. ZDUNOWSKI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN187 ARMY nominations (48) beginning ANGELA J. ALLEN, and ending SHUN Y. YU, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN188 ARMY nominations (222) beginning CARLOS J. ACOSTA RIVERA, and ending JAY A. ZWIRBLIS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN250 ARMY nominations (4) beginning JESSICA E. BASSO, and ending BRADLEY TAIT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN252 ARMY nominations (7) beginning RUDYLEE ARMIJO, and ending WILSON T.

MUSTAIN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN253 ARMY nomination of Mark R. Milhiser, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN273 ARMY nominations (13) beginning CHRISTOPHER L. BLAHA, and ending THOMAS A. WHITEHEAD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 3, 2025.

PN274 ARMY nominations (25) beginning BLAKE A. BUGAJ, and ending KYLE R. VOGT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 3, 2025.

PN315 ARMY nominations (500) beginning WILLIAM P. ABBOTT, and ending 0004221858, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN316 ARMY nominations (442) beginning BENJAMIN T. ABEL, and ending 0004209777, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN317 ARMY nominations (35) beginning ALAN ADAME, and ending 0000089994, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN318 ARMY nominations (304) beginning JAMES J. AGIUS, and ending 0003086373, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN349 ARMY nominations (18) beginning ERIC O. DEAN, and ending JOHN C. VERDUGO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 16, 2025.

PN363 ARMY nomination of Chad M. Henderson, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 17, 2025.

PN364 ARMY nominations (2) beginning LILY M. DIAKHATE, and ending JEFFREY B. KUSYJ, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 17, 2025.

PN365 ARMY nomination of Patricia L. Mashburn, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 17, 2025.

PN366 ARMY nomination of Peter I. Belk, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 17, 2025.

IN THE COAST GUARD

*PN243 COAST GUARD nominations (4) beginning JOHN C. ADAMS, and ending JUDSON B. WHEELER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

PN34 MARINE CORPS nomination of Adam J. Romnek, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of March 14, 2025.

PN38 MARINE CORPS nomination of Benjamin D. Kastning, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of March 14, 2025.

PN52 MARINE CORPS nomination of Matthew A. Beard, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of March 14, 2025.

PN103 MARINE CORPS nominations (47) beginning MICHAEL P. ABRAMS, and ending JEREMY K. YAMADA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of April 1, 2025.

PN319 MARINE CORPS nomination of Jacob C. Crockett, which was received by the

Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

IN THE NAVY

PN189 NAVY nomination of David C. Sandomir, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN190 NAVY nomination of Allen H. Grimes, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN191 NAVY nomination of Jonathan D. Padgett, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN192 NAVY nomination of Jonathan D. Padgett, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN193 NAVY nomination of Ricky R. Rowe, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN194 NAVY nominations (24) beginning DANIEL P. BRADLEY, and ending KASIMIR M. WNUK, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN195 NAVY nomination of Daniel P. Malatesta, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN196 NAVY nominations (67) beginning MARTHA C. ADAMS, and ending BENJAMIN M. WALBORN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN197 NAVY nomination of John K. Hope, III, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN198 NAVY nominations (13) beginning MICHAEL W. COULTER, and ending MONTY A. VIKDAL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN199 NAVY nominations (3) beginning ROBERT J. CHAVEZ, and ending DEAN T. MOON, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN200 NAVY nominations (2) beginning DANIEL S. AVONDOGLIO, and ending ROBERT F. MARNELL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN201 NAVY nomination of Santiago M. Carrizosa, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN202 NAVY nominations (3) beginning ALLISON M. ASHEARRIOLA, and ending PATRICK L. O'BRIEN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN203 NAVY nominations (15) beginning JOSEPH E. BENTON, III, and ending LUKE G. WISNIEWSKI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN204 NAVY nominations (4) beginning LEON W. MOORE, and ending TODD M. SPITTLER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN205 NAVY nomination of Christopher A. Baxter, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN206 NAVY nominations (2) beginning CALVIN MARTIN, and ending MIKO K. WADE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN207 NAVY nominations (3) beginning BRIAN J. ABBOTT, and ending ERIC P. NARDO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN208 NAVY nominations (6) beginning WADE A. BERZETT, and ending RÉGIS C. WORLEY, JR., which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN209 NAVY nominations (4) beginning SCOTT P. BENNIE, and ending CHRISTOPHER M. SCHMID, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN210 NAVY nominations (77) beginning JESSE BANDLE, and ending JAMES L. ZIMMERMAN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN211 NAVY nominations (13) beginning WILLIAM P. BOGGESS, and ending RACHEL L. WERNER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN212 NAVY nominations (24) beginning JAMES P. ADWELL, and ending TIMOTHY T. WELSH, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN213 NAVY nominations (12) beginning DENIZ M. BAYKAN, and ending KATHERINE D. WORSTELL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN214 NAVY nominations (5) beginning ERIC K. CONRAD, and ending KATHERINE VESTER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN215 NAVY nominations (3) beginning ANTHONY B. FRIES, and ending DENNIS D. SMITH, JR., which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN216 NAVY nominations (2) beginning MICHAEL R. FASANO, and ending JERIAHMI L. L. TINSLEY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN217 NAVY nominations (8) beginning EMILY J. BINGHAM, and ending THOMAS H. WRIGHT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN218 NAVY nominations (19) beginning JEREMIAH P. ANDERSON, and ending JEFFREY K. WHITE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN219 NAVY nominations (5) beginning BRIEN J. CROTEAU, and ending BRENT F. WEST, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN220 NAVY nominations (258) beginning IAN P. ADAMS, and ending GEORGE S. ZINTAK, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN221 NAVY nominations (16) beginning JAMES G. ANGERMAN, and ending ROBERT M. SYRE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN222 NAVY nominations (6) beginning AARON E. KLEINMAN, and ending STEVEN E. STOUGARD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN223 NAVY nominations (26) beginning LAMONT A. BROWN, and ending BRENT L. SUMMERS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN224 NAVY nominations (33) beginning COLLEEN L. ABUZEID, and ending ELIZABETH M. ZULOAGA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN225 NAVY nomination of Justin J. Degrado, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN226 NAVY nominations (13) beginning NAIMI AMIRAL, and ending MICHAEL A. WHITE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN227 NAVY nominations (3) beginning ARLO K. ABRAHAMSON, and ending RICHLYN C. IVEY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN228 NAVY nominations (6) beginning JAMES C. BAILEY, and ending ALEJANDRO PALOMINO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN229 NAVY nominations (14) beginning DANIEL J. BELLINGHAUSEN, and ending ERIC ZILBERMAN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN230 NAVY nominations (17) beginning MICHAEL J. BONACORSA, and ending JACOB E. WILSON, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN231 NAVY nominations (12) beginning CHRISTIAN G. ACORD, and ending CHRISTOPHER J. WASEK, which nomination were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN232 NAVY nominations (8) beginning AARON N. AARON, and ending MICHAEL N. PERKINS, II, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN233 NAVY nominations (5) beginning KRISTINE N. BENCH, and ending CHRISTOPHER K. TUGGLE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN234 NAVY nominations (3) beginning KURT E. DAVIS, and ending JASON A. RINTO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN235 NAVY nominations (2) beginning ANDREW J. ADAMS, and ending PETER B. MANZOLI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN236 NAVY nomination of Jaime I. Roman, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN237 NAVY nomination of Matthew L. Sevier, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN238 NAVY nomination of Ashley S.M. McAbee, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN239 NAVY nomination of Jeremy D. Bartowitz, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN240 NAVY nomination of Brenna L. Schnars, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN241 NAVY nomination of Steven A. Halle, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN242 NAVY nominations (4) beginning MATTHEW D. BAIRD, and ending JERRY T. WHITLOCK, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN243 NAVY nominations (15) beginning NEREMIAH J.S. CASTANO, and ending PETER S. SUNDEN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN256 NAVY nominations (8) beginning MATTHEW B. DANIELS, and ending KENNETH J. PHILLIPS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN257 NAVY nominations (3) beginning COLIN C. ENGELS, and ending CHRISTOPHER L. WORTHY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN258 NAVY nominations (4) beginning MARK L. BROOKS, and ending JOHN B. STOCKSTILL, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN259 NAVY nominations (18) beginning WENDY F. ALBAND, and ending KIMBERLY SMITH, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN260 NAVY nominations (3) beginning PETER J. HAMMES, and ending JEANNINE L. WEISS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN261 NAVY nominations (4) beginning TOBY J. DEGENHARDT, and ending BRIAN A. POTOSKI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN262 NAVY nominations (15) beginning BEN P. AMMERMAN, and ending ROBERT C. SINGER, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN263 NAVY nomination of James M. Missler, Jr., which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN264 NAVY nomination of Kaelan F. Clay, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN265 NAVY nomination of Elliott Giles, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN266 NAVY nominations (13) beginning CHAD C. BARNHART, and ending CAITLIN J. TAKAHASHI, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN267 NAVY nominations (23) beginning BURNES C.W. BROWN, and ending KENNETH W. ZILKA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN268 NAVY nominations (6) beginning JUSTUS T. COOK, and ending SHEU O. YUSUF, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN269 NAVY nominations (32) beginning JEREMY M. ADAMS, and ending CHANCE S. YERGENSEN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

PN320 NAVY nomination of Brian N. Johnson, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN321 NAVY nomination of Sergio E. Lloret, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN322 NAVY nomination of Les M. Begin, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN323 NAVY nomination of Shelby M. Nikitin, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN324 NAVY nominations (23) beginning CLAUDIA I. ALDAY, and ending RYAN J. WICKHAM, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN325 NAVY nominations (48) beginning ROBERT T. AUGUSTINE, and ending CODY

C. WHITE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN326 NAVY nominations (15) beginning MATTHEW J. ARNSBERGER, and ending ANTHONY J. WICH, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN327 NAVY nominations (23) beginning TRAVIS L. CARTER, and ending KATHERINE R. WRIGHT, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN328 NAVY nominations (26) beginning LUIS E. BANCHS, and ending MATTHEW K. WITTKOPP, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN329 NAVY nominations (49) beginning JERMAINE ARMSTRONG, and ending KENDRA M. YATES, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN330 NAVY nominations (2) beginning DWAYNE D. DUNLAP, and ending JASON O. LAWRIE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN331 NAVY nominations (12) beginning RICHARD E. ARTHUR, II, and ending BRIAN E. YEE, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN332 NAVY nominations (8) beginning DAVID J. CARTER, and ending MATTHEW A. STROUP, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN333 NAVY nominations (22) beginning DANIEL J. BRADSHAW, and ending JACOB J. TORBA, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN334 NAVY nominations (14) beginning MICHAEL ADAMSKI, JR., and ending JACQUELINE ZIMNY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN335 NAVY nominations (4) beginning CHRISTOPHER P. ANDERSON, and ending ALEX R. TURCO, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN336 NAVY nominations (4) beginning JOSHUA D. CIOCCO, and ending CHRISTOPHER R. RICHARDS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN337 NAVY nominations (20) beginning DEENA R. ABT, and ending SHANE A. WELSH, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN338 NAVY nominations (14) beginning ROBERT J. CAMPBELLMARTIN, and ending JACOB R. WOFFORD, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN339 NAVY nominations (6) beginning MICHAEL L. HARPER, and ending MICHAEL S. WILLIAMS, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN340 NAVY nominations (13) beginning GLORIA F. BOYKIN, and ending EMMA S. YEABY, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

PN341 NAVY nominations (568) beginning ANASTASIA S. ABID, and ending ALEXANDER T. ZIMMERMAN, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 11, 2025.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

PN242 SPACE FORCE nomination of Kristen M. Barra, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of May 22, 2025.

PN270 SPACE FORCE nomination of Raymond C. Brushier, which was received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record of June 2, 2025.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume legislative session.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I also ask indulgence for one more minute.

This is really easy. Yesterday was my 38th wedding anniversary. I have convinced Susan Tillis to stay married to me for 38 years. I wish I was going to be with her and a couple of dozen family members down at the beach, but I am doing my work here, and I am going to stay until it is done.

I also want to wish my grandson—they are celebrating his second birthday today down there at that same beach house—happy birthday.

God bless my family, I love you.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

H.R. 1

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I am sorry to see my colleague Senator TILLIS leave before I have a chance to tell him how much I am going to miss him.

We have worked together on a number of things, including the Senate NATO Observer Group. He has been a great partner, an excellent Senator, and I am sorry to hear that he is not going to be staying in this body.

But, Mr. President, I am really here on this floor to oppose the reconciliation bill that we are considering today. It would be the largest transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich in a single bill in our history.

This legislation would take away healthcare for millions of Americans; it would cut food aid for millions more; it would raise household energy and healthcare bills; and it would add trillions to the debt, all to give the top, not just 1 percent but the top 0.1 percent of people who make more than \$2.5 million a year an extra \$250,000 a year.

At a moment when Americans are struggling with the high cost of living, this bill will take money out of the pockets of working people, the average household making less than \$50,000. That is 30 percent of Americans. So 30 percent of Americans will lose about \$700 a year from this bill.

Here are some of the ways that it hurts middle-class Americans, the people whom I am very proud to represent in New Hampshire: Somehow, the Senate took the bad bill—or what I thought was a bad bill—from the House, and they have made it much, much worse.

This bill is the largest cut to healthcare in American history. In total, the bill proposes more than \$1 trillion—\$1 trillion—in cuts to Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act—\$930 billion of that is Medicaid alone. Because of these cuts, more than 300 rural

hospitals could close, more than 500 nursing homes could close. These are core programs and services that benefit seniors, children, veterans, people living with disabilities, and working families.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that 17 million Americans, including 43,000 Granite Staters, would lose their health insurance.

Over the past several weeks, the past couple of months, I have toured New Hampshire. I have heard from countless constituents who are deeply anxious about what this bill means for them and for their families.

Again and again, they have said plainly, without Medicaid, without the Affordable Care Act, they would not be here today.

I heard from Danielle in Dalton, northern New Hampshire. Danielle is a proud mother of three sons, two of whom have autism. Danielle's sons rely on Medicaid for their health coverage and for their home care. Danielle is not only their full-time caregiver; she receives a stipend from Medicaid to provide for their care. And thanks to Medicaid, both of her sons are able to work part-time, they are able to live at home with their mom, and they are able to remain active in the community.

This bill would put all of that at risk. Danielle says her sons could have difficulty qualifying for Medicaid under these new rules, and losing Medicaid would be catastrophic for her family because it would likely force her sons out of work, out of her home, and into a group home or institution. So it is going to cost a lot more if that happens.

Her boys are now contributing members of society, and this bill threatens not only their livelihood and their independence and their future, it threatens their dignity.

I heard from Shawn in Claremont. Shawn shared with me his story of addiction to alcohol, cocaine, and heroin and his long road to recovery. After several near-death experiences, he found stability in a sober living home and enrolled in Medicaid. With access to treatment, he was able to hold a job and get his life back on track.

He eventually opened his own sober living home, Hope 2 Freedom, where he now helps others suffering from addiction so that they can enroll in Medicaid and begin their own journey to sobriety.

I heard from Karla in Exeter. Karla has twin 3-year-old boys, one of whom had serious medical complications at birth. Now, she always was able to have health insurance with her job, but as her family's medical bills piled up, she enrolled her son in Medicaid to ensure that he got the care that her family could not afford and her employer-sponsored health insurance wouldn't pay for. He still needs extensive care to this day, and losing her coverage would put her family into devastating medical debt.

Probably the story I heard that touched me as much as any was from a man in Berlin, in northern New Hampshire. He had had a number of substance misuse issues, mental health challenges.

He said: Without Medicaid, without the center—we were at a center where Medicaid helped pay to support people who needed help. He said: Without this, I would just give up; I would commit suicide because there would be nothing for me.

These are just a handful of the countless stories I have heard these past few months. They are about real people.

This bill isn't just words on a page; it is a direct attack on not only their health and their economic security but their very dignity, their ability to have fulfilling lives and to contribute back to their communities and to society. We owe them better than this.

This bill would also make catastrophic cuts to food assistance that is provided by the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, also known as SNAP. During this time of high food prices, of increasing food insecurity, it is particularly critical for families to be able to rely on SNAP to help them keep food on the table.

One of the ways this bill cuts the program is by requiring States to pay higher costs. Now, as the former Governor of New Hampshire, I can tell you how much of a burden this is on our State's budget. And there are all kinds of provisions in this bill that are nothing but massive cost shifts to States, and this is one area.

The bill puts food assistance at risk for families with teenage children as well as older adults, veterans, and individuals experiencing homelessness. In New Hampshire, an estimated 1,000 older adults could lose SNAP access. These cuts will mean increased hunger across the country.

You know, we talk a lot about kitchen table issues here. Passing this bill is an explicit vote to take food off of families' kitchen tables.

I heard from Rachel. She is a care coordinator at a behavioral health center in Claremont, which is in the western part of New Hampshire. She told me:

SNAP is not just a program—it is a lifeline. For the parents I work with, it means being able to send their children to school with full stomachs and functioning minds. For caregivers struggling to make ends meet, it provides some peace of mind knowing there will be something on the table each night. And for children—many of whom are navigating mental health challenges—SNAP supports stability, dignity and health during formative years. Without SNAP, the strain on these already vulnerable families would increase exponentially.

She goes on to say:

SNAP is not a handout—it is a step forward for families working hard to survive and succeed against overwhelming odds.

On the energy front, for families concerned about energy costs, this bill only offers more pain. In addition to cutting off tremendously successful incentives for electricity that are adding

reliable, affordable, and clean energy to the grid at a record pace, this bill cuts off longstanding tax credits for consumers—for average, everyday Americans—to make energy-saving improvements to their homes or to add rooftop solar to take control of their own energy bills.

After countless promises to lower people's energy bills, this legislation would do just the opposite. Last year, 2.3 million families took advantage of the home energy efficiency tax credit and cut an average \$130 off of their yearly energy bills. Now, this may not sound like a lot to the Mar-a-Lago crowd, but it makes a big difference for families in New Hampshire who worry about how they are going to heat their homes. American households are expected to pay an extra \$170 billion in energy bills over the next 10 years, thanks to the misplaced priorities in this bill.

Add to that 1.5 million good jobs that are likely to go away, and it makes you wonder if supporters of this bill have actually read it or if they actually care about American energy dominance.

And on taxes, this bill spends more than \$4 trillion on tax cuts, including nearly \$1 trillion in new tax breaks for the biggest corporations. But for taxpayers earning less than \$30,000 a year, they would see an average tax increase.

Let me say that again because I didn't say that quite right with the right emphasis: For taxpayers earning less than \$30,000 a year, they would see an average tax increase in 2029. And these are the same families who are going to be harmed most by extreme cuts to Medicaid and SNAP. Families making under \$50,000 are likely to be worse off, and some could lose more than \$1,500 a year under this bill.

So if you add to that the effects of Trump's tariffs, which raise the cost of living for a typical family by \$2,000 a year, this makes it even worse for families. So the bottom 80 percent of households, those making less than \$175,000, will be worse off, on average, under this bill.

Now, I have talked about how this bill makes families pay more for healthcare, for energy, and food in order to give more money to billionaires, but there are a few other things that people should know. First, because of the trillions of dollars this bill would add to the debt, interest rates are likely to go up. That adds more than \$1,000 a year for a typical mortgage.

This bill makes it harder for students to afford the cost of college, and it removes debt protections for students who have been defrauded by their schools.

And this bill actually tries to prohibit States from regulating AI for the next 10 years, making it that much harder to keep our kids safe online and to protect jobs from being lost to the use of this technology.

You know, I was first elected to the New Hampshire State Senate more

than 30 years ago. This bill that we are considering today would do more harm to more people than any other law I have seen in my entire time in public office.

This bill makes having a family more expensive by raising the cost of energy, healthcare, and education. This bill takes food and healthcare away from seniors and families, and it does all of that—it does all of that—to give trillions of dollars more to corporations and to the wealthiest. And it explodes our deficit in the process. That is not what the people of New Hampshire are asking for, and it is not what Americans deserve.

So, to my colleagues in the Senate, I say this: At a moment when Americans are feeling squeezed by the cost of living, we should be doing something about that.

Instead of gutting healthcare to pay for tax cuts, we should be expanding access to affordable, quality care.

Instead of turning our backs on working parents, we should be making housing more affordable. And we should ensure that every child has access to high quality, affordable early education.

Instead of cutting nutrition programs, let's make sure that no child in America goes hungry.

Instead of driving up food and energy prices, let's invest in the programs that help American families succeed.

President Trump calls this the Big Beautiful Bill, but it is a big betrayal of the American people. There is nothing beautiful about taking away healthcare and food from working families to give more money to billionaires.

So I intend to vote against this legislation, and I urge all of my colleagues to do the same.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I don't believe you can serve in the U.S. Senate without being, at least, an amateur student of history. You are overwhelmed in this Chamber, which is where the Senate has met since 1859, to reflect on all of the things that have occurred in the past, and you remember your own experience there as well. I certainly do.

This is my 29th year of service in the Senate, and I think back this evening to some of the things which I have witnessed and that still stick with me.

I can still see that door open and Ted Kennedy walk through it, summoned from his deathbed in Massachusetts to cast the deciding vote on the Affordable Care Act, ObamaCare. He wouldn't miss it, even if it meant he was going to die in the process.

I think of that door over there, when President Trump, in his first term, tried to, basically, eliminate the Affordable Care Act, and it was saved at the last minute, at 2 in the morning, when John McCain came through those doors, stood in the well right by that

table through the Republican side, and cast his vote no. He couldn't raise his arm, it had been damaged so badly when he served as a prisoner of war during Vietnam, but you knew how decisive his gesture was. And he saved healthcare for millions of Americans.

There were other moments as well that I can reflect on, but the point I would like to get to is this: There was a speech a few minutes ago on the floor of the U.S. Senate which every Senator should have heard, particularly every Republican Senator.

The Senator from North Carolina gave a speech—Senator TILLIS—and explained why he decided to vote against this Republican budget plan, this reconciliation bill. He explained it in a thoughtful and comprehensive and convincing way. But before he made his decision, he turned to Republicans in the State and Democrats and a neutral third party to analyze the bill. He concluded, after that careful study, that this measure, the changes in Medicaid and Medicare and other health programs, would be a disaster for the State of North Carolina.

He had made it clear before tonight that he was going to vote against this bill, and he made it clear this morning that he is preparing to retire from the Senate.

I felt his statement was compelling, and I am sorry that there weren't other Members on the Republican side, at least one beyond the Presiding Officer, present to hear it.

It is seldom that you hear a speech on the floor of the Senate that you know is so personal and so heartfelt and so meaningful as the statement made by Senator TILLIS earlier. He made a decision, which will be widely reported, I am sure, and showed a level of political courage which is seldom seen in this Chamber.

He basically said in a positive way that the President was wrong in believing that this wouldn't hurt ordinary people. This Republican measure, which is before us tonight and tomorrow is going to hurt a lot of people.

We estimate that 16 million American families will lose their health insurance as a result of this measure that is on the floor today.

I have said it before, but I want to repeat it. If you have ever been the father of a new baby with a serious medical problem and you have no health insurance, you will never forget that moment as long as you live. I know. I have been there.

I went to the charity ward at Children's Hospital as a student of Georgetown Law School with my wife and baby. We waited in line to see which doctor would walk through the door and see my baby and save her life. You feel that you have let everyone down in the world at that point when you don't have health insurance when you need it so badly. It means so much to you.

This bill is designed to take health insurance away from 11 million families in America. Eleven million fami-

lies in America in a period of time will not have peace of mind that they have access to the best care because they will have lost their health insurance.

What is it about Donald Trump taking away coverage of healthcare? Why has this become the trademark of the Donald Trump Republican Party? He did it in his first term. He tried to, but John McCain stopped him, and now he is trying to do it again.

The question is whether Senator TILLIS and his Republican colleagues can muster enough courage to step up and find four Republican Senators who will say: No. No. I am not going there. I don't want it on my conscious or my record that I took health insurance away from so many American people.

Now, you may argue: DURBIN you are a Democrat—and I am—and your arguments have to be tempered because you are so partisan, so political. Surely it isn't as bad as you just said it was.

Well, let me read something to you. It is from a group called the American Cancer Society. I am sure you have heard of it. This is their Cancer Action Network, and it is a letter to the Senate from Lisa Lacasse, president of the American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network. Here is what she says about the measure that is pending before us now that we are being asked to vote on. It is from the American Cancer Society Cancer Action Network:

History will be made with this vote. Congress has one last chance to stop this unprecedented attack on access to healthcare for millions of Americans, including cancer patients and survivors. Congress can say 'no' to terminating health coverage for nearly 11 million people who will have no other affordable option available to them if this bill passes.

Currently, 1 in 10 people with a history of cancer have Medicaid coverage, including 1 in 3 kids who are newly diagnosed with cancer. We know having quality health coverage is one of the most significant factors in whether someone survives a cancer diagnosis. Voting for this bill means voting to rip the chance of survival away from real people.

She goes on to say:

Simply put, this bill will mean more Americans are living sicker and dying sooner.

Then she said:

Lives are on the line.

So if you are skeptical about anything that I say because of my partisan background, I understand. But for goodness' sake, when the American Cancer Society—they have such a definitive statement made that this measure we are being asked to vote on is going to harm innocent people—men, women, and children. That is a fact.

I might add another short message we received from the Children's Hospital Association. Matthew Cook is their president and CEO, and here is what he says about this bill that is pending:

The new version of the budget reconciliation bill is a crisis for children's health care, hospitals, and providers nationwide, and we ask Congress to oppose it as an act of support for America's children. The bill goes

much too far. . . . The bill amounts to fewer doctors and nurses to see your child, longer wait times, and sicker children. We know that the impacts of poor pediatric health care reverberate for a lifetime.

That is from the Children's Hospital Association.

Neither of these organizations is a partisan organization, and they have confirmed what Senator TILLIS said earlier on behalf of the State of North Carolina and what those of us on this side of the aisle have been saying all along.

Why would we risk the lives and well-being of so many children, so many American families? What is it about the trillion dollars which we will take out of the healthcare system in America that is so pressing, so demanding that we are willing to make these big risks? I will tell you what it is. It is the extension of tax breaks—tax breaks for the wealthiest people.

Oh, DURBIN, you Democrats always talk about billionaires and millionaires. It can't be true.

Senator ANGUS KING is here. He told me that he did an analysis of the actual tax breaks. If I remember correctly, if you do a cut-off of income at \$400,000 a year and say anyone over that figure is not going to receive any tax break, you would reduce the cost of this tax program by 60 percent or more—60 percent or more.

So when we talk about tax breaks for the wealthiest people in America, that is exactly what this is about. I want to give tax breaks, if we can, to working families that struggle paycheck to paycheck. For goodness' sake, a \$346,000 tax cut for Elon Musk, the richest man on Earth? What are we thinking?

I just want to make quick reference to two States that have an experience coming with this bill, which will be dramatic. One is Kansas. In Kansas, 360,000 individuals rely on Medicaid coverage. Fifty-six percent of them are children. But with this bill, 89,000 people in Kansas are going to lose their health insurance.

In Kansas, Medicaid covers one-third of births and 58 percent of nursing home residents. What happens when Medicaid does not pay enough money to the nursing home to keep your mother in good care or your father or someone in your family? What do you do next? Well, you exhaust the savings that are available to your family. If that isn't enough, what is next? I don't know.

When I grew up, as a kid, there was a spare bedroom in my grandparents' home for brothers and sisters who had no place else to go. I suppose that is going to happen to some families.

Already, 28 rural hospitals in Kansas are at immediate risk of closure. To think that this measure will have no impact on those families and those communities is just plain wrong.

In the adjoining State of Missouri—I grew up across the river, the Mississippi River; I grew up in Illinois; I grew up across the river from St.

Louis, MO—1.2 million individuals rely on Medicaid coverage. Fifty percent are children. With this bill, 250,000 people in Missouri are projected to lose their health insurance. Medicaid covers 40 percent of births in Missouri and 65 percent of nursing home residents.

Already, 10 rural hospitals in Missouri are at immediate risk of closure. Mr. President, you know as well as I do what happens in smalltown America, rural America, when they close the hospital. It is devastating—not just because you don't have access to quality healthcare but because you just lost a major economic engine for that community. Try to attract a new business to that town after the hospital closes. Watch what you run into. It is that devastating.

That is the reality of this approach. And why are we doing it? What is the national energy that calls on us to make this change? Tax breaks for the wealthiest people in the America. That is what is motivating the Republicans now.

I want to close and just say thank you to Senator TILLIS. He has shown extraordinary courage. The question is whether others will join him, whether four Republican Senators will step up and say: Enough. I have heard enough. I have seen enough. I believe this is wrong.

There are ways we can help people who need a tax break rather than the wealthiest people that won't damage some of these families. Eleven million, 16 million—whatever the number turns out to be—will lose health insurance.

I hope that we come to our senses and do it soon. I hope what Senator TILLIS said on the floor will inspire Members of his own caucus to listen carefully, to know that he speaks the truth and has taken great political risk to say it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROUNDS). The Senator from Wisconsin.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I am proud to join my midwestern colleagues today to draw attention to what will happen in our States if this bill were to come to pass. So I rise today on behalf of the 17 million Americans who are poised to have their healthcare terminated because of the Republicans' disastrous budget bill.

While I am laser-focused on the nearly 260,000 Wisconsinites whose healthcare will be placed in jeopardy by this measure, I realize that so many Americans who reside in States that are represented by Republicans don't have a voice in this fight right now on this Senate floor.

You know, I have traveled my State extensively, listening to people talk about how this bill would impact them and their families, and I have shared those stories, I have uplifted those stories, sometimes right here on the Senate floor and sometimes in other ways.

I know that my Republican colleagues are getting the same influx of phone calls and letters that I am get-

ting from parents of children with disabilities, from the elderly and folks who are working hard but just can't keep up. These are constituents who are downright scared that they will have the rug pulled out from under them.

I know my Republican colleagues are hearing from their rural hospitals and their pediatricians who are clear about what this bill will mean for their ability to keep their doors open and to care for their patients.

According to reports, my colleague from Kentucky even admitted as much behind closed doors last week, saying that "I know a lot of us are hearing from people back home about Medicaid." But rather than committing to join us in this fight, he said "They'll get over it" and urged his colleagues to forge ahead with this bill.

Well, if my Republican colleagues won't fight for these Americans, I think it is well past time that some of us do. That is why I am proud to be standing with my midwestern Democratic colleagues to do and say something about it.

I am here to stand up for the over half a million midwestern Americans in Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and the Dakotas whose healthcare is on the chopping block if Republicans jam through this terrible budget bill.

In just those 6 States alone, over 340,000 Americans will lose their Affordable Care Act coverage, and over 225,000 Americans will be kicked off Medicaid if the Republicans get their bill and their way. In Iowa, over 100,000 Americans' care could be on the chopping block, including over 58,000 Americans whose families rely on Medicaid.

When we talk about hundreds of thousands of people losing healthcare coverage, it can sometimes get lost that this actually means people, not numbers. The numbers we are talking about are people. They have faces, they have stories, they have families, and they matter.

Take Patrick Kearns, a registered nurse in Iowa City at the VA Medical Center and father of two adult children with disabilities. He told the Des Moines Register:

My children are not scamming the system. The idea that they're somehow gaming the system at the detriment to the rest of society, especially when people like Elon Musk are using words like 'parasite' to describe my children—anger doesn't quite encompass how I feel.

He continued:

I just find it shocking that you would go after truly the most vulnerable people, as if they are somehow conducting fraud. These folks are barely surviving.

In Kansas, where nearly 90,000 Americans' health coverage is at risk, including 18,000 Kansans on Medicaid, Kathy and Jacob shared the story of their adopted sister Mireya, who suffered a traumatic brain injury at just 4 weeks old—I am sorry—7 weeks old. Because of Medicaid, the family could afford at-home nursing services before their sister passed away in 2024.

Jacob told the Kansas Reflector:

This is not right or left. This is truly a human right. Yes, we want to get rid of fraud. People using the support, that's not fraud. That's called helping people live their best life in the most respectful and dignified way possible.

In Missouri, 250,000 Americans' care is on the chopping block, including over 100,000 with Medicaid.

In the suburb of St. Louis, Sandra told the Kaiser Family Foundation Health News that she worries about her 20-year-old daughter Sarah and the 24-hour service she needs, including in-home nursing.

Sandra said:

I really and truly don't know what I would do if we lost the Medicaid home care. I have no plan whatsoever. It is not sustainable for anyone to do infinite, 24-hour care without dire physical health, mental health, and financial consequences, especially as we parents get into our elder years."

In Nebraska, 74,000 people could lose coverage, including 26,000 Americans on Medicaid. Dr. Ann Anderson Berry, who works at Children's Hospital in Omaha, NE, told Nebraska Public Media that these cuts would greatly harm those in Nebraska's rural communities.

According to Dr. Anderson Berry, "this is not just a health care issue; it's a workforce issue, an education issue, an economic issue. Communities without access to safe childbirth cannot attract or retain young families. They struggle to grow, and they suffer generational consequences. Nebraska simply deserves better. Our rural families deserve better. Cutting Medicaid may save money on the spreadsheet, but it will cost lives in real communities and put the expensive burden of care back on our communities."

In South Dakota, 31,000 Americans' insurance is at risk under this bill, including 12,000 Americans on Medicaid. Retired family physician Tom Dean, from Wessington Springs, shared his concerns about what the cuts to Medicaid will mean for nursing homes and the health of moms and babies.

He told the South Dakota Searchlight:

I'm really frightened about the impact it will have on nursing homes. . . . Medicaid is a major payer for prenatal, delivery, and postpartum care. . . . And that's a major concern, especially in rural areas.

I know that my Republican colleagues are hearing these stories from their constituents, and we need to make sure that they can't ignore them. These stories and the people behind them make all the difference in this fight to protect Medicaid. I am proud to give them a voice in the Senate, as my Republican colleagues continue their crusade to rip away healthcare from 17 million Americans.

The American people don't like this bill, and that includes Americans who live in red, blue, and purple States. We are going to keep ringing the alarm bells on behalf of Americans in every corner, in every part of this Nation and protect the critical coverage working

families need and deserve. Lives depend upon it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I rise today, along with my colleagues from Illinois and from Wisconsin. And you just heard from Senator BALDWIN about the effects of this budget bill on the Midwest.

I guess I would start by asking the same questions as our colleague Senator TILLIS, who just announced he wasn't going to seek reelection, after the President threatened him with a primary, and after he took a vote and had the audacity to ask the questions that had to be asked about this bill.

And you heard him today. He talked about how he had talked to the hospital association in his State, how he had talked to the Governor's Office, how he had gotten the actual data on the effects of Medicaid in North Carolina. And then he asked the question: How hard is it to see the impact of these proposals? And he asked: What is wrong with putting a little daylight on what is going on here?

So that is what I am going to do in my few minutes here—put a little Midwestern daylight on what is going on here—and that is that, under this bill, 17 million people would be kicked off their healthcare because of the Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act changes.

That was 16 million people until we got the updated numbers from the Congressional Budget Office. That is a non-partisan group.

It also drives \$4 trillion in debt. It used to be \$3.4. Now it is up to \$4 trillion. And what will that mean? That will mean big time in the Midwest, where I have so many of my own constituents wanting to buy their first house. It is going to mean major increased interest rates. It is going to mean difficulty in buying all kinds of things for which you would take out loans or for small businesses—all for giving a bunch of tax cuts for millionaires and billionaires, \$400,000 for multimillionaires.

Our colleagues are going to raise costs and take healthcare and food away from millions of Americans.

So my colleagues have talked about Senator BALDWIN and Senator DURBIN, and talked about the effects that this bill has in the Midwest when it comes to healthcare and the closing of the rural hospitals. The Midwest has a huge number of these rural hospitals. It is about half of them that would be forecast to close.

She talked about the Medicaid cuts. So I am going to talk about a different piece of this, and this is the impact of cuts to food assistance.

There is no avoiding the facts. Here they are. About a month ago, the House passed a budget bill, as you know, that cut nutrition assistance by nearly \$300 million. It put the country on track to eliminate SNAP for 4 mil-

lion Americans and reduce benefits for millions more. I was hopeful that we would go in another direction. And while there were some changes made by the Republicans on the Agriculture Committee that I appreciated, it still amounts to over \$185 billion in cuts from the SNAP program.

And let me remind you that the vast majority of people on SNAP are older Americans, people with kids, veterans, and people with disabilities.

We were just out on the Senate steps with a number of those people and the groups that they represent and faith leaders, talking about this very subject.

Why them? Why give tax cuts to the wealthy on their backs?

We know that the impact of the "Big Beautiful Betrayal of a Bill" will be even more stark in the Midwest.

In the Midwest, here are some examples. Americans use SNAP benefits—nearly 155,000 people in Nebraska. And let's face it. That is not the biggest population State, but 155,000 Nebraskans use SNAP; about 190,000 people in Kansas; 260,000 people in Iowa; 660,000 people in Missouri; 700,000 people in the State of Wisconsin. Senator BALDWIN just talked about the impact of healthcare there—but 700,000 people of my neighbors in Wisconsin. Nearly 1.5 million people in Michigan use SNAP. And in Minnesota, it is 450,000.

So, yes, those people will be affected greatly by this faux shift to the States. And, unfortunately, while we tried to fight part of this—the State shift—we were not able to get that changed, in the last few days.

This means certain States. I am just going to give you some examples. Hundreds of millions of dollars are supposed to shift over to States in the Midwest. When 41 of the 50 States in our country have balanced budget amendments, what are they supposed to do? Cut infrastructure? Cut law enforcement?

The majority of these cuts—and this is why this is such funny math—are shifts to the States, and it is why Governors, especially in the Midwest, like Governor Kelly in the State of Kansas, who has been speaking out big time on this, why they are so concerned about the shift.

In addition—and this is not something everyone thinks about when they think about SNAP, but we think about it big time in the Midwest—it is farmers and grocers. Over a third of America's farmland is located in the Midwest. That includes more than 722,000 farm operations, which is more than one-third of farms nationwide.

So why would farmers care about this? Well, they will lose revenue because Americans won't be able to buy their products. And that loss—that is the SNAP program. Right? It buys food from America, just like international organizations were buying food from America with USAID. That has been cut. Or the Trump tariffs which dry up

markets in places all over the world because of retaliatory tariffs, that is hitting our farmers. Input costs, inflation, you name it. And now, this on top of it.

In addition, this is going to be a big hit to our grocers. In many rural counties throughout the Midwest, their independent grocery store is the lone grocer in the county. So in 76 counties nationwide, they don't even have a single grocery store, and half of those are in the Midwest.

I recently visited an employee-owned grocery store in rural Long Prairie, MN—population: 3,600. Businesses like that operate on tight margins, and they usually serve not just that county, as you can see from the numbers I just provided you, but the surrounding counties, or they may be the only ones in town. To businesses like that, the cuts to SNAP are pretty significant because that is sometimes the margin on which they are able to stay alive as a business.

This would make it harder and harder and more expensive for those grocery stores. It could put them out of business. That is for sure. That is what the grocery stores believe. But it also hurts the individual people in their areas, because in the rural areas, you have an overwhelming number of seniors, you have got an overwhelming number of veterans, and you have just an overwhelming number of the people who are using these kinds of grocery store.

So SNAP supports hundreds of thousands of jobs and billions of dollars in wages of these independent grocers, farm and other industries, including more than 1,700 jobs in Nebraska, more than 1,900 jobs in Kansas, more than 2,600 jobs in Iowa, more than 7,000 jobs in Missouri, more than 6,000 jobs in Wisconsin, more than 13,000 jobs in Michigan, more than 4,000 jobs in Minnesota.

We know that from farmers and truckers to local grocers, for every dollar invested in SNAP about \$1.50 of economic activity is generated nationwide.

For many Midwesterners, this bill would make the difference between having a grocery store in their region or not.

I mentioned the shift of billions of dollars of costs to States that will blow holes through the State budget. They won't be able to support it, and, sadly, our Republican colleagues know this, because 44 States—44 States—have this balanced budget rule, and they are going to be forced to choose between paying the cost for food and paying for critical services. That is why 23 Democratic Governors, all of them, just laid out in a letter to Congress that these cuts don't just increase State costs; they make it nearly impossible for States to effectively plan for these long-term budget impacts.

Those are Governors from Kentucky, with Governor Beshear, to Arizona, with Governor Hobbs. Across the entire Nation, we heard from these Gov-

ernors, not to mention the Governors such as Governor Pritzker in Illinois and Governor Walz in Minnesota and Governor Kelly in Kansas and Governor Whitmer in Michigan.

Based on 2023 figures—ready for this?—the House and Senate version of this bill would shift—and it varies because the bills are different. But this is how much money we are talking about: between \$16 million and \$49 million onto the State of Nebraska, between \$61 million and \$101 million in costs onto Kansas. Imagine the budget. Suddenly, oh, you have got to do an extra \$60 million. Too bad, you have a balanced budget amendment.

Up to \$26 million in costs onto Iowa, between \$225 million and \$376 million onto the State budget in Missouri, up to \$68 million in costs onto Wisconsin, where Governor Evers was also a signatory of this letter.

Between 456 and 761 million in costs onto Michigan and between 43 million and 128 million in costs onto Minnesota.

And those numbers are on top—on top—of an increased administrative cost shift to States. It used to be 50-50; now it is 75-25.

Hello, States. You with strapped budgets, we are now making you pay 75 percent of administrative costs, which would make it even harder for States to invest in the staff training and upgraded financial systems that would make the program more sound and reduce payment errors.

It is not just the State budgets that will be affected. In many States, including Minnesota and Wisconsin, it is counties rather than the States that run the SNAP program.

So I had a visit from some of the rural counties. And they—talk about living off a margin, a thin margin, trying to help their taxpayers trying to get this done, in States like Minnesota and Wisconsin that believe in strong local government—big surprise—our States and a number of other States with bigger rural areas have decided: We would rather have the counties do this.

So now these cost shifts will go directly to these county governments. And you would not believe the numbers of what they would have to do to increase their taxes in these rural counties. They said: We can't do that.

So if that happens, they will have to raise their local property taxes or cut county services.

In the past, we have said that if you are raising kids or taking care of an older relative, we are going to help you feed your family, even if you don't have a job. This reconciliation bill would change that. It would withhold food assistance from families raising kids over the age of 13 and adults 55 and up if they don't meet the new requirements.

The Senate bill also eliminates an existing exemption for veterans, homeless people, and former foster youth, an exemption my Republican colleagues

supported in the Fiscal Responsibility Act just 2 years ago.

So this is a shift among the party. The Republican party actually said this was a good idea to have exemptions for vets and homeless people and former foster youth. Not anymore. These are people who are already struggling, veterans who have sacrificed to serve our country.

I believe that when our veterans signed up to serve, there was no waiting line. And when they are in this country and they need help with food or they need a job or they need a home, there shouldn't be a waiting line in the United States of America.

So everyone that I have talked to about this, just as Senator TILLIS was saying about Medicaid in North Carolina—and I spent time on this. I visit all 87 counties in my State every year. I am up to 49. So I have been able to talk to people who aren't political, who are Republicans, talk to people I just run into in rural grocery stores in the vegetable line. I mean, I have talked to a ton of people. And what they have said to the store managers, to the food shelf volunteers, to those that take SNAP: This isn't a good idea.

That is what the public opinion polls say: FOX News poll, 60 percent of people say this bill is a bad idea; 2 to 1 say it is going to help wealthy people and not them.

Well, they are right about that. This is a betrayal of the middle class, and it only takes four of our colleagues—and four in the House, by the way—to stand up and say: We need to rewrite this thing. Let's start over.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Ms. ROSEN. Mr. President, I rise today to express my strong opposition to the devastating and dangerous tax-and-spending bill that Senate Republicans are trying to jam through this weekend on a party line vote, a bill that will gut essential programs like Medicaid and SNAP just to pay for even more tax breaks for billionaires.

So let's be clear about what is happening here. This "Big Beautiful Betrayal," it isn't about fiscal discipline. It is fiscally reckless. It isn't about responsibility or doing what is best for average Americans. It is about misguided priorities. It is about giving more to the ultrawealthy on the backs of hard-working families.

This bill will take away healthcare and food assistance from people and families who need it most just so DC Republicans can pay more for tax cuts for those who need them the least. DC Republicans want to have more tax cuts for those who need them the least.

Once again, Republicans in Congress are putting the interests of the ultrawealthy above the needs of hard-working families, children with disabilities, seniors, and Americans who rely on Medicaid each and every day.

Earlier this year, I held a roundtable in Las Vegas with Nevada families who

rely on Medicaid. For them, Medicaid is not just a talking point. They are not simply pay-fors in a budget bill. Medicaid is a lifeline. It literally keeps their children alive.

I talked to people like Jessica, whose daughter Kay—well, she is 4 years old. She was born with Down syndrome and was recently diagnosed with type 1 diabetes. Jessica relies on Medicaid to help cover the cost of weekly physical, speech, and occupational therapies for Kay, all of which are responsible—well, they are helping her learn to walk, to use utensils, to write her own name.

Imagine when her mother sees her write her own name. It is a proud moment.

Kay also has a cardiologist, an endocrinologist to manage conditions related to her Down syndrome. Medicaid covers these doctors. It covers her insulin. It covers the insulin pump that allows Jessica to manage her daughter's diabetes around the clock, all because Kay can't communicate when her blood sugar is dangerously low or high.

And Jessica said something at that roundtable I will never forget. She told me:

I can't imagine losing Medicaid . . . obviously I'm going to have [to try] to give up something, because I'm not gonna let her go without insulin and the lifesaving care she needs. And I can't [even] imagine having to think about what I'd have to cut or what I'd have to do—

What I would have to do—

in order to pay for the lifesaving care that she needs and deserves.

Kristy, another Nevada mom, was also at that roundtable. Her daughter Sadie is 13. She has been bravely battling an aggressive form of leukemia for the past 2 years. Since her diagnosis, Sadie has spent more than a year and a half in and out of the hospital undergoing treatment for her cancer—all covered, thankfully, by Medicaid.

Sadie's father—well, he passed away during the COVID pandemic, sadly, and Kristy became Sadie's sole caregiver and sole provider.

Medicaid is critical, and, simply put, it is lifesaving. So why are Republicans looking to cut it? So billionaires can get another tax break? So that Republican lawmakers can hand out trillions of dollars in tax giveaways to the wealthiest 1 percent while thousands of people lose access to lifesaving care?

The cuts proposed to Medicaid—well, they are going to affect veterans and Nevadans with cancer who can't work and who will be kicked off their health insurance, the insurance that they need to stay alive. It will kick the family caregiver, who takes care of both her aging parents, maybe off her own coverage.

The majority of adults on Medicaid already work, and Republicans are counting on savings from these hard-working Americans losing coverage, too, because of paperwork? Paperwork is just going to be so bureaucratic, so full of redtape. The goal is to make it so hard, so damn burdensome, that no-

body can do it. No one can go to work, take care of their sick loved one, be sick themselves. They are hoping they drop off, even if they technically qualify. This is where they find their savings.

Aren't we supposed to cut redtape and improve the lives of our constituents? And so this is just cruel. It is a lose-lose situation. People can't work because they have a life-threatening illness, or they are working and they miss the complicated new paperwork which people are hoping that they can't do so they will drop off; and that is where they will find the savings. They will lose their health insurance, and maybe they will drop off, and they will lose their life too.

All for a tax break for the wealthiest, for the billionaire Cabinet of our current President. This is just shameful.

This bill would also slash SNAP, as my colleagues before me have told you some of the statistics. SNAP, the nutrition program that helps nearly one in six Nevadans put food on the table. Most of these recipients are children. When they cut this program, you tell me what our families are supposed to do. You tell me what families are supposed to do when they cut food assistance. How are they going to put food on the table? What will they say to their hungry children? Sorry, kids. You have to go hungry so billionaires can get a tax break.

This just can't be right. This just can't be right.

And it doesn't stop there. This bill threatens thousands of good-paying union jobs in Nevada, across our country, by letting critical tax credits for solar, for wind projects expire before those projects can even get off the ground.

You know, in Nevada, we have more solar jobs per capita, more than any other State in the Nation, and we have enough solar energy to power nearly 1.3 million homes. It is a growing, terrific industry in Nevada. We need all the energy we can get at an affordable price.

And this bill—this bill is going to decimate this important and growing industry, not just in my State but in States across this country.

And on top of that, Republicans have added an additional new tax on wind and solar projects. It just won't kill the industry. Like I said, it is going to raise prices on hard-working families, families who are already paying too much for their energy.

I thought we were supposed to be lowering prices, creating opportunities, expanding and investing in our infrastructure and in our Nation. But this bill is going to add more taxes, slash products, and raise energy prices for hard-working families.

And all of this is causing companies across the country to stall or cancel projects over the uncertainty of losing access to the tax credits. This means fewer jobs, less investment, and just more families wondering, actually, how they are going to make ends meet.

And we are talking about an industry that supports nearly 280,000 American workers: electricians, technicians, construction crews. I could go on and on about all the jobs that are in our solar and wind industry. And we are pulling the rug right out from under them—right out from under them—and killing thousands, hundreds of thousands, of clean energy jobs.

Again, I want to remind you that all of this is for one purpose and one purpose alone: to give tax breaks to billionaires.

So anyone who supports this bill is not pro-worker. They are not looking out for underdogs, for hard-working families. They are just focused on making the rich, well, richer. And I am not going to stand by and let Nevada families lose access to their healthcare, to their food assistance, to their jobs—all so billionaires can pad their pockets.

And I want to remind people what Democrats—what we did—when we used the reconciliation process. We expanded health insurance subsidies; and for the first time, we gave Medicare the authority to negotiate for lower drug prices for our seniors. We invested in our clean energy future. We cut costs for families, instead of cutting lifelines.

And this DC Republican bill is extreme; it is cruel; and it is not what the American people want.

People want lower costs. People want economic security. Parents want their kids to have care when they are sick and a fair shot to thrive.

They don't want their future sold off to billionaires.

So I say to my Republican colleagues: Please don't turn your backs. Please don't turn your backs on families who need you, who need this, the most.

I want you to come look at my Nevada moms and my Nevada dads in the eyes and tell them they don't matter, that their children don't matter, that the lives of their kids don't matter because they won't get the care they need. And I shudder to think of the consequences.

Please, come to Nevada. Sit with these parents and tell them that they don't matter. I don't know how you could face them and gut Medicaid to give billionaires a tax cut, but that is what you are about to do. The American people deserve better. And I will fight every single step of the way to make sure that they get it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. TILLIS. Mr. President, I am going to be brief. I promise, Senator VAN HOLLEN, I am going to be about 5 minutes. This is an easy one.

No. 1, I probably should have said this earlier. My colleagues on the other side of the aisle, I completely disagree with the narrative of the billionaire tax. Folks, this is actually reducing or making sure we don't raise taxes on people like me who grew up in trailer

parks, didn't get my degree until I was 37, struggled to make ends meet. Those people benefit from that. I read the bill. I think most of you know I am detail-oriented. It is not what it seems.

I also should have thanked Senator CRAPO. He is a good friend, a great leader. I should have thanked him for the hard work he is doing. I got a little focused on the Medicaid failed baseline that is in the bill, but I should have started with that. Thanks to MIKE CRAPO and Senator THUNE, whom I admire as our leader.

I am here to talk about the production tax credit and the investment tax credit. It is another classic example where think tanks and people who haven't worked a day in business are setting policy in the White House without a clue about what they are potentially doing to our grid.

A lot of people probably—I had Alex Weinstein, who is a self-described philosopher and expert in this area in my office—talking with three people, practitioners, that actually work in it. One is someone who specializes in power purchase agreements for large businesses.

Walmart is one of the most sophisticated buyers of electrons in the world. They map out their power requirements years in advance. They want to make sure their food doesn't spoil and they have power running. They have already made several power purchase agreements with projects underway, folks. This bill is basically gutting it.

Instead, everybody is high-fiving.

What is amazing to me is the mark that we laid down the other day almost achieved the same level of cuts as the House bill, within \$30 billion—within \$30 billion. And instead of thinking that was progress, somebody got cute and decided to take away in construction and put it in service.

Let me tell you why this is disingenuous. I was a partner at Pricewaterhouse and worked in utilities practice—large utilities, like TECO, Duke, Florida Progress, AEP. I know this industry. I understand base-load; I understand peaking; and I understand this technology, which is increasingly becoming viable because of storage as a part of augmenting base-load.

Now, we have the Walmarts and all these data centers, and everything we wanted to bring back onshore putting in these power purchase agreements tied to these projects, like solar, in particular, like wind, and other innovative—renewable natural gas, methane, hydrogen. I can go on.

But somebody, a self-described philosopher in a think tank that I admire a lot, but I realized, if you are a philosopher and in a think tank, you, by definition, have never worked in an operational role. You can't possibly understand what happens to this pipeline of power purchase agreements and the future of our grids.

Here is what is going to happen. Wipe it clean. Put an excise tax in. Effec-

tively throw the football into the end zone, spin it, walk away, do the party dance. And what you have done is create a blip in power service because there isn't going to be a gas-fired generator anytime soon.

Folks, the generator is necessary to create power with gas—best case, 5 years from now. That is best case, 5 years from now. So you can't get that online and, at the same time, this whole pipeline is going down.

So I want that philosopher to tell me that he understands how to plan out power over time and to let me know that when all these projects fail—some will make it, some will get subsidized, some will go bankrupt—so it won't be Armageddon, but it is going to be a problem. So they better get it right.

It is another example, folks, when you rush a bill and don't think through the implementation, you don't get it right. I hope my colleagues recognize it is half-baked. It is another reason why we should go back to the House mark, get Medicaid right, so I can come onto the floor and tell my colleagues on the other side of the aisle why they are wrong on all the attributes of the House mark; why they are wrong on some of their characterizations of the tax bill; and why they will be wrong on an energy policy that makes sense.

But I have to vote against the bill for my own party—that I have never parted from before—because we are rushing to an arbitrary deadline with people who have never worked a day in this industry. Maybe they philosophized and have written a few white papers on it but haven't gotten their hands dirty. This is another segment of the bill that needs to change.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, Donald Trump likes to call the bill that Republicans are trying to rush through this Senate the Big Beautiful Bill.

Well, it is big all right. It took the Senate clerks nearly 16 hours to speed read through it. But it is only beautiful if you are a billionaire or otherwise very wealthy in America. For everybody else, this is a big ugly betrayal of a bill—betrayal because tax cuts for billionaires are coming at the expense of virtually everyone else.

I agree with many of the things my colleague from North Carolina, Senator TILLIS, just said. But I have also read the bill. If you look at the bill, the tax benefits overwhelmingly go to the very highest income earners in the United States of America. Fifty percent of those tax benefits go to just the top 5 percent.

So this is a choice that is being made by Donald Trump and Republicans in Congress to give to billionaires additional tax handouts at the expense of the rest of the country. They are choosing to engage in a huge transfer of wealth from people who are working paycheck-to-paycheck to those who are living off their huge inheritances or gigantic stock portfolios.

Americans are going to have to pay for the tax cuts for billionaires in many, many ways. Millions will lose access to healthcare. Others will no longer be able to put food on the table. Others will not be able to afford to pay heating bills on freezing nights. Virtually, every American will see their energy bills increase and their health insurance premiums go up. And every American is likely to face higher borrowing costs for their home mortgages or car loans—again, all so billionaires and very wealthy people can get big tax cuts.

Let's look at some of the real hits to American families, starting with the attack on healthcare. Donald Trump said he would "love and cherish" Medicaid. He said the people won't be affected. That is a lie. What he loves are tax cuts for his billionaire buddies.

Let's just take a look. This bill pays for over a trillion dollars in tax giveaways to people who make over \$500,000 every year by cutting a trillion dollars of health benefits from those who rely on Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act.

Think about that tradeoff. Indeed, because of the cuts to Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act in this bill, 12 million Americans will lose access to healthcare coverage. On top of that, another 5 million Americans will lose access to health coverage because Republicans refuse to extend the tax credits that millions of middle-class Americans use to purchase coverage through the Affordable Care Act.

So while extending tax cuts for the very wealthy, they are not extending the healthcare tax credits that middle-class Americans use to help afford health insurance. The result of these cuts and the refusal to extend those tax credits means that nearly 17 million of our fellow Americans will lose access to healthcare coverage.

In my State of Maryland, that is 229,000 of my fellow Marylanders. And who are these Americans? Who are these Marylanders? They are babies and children. Medicaid and the Children's Health Insurance Program cover 38 million children in America, 700,000 children in Maryland.

Medicaid covers 40 percent of births in America, over 40 percent of births in Maryland. More mothers will die as a result of pregnancy-related deaths if this bill passes.

I think we will also know Medicaid is especially important to helping people through the vulnerable stages of their lives. It covers one in four people with mental health or substance use disorders. It is the primary payer for long-term health services, covering 60 percent of nursing home residents. If even a fraction of those residents lose coverage, entire nursing homes can close, and those families will have to figure out how to care for their expelled loved ones. An analysis that was done estimates that as many as 500 nursing homes could close because they are on the cusp.

Rural hospitals are also especially vulnerable. It is estimated that up to 300 rural hospitals could close if this bill passes.

Americans with disabilities, Medicaid is absolutely essential to their lives. It helps them receive home and community-based care so they don't have to choose between getting the care they need and being separated from their loved ones. A study by Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania predicts that this bill before the Senate will result in over 51,000 preventable deaths each year—preventable deaths. So, officially, the death certificates will say that somebody passed away because they had late-stage cancer. It was detected too late because they couldn't get the preventive care they needed or an accident occurred at a nursing home because there were not enough nurses on site. But those reasons, those conditions will have been set because this bill passed.

And, again, making millions of Americans more vulnerable to pay for tax cuts for the ultrawealthy is unconscionable, but it is the choice being made in this bill.

Now, 17 million people who will lose their health coverage is a very big number to wrap our heads around. So I want to read just a few stories of Marylanders who rely on Medicaid and who have been watching closely this whole effort that has unfolded on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

I had a call from one of my constituents who has a son. Her son takes chemotherapy, and he relies on those chemotherapy treatments to sustain his life. She wrote to me that if he loses access to his health insurance, that it would be "a death sentence."

Another Marylander wrote to me about his autistic son who is still able to work but who depends entirely on Medicaid for support. He also said: Please don't let the Senate pass this bill.

And the stories go on and on and on.

Just the other day, Senator ALSOBROOKS and I had a telephone townhall. We had 12,000 Marylanders joining us. After that call, we received many more stories about people who would really be in desperate shape if they lost access to their health coverage.

Now, on top of the 17 million Americans who stand to lose their health coverage, all other Americans are likely to see higher premiums because what happens when you have uncompensated care is more people go to the emergency rooms at the hospitals. Those hospitals can't just eat all of those additional costs, and at the end of the day, those additional costs cycle through the system in the form of higher premiums for others. We are already seeing that impact in Maryland as insurance companies today look at the possible liability they will have going forward as a result of this legislation.

Beyond the 17 million who will lose access to affordable healthcare, you also have millions of Americans who are going to be hit as a result of the cuts to the food and nutrition programs, to the SNAP program. We are going to see a whopping 20 percent cut—\$200 billion—to the SNAP program. Over 40 million Americans get some kind of help from that food and nutrition program, and over 3 million of them will lose their SNAP benefits entirely. Others will see rising costs. In Maryland, it is going to impact 684,000 people, most of whom are families with kids.

In addition to 17 million Americans losing access to healthcare coverage and in addition to the 40 million Americans who will be impacted by cuts to food and nutrition programs, I want to just focus for a moment on another hit to American households. Some of us have discussed this on this Senate floor before, but it hasn't gotten as much attention, and it relates to the energy bills Americans pay, including their electric bills, because this bill will drive them up. It directly attacks the production of more clean energy, and less energy with rising demand means higher costs for households.

I don't know if folks remember about a year ago when Donald Trump had a state dinner at Mar-a-Lago, where he begged 20 fossil fuel CEOs for campaign cash. It was reported on at the time. Well, he succeeded in raking in hundreds of millions of dollars in campaign donations. Now we see the payoff in this bill to those powerful special interests, and that payoff comes in two forms.

First, this bill gives big oil companies a new \$1 billion tax break. As a result, some of the fossil fuel companies will pay zero dollars—zero dollars—in Federal income tax.

Second, this bill—and the Senator from North Carolina referred to some of the provisions that will have this impact. This bill sabotages the production of more clean energy. It does so by slashing production and investment tax credits for clean energy and scuttling new clean energy projects. It continues the Trump administration's baseless attacks on the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund, which is a program we established that will be a win, win, win for our environment, for our economy, and for family pocketbooks.

By cutting these clean energy incentives and initiatives, this bill will reduce the overall amount of energy added to our electric grids by at least 50 percent by 2035. Think about that. So this bill is going to result in a dramatic reduction in the amount of new energy produced that goes on the electric grids. With less energy generated and higher demand, household energy costs and bills are going to go up. In fact, it is predicted that household electricity bills will go up by \$110 on average as soon as next year and by up to \$400 per year for families over the next decade.

This will serve the interests of big oil and gas producers and utility companies that benefit from the higher prices that consumers will have to shell out. This will also do something else. It will surrender entirely the clean energy playing field to China, which already has a big head start on us in the area of clean energy deployment. So this is not America first; this is very much America in retreat.

I don't often agree with Elon Musk, but he is absolutely right when he said just a few days ago that the latest Senate draft bill will "destroy millions of jobs in America and cause immense strategic harm to our country—utterly insane and destructive. It gives hand-outs to industries of the past while severely damaging industries of the future." That is the Republican Senate bill—looking in the rearview mirror rather than ahead.

Again, what is the driving purpose? What is the North Star of this bill? It is to give very, very wealthy people tax cuts at the expense of everybody else. Everything else is sacrificed.

As a result of those tax cuts, the top one-tenth of 1 percent of the highest income earners will get an average tax break of \$255,000. The top one-tenth of 1 percent will get a tax break of \$255,000. Individuals making over \$1 million a year will get a \$35,000 tax break. As I said earlier, almost 50 percent of all of the tax benefits, all of the tax moneys, will go to the top 5 percent of income earners. To make that happen, as I have said, everything else gets sacrificed—cuts to Medicaid, cuts to food and nutrition programs, cuts to clean energy that result in higher costs for consumers.

But even after making all of those cuts and imposing all of that pain on so many Americans, this Republican bill is still going to add over \$4 trillion to our deficit over the next 10 years and an estimated \$35 trillion over the next 30 years.

So despite paying for part of those additional costs through cuts to Medicaid and food and nutrition programs, they are going to blow the roof off of our deficits and debt. Make no mistake, when you do that, you cost every American because it will generate upward pressure on interest rates, which raises costs for Americans who want to take out a mortgage to buy a home or want to get a car loan or for small businesses. In fact, the Yale Budget Lab projects that the House-passed bill would add over \$1,000 a year to the cost of a mortgage and over \$800 a year to the cost of a small business loan. That is the House-passed bill. The Senate bill will be worse because the Senate bill adds about \$1 trillion more to the deficit over 10 years than the House bill.

I do want to just focus on a final aspect of the deficit and debt impact of the Senate Republican bill, and that is this very deliberate effort to use fraudulent accounting to hide the deficit impact of this bill from the American people.

Let me give you an example. Let's say you sign a contract to rent an apartment for \$2,000 a month. You know that is going to cost you \$24,000 for the full year. Now, at the end of the year, if you want to keep renting that apartment at that rate, any normal person would say: Well, that is going to cost them another \$24,000. Senate Republicans want to tell the American people that the cost of continuing to rent that apartment for another year is zero—zero—because the amount of rent they have to pay in year 2 is the same rent they had to pay in year 1.

In other words, Republicans want to say that because they have been giving billionaires and wealthy people tax cuts for 10 years, it will cost nothing to extend them for another 10 years. That is the so-called current policy baseline.

In other words, if you just keep in place for another 10 years those same tax breaks for billionaires and others, we don't have to count the lost revenue, and we don't have to count the amount the deficit will increase as a result of that lost revenue. A third grader can see that this is bogus math.

Let me read a colleague's statement, made this year by somebody. Here is what he said:

Anybody that says current policy baseline [is the way to go] is engaging in intellectual and economic fraud.

I wanted to make sure I got that quote correct because it was made by a Republican Congressman from Arizona, Congressman SCHWEIKERT.

Here is another quote:

This is fairy dust, and they're full of crap. And I'm gonna call them out on it.

Who said that? Congressman CHIP ROY, a Republican from Texas.

I think it is worth quoting those Republican Members of Congress because while I dramatically disagree with what they did in their House bill, at least they used honest accounting. At least they didn't try to perpetrate this budget fraud that we are witnessing here in the U.S. Senate—a budget fraud that would, I dare say, make the Enron scammers blush.

If you go through the numbers, it is dramatic. For example, an honest scoring of the bill shows that extending the individual tax rates from Trump 2017 will cost \$2.2 trillion. That is what the House of Representatives said—\$2.2 trillion. When you use the fraudulent budget math that Senate Republicans want to use, all of a sudden, that is \$83 billion.

If you look at the cost of extending key deductions for businesses, the House used accurate accounting; it comes to \$820 billion over 10 years. Under the Senate plan, it is \$6 billion.

So I am not going to spend a ton of time going over this chart, but I do want to put it up here. This is from the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. The blue shade in each of these years shows what Senate Republicans say their bill will cost in each of those years. There is the so-called current policy baseline. This is what those

House Republican Members called fraudulent accounting, and it is. If you add up all of those blue deficits over those 10 years, they claim it is \$441 billion additional debt over 10 years. But if you use the honest accounting that we have always used in the U.S. Senate for the purposes of budget reconciliation, you get the full bar, including the orange numbers, which is \$4.2 trillion in debt over those 10 years.

I do want to point out to my colleagues something interesting because they have these dashed orange lines. What this is representing is that some of these costs from lost revenue in some of these out-years go down. That is because under this House Republican plan, the tax cuts for people with the no tax on tips—they go away. They vanish. They vanish right here in 2029. But the tax cuts for very wealthy people, for billionaires and others—they go on for the 10 years. In fact, they go on forever.

The last point I want to make is, by letting them go on forever—the tax cuts for very wealthy people—Senate Republicans are violating the entire structure of the budget reconciliation process because when it was first devised, the entire purpose of it was to reduce our deficits and reduce the debt. Republican Senators are perverting the entire purpose of that special procedure that allows things to pass in the U.S. Senate with 51 votes and not having to secure the 60-vote threshold to overcome a filibuster. They are violating that entire structure. Again, why? Because they are hell-bent on making sure those tax cuts for very wealthy people go on forever—again, at the expense of everybody else.

I will just close by pointing out that it wasn't that long ago that just down the hall here, in the Senate Rotunda, Donald Trump took the oath of office. He looked at the cameras, and he said he wanted a new golden age for America.

But this is not a golden age for America. It is a gilded age for the wealthiest people in America, and those are the people he was really speaking to because they are the ones who were sitting behind him on Inauguration Day: Elon Musk, Jeff Bezos, Zuckerberg, the tech titans, the billionaire Cabinet—more billionaires than any Cabinet, by far, in American history.

That is who this bill serves. It serves very wealthy and powerful people, and it does so at the expense of everybody else in America, in one form or another.

And I hope—I hope—our Senate, on a bipartisan basis, will give it a big thumbs down.

I yield the floor.

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

Mr. WELCH. Mr. President, never in my time in Congress have I seen a bill that does so much damage in so many ways to so many people in so many States and that will affect so many generations.

The clerks have read the bill. It is now time for us to kill the bill. The point of reading the bill was to reveal that this bill has one goal, and that is to extend tax cuts to very wealthy Americans—where the top 1 percent will get 60 percent of the benefit—and to make everyday Americans pay the price to fund those tax cuts.

It is no wonder, right now, that two in three Americans oppose this bill. The question is, Will the U.S. Senate oppose this bill?

Here are just a few ways that the President's so-called One Big Beautiful Bill will hurt Vermont. In Vermont, 11,500 people will lose their healthcare coverage under ObamaCare, or the Affordable Care Act. Twenty-one thousand Vermonters will lose Medicaid coverage and food nutrition programs that are so essential to the well-being of your citizens and mine. In Vermont, on the SNAP Program, 11 percent of our households use it, 65,000 people. A little over a third of households rely on the SNAP program, and they have kids. Nearly 3,000 veterans in Vermont rely on the SNAP program.

By the way, we are talking about 6 bucks a day. Billions are going to be cut across the country. That is going to hurt Vermont, and it is going to hurt everyone.

In Vermont, some homeowners, to save money on their energy bills, use the home energy efficiency upgrades that were made possible under the Inflation Reduction Act. Those are being ripped apart. Folks saved about \$420 to \$980 a year. That is real money for people living paycheck to paycheck. This bill scraps that.

Here is the good, the bad, and the ugly. The good, we still have time to kill this bill, and we should kill this bill. We Democrats are united in opposition to this bill, but it is not only Democrats whose constituents are going to be hurt by this bill.

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle have an opportunity to make a choice. Read the bill and decide: Are you going to protect your constituents who are going to suffer the same afflictions as my constituents or are you going to defer to President Trump?

The bad in this bill is going to inflict bipartisan pain. This is not aiming at red States or blue States. This is aimed at working-class and middle-class Americans.

Just to give you an example, in West Virginia, a great State I visited, I went into a coal mine—the hardest working people ever, except maybe for Vermont dairy farmers. More than 76,000 people in West Virginia will lose access to healthcare because of this bill. And 278,000 West Virginians are going to lose access to the nutrition program, SNAP.

In Tennessee, more than 295,000 people will lose access to healthcare—Medicaid—through this bill. And for SNAP, it means 758,000 Tennesseans lose their nutrition benefits.

I just want to repeat here. This is the bipartisan infliction of pain. This is

real. This is real. And it is because of the tax cut largely directed to the very wealthy people.

Is it worth inflicting that kind of pain on so many when the tax cut benefits so few?

Let's talk more about what is in this bill, because the American people need to know what we are voting on.

It makes major cuts, of course, as I have said, in Medicaid. But the immediate effect of those Medicaid cuts is it really threatens the financial stability and the viability of the community hospitals that are in all of our communities.

Folks are going to show up to get care. Across the country, 17 million people will lose any reimbursement for Medicaid. So they will go to our community hospitals, and they will do what they do: They will provide care, even if they don't get paid. But they can only do that for so long. So those hospitals are literally threatening to go out of business in every single State.

This bill cuts Medicaid by over \$930 billion. So that ripple effect is going to hurt all of our hospitals, and, absolutely, some of those are going to close. By the way, that is going to result in a higher cost shift so that those employers who are doing everything they can to provide employer-sponsored healthcare for their employees are going to see their premiums spike badly.

The bill is going to rip away food assistance programs that more than 42 million Americans need. That is \$6 a day, as I mentioned, and that will be gone.

This, by the way, has a real impact on our farmers. They put food on our tables. One of the things that our farmers are so proud of is they feed America, and they feed the world. And they have been able to supply the food that is then distributed through the SNAP program. It is going to undercut the revenue that they get for doing really good for a lot of people across our country.

The bill takes us backward in our effort to expand energy production and fight climate change. The bill actually adds a tax on wind and solar. It takes away the incentives, and it adds a tax.

Ninety-five percent of the new electric generation—and we need so much more of it—in the past few years has come from clean energy. If we don't have that going into production to provide energy, along with storage technology, the cost of electricity to the people you represent and the folks I respect in Vermont is going up.

There is another aspect of this bill that just makes no sense being in this bill. It makes no sense being in any bill, particularly. It is a Republican-led bill that strips States of their right to pass laws to protect their consumers against AI threats and against social media threats. It imposes a moratorium for 10 years on any States taking any action. This affects Vermont di-

rectly. It affects every single one of our States.

How, I ask, can one argue they are for State rights and then strip States of being able to act on behalf of their own citizens?

This bill is a real threat to our economy. It is going to increase the debt, already about \$35 trillion, by at least \$3.3 trillion. And for what? Tax cuts to very, very wealthy people—very wealthy people—multinational corporations that are having record profits, at the expense of healthcare, at the expense of our community hospitals, at the expense of our investments in clean energy, at the expense of our food and nutrition programs.

Invest it in what? It is destructive. It is not productive.

Inflation is going up under this bill. Just think of how much more we are going to pay in debt service—dead money. It is about \$1 trillion.

Home mortgages, folks, are going to be paying at least \$1,000 more; small business loans, at least \$1,000 more. Grocery prices are definitely going up for all Americans.

There is an ugly aspect in this bill, as well, and it is that this bill is entirely in service of providing tax cuts largely to the very wealthy. The top 1 percent of income earners in this country will get 60 percent of the benefit. That is a couple hundred thousand people who will get immense tax breaks that exceed the so-called tax breaks that go to a couple hundred million Americans. And it is those in the 60-percent category who are going to be paying the higher prices for utilities, credit card debt, the cost of a car loan, rent, and groceries.

So I say, let's come to our senses and not do something that is a massive escalation of the wealth transferred from the working class and the middle class to the very, very wealthy.

Many of us have a number of amendments—and I do, too—to try to make the point that our job is to make things better for everyday working Americans, not inflict additional burdens on them.

We have a job to do, and it is to strengthen this economy and provide more stability for our families in our communities. In this bill, we are doing exactly the opposite—aggravating income inequality, not mitigating it; accelerating climate change, rather than diminishing it—making life tougher for everyday families.

I urge my colleagues to defeat this bill.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maine.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, this bill is a farce. Imagine a bunch of guys sitting around the table and saying: I have got a great idea. Let's give \$32,000 worth of tax breaks to a millionaire, and we will pay for it by taking health insurance away from lower income and middle-income people. And to top it off, how about we cut food stamps—we cut SNAP—we cut food aid to people?

It is a joke. I would say it was a joke, except it is not the least bit funny.

I have been in this business of public policy now for 20 years—8 years as Governor, 12 years in the U.S. Senate. I have never seen a bill this bad. I have never seen a bill that is this irresponsible, regressive, and downright cruel.

The basic premise of the bill, as I said, is to cut benefits for the American people, particularly in the areas of healthcare and food, in exchange for tax cuts for the very wealthy.

I know my colleagues are going to come to the floor, because I have had this discussion before, and they are going to say: Oh, no, this is a middle-class tax cut. This is going to cut taxes for people in the middle class.

Well, here is a little suggestion of how to get out of this mess: If you cap the tax cuts at people making \$400,000 a year—which is a pretty healthy income—the cost of this bill would drop by 60 percent, and you wouldn't have any need to cut Medicaid. By the way, there are Medicare cuts also built into this, and SNAP. So \$400,000—in other words, we are for the middle-class tax cuts. That is OK. But just stop it at \$400,000, and don't give the tax breaks to the people—a millionaire, under this bill, gets a \$32,000 tax cut. A person making \$5 million or \$10 million gets a couple hundred thousand dollars of tax cut. I don't think they need it. They sure as hell don't need it as much as people need health insurance.

So just to put a fine point on it, this bill is literally—and remember my \$400,000 suggestion so we are taking care of the middle class. But with 60 percent of the cost above \$400,000 in income, this bill is literally taking food out of the mouths of kids to give a millionaire a \$32,000 tax break.

Those are the facts. They are ugly. And like I say, if we were talking about this at random, sitting around at a lunch table, people would say: Well, that is a joke. That is ridiculous. Nobody would suggest that.

But here we are. And several of my colleagues, including Senator TILLIS from North Carolina, have pointed out there is no rush on this bill. We don't have to do this bill by July 4 or July 10. There is no rush. These tax cuts don't expire until the end of the year. Let's take our time and write a decent bill. Let's kill this bill. It would only take four or five Senators on the other side. We can kill this thing and start over and write a decent bill, on a bipartisan basis, and I think we would find agreement on middle-class tax cuts.

But I think we can also do some things with expenditures that wouldn't be so bloody harmful. Medicaid. Let me start with hospitals. In Maine, I have talked to the hospitals. I have talked to the hospital association. I have talked to small hospitals, large hospitals. They are mostly running on a 1-, 2-, or 3-percent margin. The analysis is that this could cost us two to five of our rural hospitals.

And when a rural hospital goes out, several things happen. One thing is the

economy of the town goes with it. In most of these small towns, the hospital is the major employer. So you are talking about the economics of those jobs in a small town that will make a huge difference in that local economy.

The second thing that happens is a loss of services for everybody in town, not just the Medicaid people. If that hospital closes, everybody in town is going to have to drive another 30, 40, 50, 100 miles to get care, and they are going to have to not only—there may be closures; there will certainly be cutting of services. We already have a serious problem in Maine with obstetric services. We have a county with no obstetric services. That is only going to get worse under this bill.

The hospitals are pleading with us to not do this. And again, do we really need to do this to give a millionaire a \$32,000 tax break? It doesn't make any sense.

Now, I have talked about hospitals, but let's talk about people. The analysis is that 60,000 people in Maine would lose their insurance coverage—40,000 under Medicaid, about 20,000 under the Affordable Care Act.

We have had a lot of personal stories tonight. I want to tell a story about myself. When I worked here in the seventies, I had insurance. It was employer-supported insurance. We paid part of the premium. I had insurance as a junior staff member in this body 50 years ago. Because I had that insurance that covered a free checkup, I went in and had my first physical in 8 years, and I wouldn't have had that physical if the insurance hadn't covered it. I wouldn't have been able to spring for it.

I had that physical, and the doctors found a little mole on my back. They took it out, and I didn't think much of it. And I went in a week later, and the doctor said: You better sit down, Angus. That was malignant melanoma. You are going to have to have some serious surgery.

And a friend of mine who was a doctor said: Angus, here is my best advice. Let them be as radical as they want in that surgery.

And I had the surgery, and here I am. If I hadn't had insurance, I wouldn't be here. And it has always haunted me that some young man in America that same year had malignant melanoma; he didn't have coverage; he didn't have insurance; he didn't get that checkup; and he died.

That is wrong. That is immoral. So the idea of cutting health insurance from people is just—oh, well, they just won't have coverage for their doctors' visits. No. People die when they don't have health insurance. There is statistical analysis to bear that out. So this isn't any joke.

And by the way, people say: Well, we are talking about fraud in Medicaid. Listen, at almost a trillion-dollar cut in Medicaid, 15 million people being cut off—40,000 in the State of Maine—that isn't fraud; that is cutting people who need the care.

And I don't understand the obsession, and I never have—and I stood right there and watched John McCain cast that vote to save the Affordable Care Act, along with my colleague SUSAN COLLINS. I don't understand this obsession with taking health insurance away from people. I don't get it. Trying to take away the Affordable Care Act in 2017 or 2018 and now this. What is driving this? What is the cruelty to do this, to take health insurance away from people, knowing that it is going to cost them—it is hard to calculate the cost—up to and including losing their lives.

OK. Let's talk about SNAP. Let's talk about SNAP. The average benefit for SNAP is \$6 a day. You feed yourself on \$6 a day. The average cost of a meal in the United States is about \$10.50 a day, so we are already below cost, if you will.

And here is what it means in my State. Twenty percent of the children in my State are food insecure, and we are talking about cutting SNAP and taking dollars away from those kids. And I was interested in that, and I thought: Oh, that is pretty bad. I am worried Maine is at 20 percent, 20 percent of our kids are food insecure.

So I did a little research. In Arkansas, it is 24 percent of the kids who are food insecure; in Iowa, 17 percent; South Carolina, 14 percent; Michigan, 19 percent; Missouri, another 19 percent. That is one out of five kids are food insecure, and we are going to cut that food in order to give a millionaire a \$32,000 tax cut.

That is not only bad policy, it is downright immoral.

OK. What is the other problem with this bill? There are so many. So many problems, so little time. It is irresponsible. It adds about \$4 trillion to the deficit. And by the way, this current policy thing doesn't pass the straight-face test. A seventh grader knows that it is nonsense. If this bill doesn't pass, then there isn't a \$4 trillion hit on the budget. If it passes, there is.

And the thing that really gives a lie to this nonsense is, also in this bill is a \$5 trillion increase in the debt ceiling. If it is not really debt, then we don't need to increase the debt ceiling. It is a sham. Voodoo budgeting.

So I don't want to hear any more from my colleagues about deficits. I don't want to hear any more crocodile tears about deficits. We are mortgaging our future. I hear all this drama about deficits from people who are voting for this bill to add \$4 trillion to the deficit unnecessarily.

There is a saying of a famous New Englander: Your actions speak so loud, I can't hear your words. Your actions speak so loud, I can't hear your words.

Your actions are, you are adding to the deficit unnecessarily, so don't talk to me about deficits.

Now, the first rule, if you are in a hole, is stop digging. And we are in a hole. We are in a hole. So you stop digging by not passing this bill or not

passing it in the extreme form that it is to give the tax benefits—60 percent of the tax benefits—to people making over \$400,000 a year.

What has driven the deficit, if you go back and look over the last 20 years, there are three things: One was the unpaid-for Bush tax cuts—we had major tax cuts and then a war that we put on the credit card; the unpaid-for Trump tax cuts in 2017; and COVID. Now, COVID was an emergency. And the financial crisis in 2008 and 2009 and 2010, those were emergencies. That is where you run deficits. But you don't run deficits when times are good, and that is exactly what we are doing here.

If you are in a hole, stop digging.

By the way, the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, a non-partisan group, has said—and I haven't heard this mentioned—this bill will actually accelerate the insolvency of the Social Security trust fund and the Medicare trust fund. There is a nice thing for you. It will make those funds go insolvent sooner than would otherwise be the case.

Gutting the IRS. By the way, I have another suggestion for my colleagues. You want to find \$600 billion a year? Enforce the tax laws against cheaters. That is the estimate: \$600 billion a year is left on the table because cheaters, mostly high-income, are not paying the taxes they owe. The poor stiff that gets a 1040, he has to pay it. Everybody knows what he is making. But it is these people with the fancy lawyers and accountants—and I am not talking about tax avoidance here. I am talking about stone-cold tax evasion, \$600 billion a year. That would be nice, instead of cutting Medicare and Medicaid and food stamps.

Another piece of this bill that hasn't gotten much attention is ICE. The current budget of ICE is \$9 billion a year. Under this, they are increasing it \$75 billion over 4 years. That is an additional \$18 billion a year. They are tripling the budget of ICE. They are tripling the budget. We are dangerously close to creating a Federal police force, which we have never had in this country, and we shouldn't have.

And by the way, I have never in my life seen a law enforcement officer with a mask on. I don't get where that came from, a law enforcement officer wearing a mask. Where I come from, people that wear masks are not the good guys, and I don't understand that.

But to triple this budget, you wonder where that is going to take this country.

So let me go back to the beginning. All this damage to give a tax break to a guy who is making a million bucks.

The chairman of the Finance Committee wasn't here, I think, when I said this. Mr. Chairman, if we limit the tax cuts to people making \$400,000 and less, it will reduce the cost of this bill by 60 percent. It will ameliorate the need for any cuts to Medicaid and SNAP. It would also minimize the hit on the debt and the deficit.

There is no rush to pass this bill. Let's kill it, give it a merciful death over the next 24 hours, and then start over writing a responsible bill to deal with the expiring tax cuts for the middle class and deal with issues within the Federal Government that should be addressed.

But this bill is not the answer. It is a sham, and it is a shame, and it is embarrassing to even be debating this bill. It should have never come before us in this form. I hope that enough of my colleagues will see that this is an unnecessary damage to the citizens of this country and the citizens of their State. Every State's citizens are going to suffer, and this is something that we, in this body, can and should prevent.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

ORDERS FOR MONDAY, JUNE 30, 2025

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand adjourned until 9 a.m. on Monday, June 30; 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 resume consideration of Calendar No. 107, H.R. 1; further, that the leaders be recognized and, following their remarks, all debate time on Calendar No. 107, H.R. 1, be expired.

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

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order, following the remarks of my colleagues pursuant to the relevant debate time limits under the Congressional Budget Act.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

H.R. 1

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, what are we doing here? Seriously. I am still waiting for somebody to tell me how this makes sense. We are debating a budget that gives another round of tax cuts to billionaires and giant corporations on the backs of everyday Americans. And it also adds trillions of dollars to our national debt.

That doesn't make any sense to me. And it doesn't make sense to the Arizonans that I have been hearing from in every corner of our State. If you grew up in a household like mine where money was tight, you would know that budgets are about priorities.

I can still picture my mom sitting at the kitchen table trying to figure out which bills to pay. You take the money you have, and you put it where it is needed. This budget clearly tells the American people who President Trump and Republicans in Washington think need help.

If you are a billionaire, it says: We have got your back.

But if you are a parent trying to provide for your family, a senior in a nursing home, or a child who counts on school for your only hot meal, you are on your own.

This isn't about balancing the books. It is about picking winners and letting everyone else fall behind. And who loses? It is the Americans working two jobs, raising kids, caring for elderly parents, and just trying to stay afloat, because if you grew up in a family like mine, you also know how hard people work to reach their American dream—the promise that if you work hard, your kids will get a good public education, you will be able to put food on the table, you will be able to go to the doctor and stay healthy, and your kids will be able to grow up and achieve their own American dream.

This promise is already getting harder, and it is getting more expensive. We need to be working together across the aisle to ensure that everyone who works hard can have a brighter future. But that is not what my Republican colleagues are doing with this bill.

The plan that they are jamming through right now will put the American dream out of reach for more families. And for what? To hand out more tax breaks to people with more wealth than they could spend in 10 lifetimes.

Now, I have spent the last several months traveling across Arizona. I have been to our big cities Phoenix and Tucson. I have been to small towns like Clarkdale and Sierra Vista—talking to Arizonans face-to-face, listening to their stories, hearing what it would mean to them if Medicaid, food assistance, and other essential services got cut for them and their families.

What I have heard is clear: This budget is going to make it harder for them to stay afloat, let alone get ahead.

In Clarkdale, I met a guy named Christian. He is a rural hospital nephrologist. That is a kidney doctor. And he told me that his patients—many of whom rely on Medicaid for dialysis—are now considering stopping treatment altogether because they might not be able to afford it. He said:

Financially, none of the patients I serve can pay out of pocket. It's a choice of either massive debt or death.

That is the reality to many rural communities.

Another woman told me about her friend, a survivor of two car accidents and a spinal injury. Her friend relies on Medicaid to help her deal with her chronic pain. Without it—meaning Medicaid—she said that her friend might end her life because the pain is unbearable.

She asked me to deliver this message to my colleagues. She said:

This is not a country that can't afford to care for people like her. We can afford to care for everyone—if we change our priorities from giving tax cuts to billionaires to taking care of Americans who are in pain every day.

People across Arizona are pleading with us to get our priorities right.

In Sierra Vista, I hosted a Medicaid townhall, and that is where I met this woman named Tara. She told us how she was once a single mother and how programs like Medicaid and SNAP helped her raise her kid and build a stable life. Today, she works a good job. She doesn't rely on these programs anymore, but here is what she said:

I'm deeply concerned about the proposed cuts to Medicaid, SNAP, and related programs. I know firsthand that they don't just help families—they're often the only path to stability.

Just last week, I was in Tucson where I live—where Gabby and I live—helping distribute school lunches at a local high school. It is actually the high school that my wife went to. And I wanted to see firsthand what these summer meal programs mean for Arizona families.

These programs are funded through the United States Department of Agriculture, and they rely on data from SNAP and Medicaid to identify the children who need them the most. If this bill passes, a bunch of these kids that I served—I think it was last weekend—they won't be eligible for these programs anymore. It will be harder for them to access school meals which, I think we all know, compromises their academic performance.

That is the real cost of this legislation. It is not numbers on a spreadsheet. It is hunger. It is illness. It is fear. It is a bunch of folks who work really hard doing everything right, and they are still going to get punched in the gut.

And it is not just what I hear in person. My office gets hundreds of letters and phone calls every week from Arizonans. People are scared, and they want us to listen.

I want to share some of their voices. Frank is a veteran on dialysis. He called this week, and he said:

The food bank and my SNAP benefits are the only way I eat right now. I can't work. I'm not old enough to retire, and I'm dipping into my retirement early just to keep up with my mortgage. Without this help, I don't know what I will do.

Veterans should never have to say those words in this country. One of the most sacred promises we make to the men and women who serve is that we will take care of them when they return home. That promise doesn't end when they hang up the uniform.

It includes making sure that they can afford food, access healthcare, and live with some dignity. And yet here is Frank—sick, struggling, and wondering how he will survive because the programs he relies on are under threat.

Cheryl from Tucson, who is a 59-year-old widow, said:

I receive Disabled Widow's Benefits, Medicaid, Medicare, and SNAP.

Get this. She said:

My rent and utilities eat all but about \$300 of my monthly income. SNAP and my healthcare card used to cover most of my food costs. I used to have about \$40 left over to buy some extra groceries for the unsheltered in my area.

So here is a woman with \$40 extra, and she is helping other people.

She also says:

Now, buying food for my household takes all of it. I'm scared. If I lose even one of these benefits, I'll lose the grip that keeps the roof over my head.

Karen from Scottsdale has worked for over 25 years helping veterans and people with disabilities. She wrote:

Many of the people I work with rely on Medicaid because they can only work part-time or because their employers don't offer benefits.

Cutting them off will just make healthcare more expensive for everyone. The rich do not need an extension on tax cuts at the expense of low-income and middle-class families.

These are my constituents. These are folks who, unprompted, took time to write or call their Senator. And every single one of them is saying the same thing: We are barely holding on, and we are scared this is going to put us over the edge.

Now, I wish I could say that these stories were met with compassion by everybody here. But, instead, one of my Republican colleagues apparently said:

They'll get over it.

And another, when asked whether cutting Medicaid would cost lives, said:

Well, we are all going to die anyway.

Now, I didn't come here to throw jabs. I am repeating those words because they reveal how this budget was written without any connection to the real-world consequences. This isn't about politics. It is about people.

So I ask again: What are we doing here? Who do we serve? Is it people like Tara and Cheryl and Crystal and Frank who are working hard and doing everything right to just try to get by? Or is it a bunch of billionaires who have already made it and who don't need another handout?

If my colleagues don't believe me, I urge them to go read some of the emails and listen to some of the phone calls that they are getting. Maybe hold a townhall, listen to those folks, really listen to what they are saying. Don't crush their American dream. Don't rig the system even more against them. Don't take a vote just because it is easy.

We can do better for the people we serve. Mr. President, they deserve that from us.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I rise today in disbelief. That may sound a little cheesy, but at the end of the day, I fundamentally believe in public service. I believe it can be a force for good,

a force that gives people opportunity, a force that is people-powered, that can lift our neighbors up and instill hope, a force that meets the toughest challenges of our constituents. And that is why I am struck with disbelief.

Disbelief because if you believe these things like I do—which I would argue most of my colleagues here do—why would you be jamming this bill through?

At a time when Wisconsin families are asking us to take on the high cost of living and let them have a fair shot at success, Republicans are raising costs and making an already unfair tax system even worse.

My Republican colleagues are not using their time and energy to go after greedy corporations, not to lower the cost of housing, and not to expand access to affordable healthcare. But, rather, they are, instead, forging ahead with a bill that will kick millions of Americans off their health insurance, jack up prices for care for millions more, and literally take food off the tables of hungry families.

Look, I was on the same ballot as Donald Trump last year. I heard the same concerns from my constituents that he did. Families needed some breathing room.

My Republican colleagues often say that this President's victory gave him a "mandate." Well, then, the President and I got the same mandate: to lower costs and give people the opportunity to live a steady and comfortable life. But in response, the difference could not be more stark. I am actually working to do something about it, and this bill—the landmark bill from this President and the Republican Party—does just the opposite and will raise costs for families.

One of the biggest cost drivers I hear about is healthcare. Instead of standing up to big drug companies to lower prescription drug costs and instead of building on the Affordable Care Act to expand access to healthcare coverage, this bill actually terminates coverage for Americans. In fact, 17 million Americans will be kicked off either Medicaid or the Affordable Care Act because of this bill. That is like stripping healthcare coverage from the entire populations of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa combined.

These aren't just numbers; these are people. They are people who have stories, and they matter. I should know. After battling a childhood illness, I became one of those Americans labeled as having a preexisting health condition, and insurance companies were legally able to deny me coverage. But because of the Affordable Care Act, we changed that. We gave families like mine hope—hope that they can get healthcare at a price they can afford and sleep well at night knowing they have coverage.

Medicaid has given that same hope for generations to some of our most vulnerable neighbors. But with this bill, my Republican colleagues are in-

stilling fear. When we talk about Medicaid, we are talking about the elderly, people with disabilities, and children. We are talking about a single mother of three who is struggling to make ends meet and so many more.

I have traveled the State of Wisconsin from Superior to Racine, La Crosse to Green Bay and everywhere in between, to hear from people who will be harmed by this bill. I have come to this very floor to share their stories, to try to help my Republican colleagues understand what this bill will mean. But it is not just the folks who need Medicaid to survive who are sounding the alarm. Take it from Dr. Abbigayle Willgruber, a family medical resident in rural Wisconsin. She said that this bill "will deprive millions of Americans, particularly children, seniors, and individuals with disabilities, of the care they need to survive."

She, continued saying:

These provisions will limit my ability to complete my job to the fullest, will lead to worse outcomes for patients.

Or take it from Rosangela Berbert, the executive director of an outpatient counseling center in the Fox Valley in Wisconsin, who said:

Without Medicaid and Medicare reimbursements or with reduced rates, our nonprofit will struggle to survive.

She continued:

I would hate to consider cutting staff or programs, but that could become our only option. We would lose the ability to serve hundreds of clients—not because the need has diminished, but because we could no longer afford to provide care without reimbursement.

I have more and more of these stories from doctors, nurses, and administrators on the ground who are spelling out the absolutely dire consequences of this bill.

In Wisconsin, we are already in a crisis when it comes to getting good healthcare in our rural communities. The system is broken, and this bill is destined to make it even worse.

While healthcare is near and dear to my heart, there is more bad news in this bill. Republicans' big betrayal will also take food assistance—the literal means by which some people are able to put nutritious food on the table—away from them. This bill will take SNAP assistance—our Nation's best way to make sure that no one goes hungry—away for more than 3 million Americans.

That leads us to the why. Republicans are making all of these cuts so that they can rig our Tax Code, which I must say already is deeply unfair to working families. They would further tilt it in favor of the biggest corporations and the richest in our country.

The Republican bill gives people at the top one-tenth of 1 percent, the richest of the rich, a tax cut of more than \$250,000 every year—yes, a quarter of a million dollars a year.

All the while, this bill hits working families the hardest. When taking into account the disastrous Medicaid and

SNAP cuts, many working families would see their annual incomes fall by over \$1,500.

It doesn't have to be this way. Yes, our system for taxes and healthcare is broken, but this bill is not the solution. This bill would make it harder for working families to have the opportunity to get ahead, harder for parents to get their kids healthcare, and harder for families to put food on the table.

We, Democrats and Republicans, should be working together to give some relief to workers, but instead Republicans will choose to go it alone and vote to give the biggest corporations and the wealthy another unfair leg up.

I will end with this: While I remain in disbelief and, frankly, disgust, I will always have hope. I have hope because it is not the people in this Chamber with the power; it is the people. It is the people who will sadly feel the repercussions of this bill. It is the people who are rising up and will hold anyone who passes this disastrous bill accountable. That is where the true power is.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. BRITT). The Senator from Hawaii.

Ms. HIRONO. Madam President, Democratic Senators have been on the floor for hours today pointing out what is in this thousand-page bill that took over 16 hours to read. I call it the thousand pages of pain and the billionaires' gain.

It is bad enough that my colleagues have been on the floor talking about how this bill is going to hurt people on Medicaid, taking food away from our children and families through major cuts to the SNAP program—healthcare, food, housing, energy support, you name it, the pain is in this bill—but one of the areas that people don't know about is that this bill actually has provisions that would take away support for our public schools. Let that sink in. It is not enough that this bill has a thousand pages of pain in just about every aspect of our lives that you can think of, but now they are coming after support for our public schools.

So today, I am rising as an advocate for the 49 million children who are enrolled in public schools across our country. Nearly 90 percent of K through 12 students go to public schools, including 95 percent of children with disabilities. Yet we have a regime that is actively working to end Federal support for public schools. We have a President who tried to totally eliminate the Department of Education, and, sadly for him, he can't do it through Executive order because only Congress can do that. But they are doing a lot of other things that withhold support for public schools.

So, as you know, Republicans in Congress are trying to undermine support for public schools through the first-ever national private school voucher program. Let that sink in—the first-ever national private school voucher program. That is taking money away

from public schools and basically turning it over to private schools through a voucher program.

So let's be clear. The school voucher program provision isn't about money for schools; it is about even more money for billionaires because they are the folks who are going to get the most out of this voucher for private schools program.

Under this program, wealthy donors would receive large handouts for supporting school vouchers. This is a Washington Post headline:

GOP voucher plan would divert billions—

Four billion a year—

in taxes in perpetuity to private schools.

So, specifically, the plan would provide a dollar-for-dollar tax credit. We are not talking about tax deductions; we are talking about a tax credit. This is money that comes right off your taxable amount. So what this bill would do is provide a tax credit of \$5,000 or 10 percent of a taxpayer's adjusted gross income, whichever is greater. So a taxpayer making \$10 million—we do have people who make \$10 million a year—could contribute \$1 million and receive a credit for that full amount. How do you like that? You can get a million dollars off your tax bill by contributing to this private school voucher program.

So rather than calling this plan what it is—and I tell you, the word "scam" comes to my mind; it is like scamming the public schools—Republicans are deceitfully trying to sell this plan as an expansion of school choice for families. Oh, isn't this voucher program great? More families can send their kids to private school.

Here is the reality: Based on what we know about school voucher programs, they do not promote school choice. Let me give you two examples of why this argument does not hold water. For one thing, school vouchers do not cover the full cost of private school tuition. When was the last time anybody thought about how much private schools cost? You know, schools in Hawaii—private schools can cost something on the order of \$15 to \$20,000 a year, starting from kindergarten. A voucher program will not support that full amount. That means that families who want to send their kids to these private schools will have to make up the cost difference. Well, how many middle-income, low-income families will be able to exercise that choice to send their child to a private school that costs that much?

Not only that, as we have seen in States that have passed voucher programs, private schools often raise their tuition when they become eligible for vouchers. Iowa is an example. After they approved vouchers in 2022, private schools there increased their prices by over 20 percent for kindergarten and by over 10 percent for other grade levels.

Here is another example on this argument that this program promotes choice. There are fewer private schools in rural communities. So many fami-

lies do not have access to private schools if they live in rural communities. How does this expand choice for these families?

The reality is the majority of vouchers have gone to wealthy families and to subsidizing school tuition for students who already attend private schools. Under this bill, Republicans will make that even worse by prioritizing scholarships for these students.

I am going to repeat that because not only is it bad enough that we are going to divert all of this money, basically, to private schools, but this bill actually has a provision that says people who will get these scholarships are students who already go to private schools.

In Louisiana, for example, the 99 percent of voucher tax credits there went to families with annual incomes above 200,000. In Virginia, the number was 87 percent of vouchers in that State going to wealthy families. In Arizona, it was 60 percent.

Americans have consistently rejected school voucher programs and initiatives. Nebraska, Kentucky, and Colorado have all voted against voucher programs within the last year.

In Nebraska, school vouchers were put on the ballot last November, and they were soundly defeated for the fourth time. This is not a Democratic or Republican issue. Nebraska is a red State. They voted for a Republican President by a 20-point margin, and yet they rejected school vouchers with 57 percent of the vote.

The bottom line is this: Vouchers take money away from public schools, and Americans of all political stripes understand that.

According to All4Ed, over two-thirds of voters would rather increase funding for public schools than increase funding for voucher programs.

That is not a new sentiment. In all 17 State referendums on school vouchers since 1967, voters have rejected these programs.

While the Republicans in this Chamber may not give a rip about public schools, the vast majority of Americans get it. Democrats, Republicans, Independents alike support strengthening our public schools, not taking money away from our public schools, because they know that strong public education is fundamental to a strong country.

Well, undeterred by public sentiment, Republicans are trying to create, as I mentioned, a nationwide school voucher program. It is not enough that some States have voucher programs, but now the Republicans, through this misguided, almost-thousand-pages-of-pain bill, want to provide \$4 billion per year for a private school voucher program, with no accountability.

Remember, early on, I said that a huge percentage of children with disabilities go to public schools. Well, private schools do not have any responsibility to make sure that they are providing education for children with disabilities. So there is no accountability.

Let's just provide \$4 billion per year, in perpetuity, in tax credits for private school programs that have no accountability along these lines.

We all know that this kind of funding could be used for rural and low-income schools, for students with disabilities, for other programs that actually support and strengthen public schools.

Instead, under the Republicans' plan, that funding would go to wealthy donors who will receive large handouts, up to \$4 billion a year for supporting school vouchers.

Again, this plan will enable a taxpayer making \$10 million a year to contribute 1 million and receive a dollar-for-dollar credit for that full amount. And even worse, the taxpayer could contribute appreciated stock and avoid capital gains on their appreciation.

And there is all kinds of data on who owns stocks in this country, and generally it is the people with a lot of wealth.

So this bill had a provision that enabled people to donate appreciated stock so that they could escape capital gains taxes on that stock contribution totally.

So this Republican voucher proposal, outlandish as it is, was briefly delayed after it was deemed noncompliant with budget rules earlier this week. Republicans remain undeterred. They have decided to plow forward with a nearly identical plan.

When it comes down to it, this plan does not help students. It does not promote choice. It does not support public schools, where the majority of our kids go. We should be supporting our public schools, not taking resources away from them.

So my Democratic colleagues and I will continue to fight to fund quality public schools, to improve public education in this country—foundational.

This voucher plan is yet another wrong-headed proposal that should be called out for what it is: a handout for the wealthy at the expense of hard-working American families.

I urge my colleagues to reject this idea.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. WARNOCK. Madam President, I rise tonight in our moral moment in our Nation. As we debate this bill, so much is on the line. The healthcare of over 16 million Americans—750,000 of them Georgians—is on the line. Food for hungry children in a wealthy nation, where one in five children are already food insecure. They don't know where their next meal is coming from. Their livelihood, their welfare is on the line. The well-being of seniors in nursing homes and the disabled who rely on Medicaid and those who care for them is on the line. The fate of rural hospitals in Georgia, in Alaska, in Louisiana, in little towns all over this Nation that are right now barely hanging on is on the line.

And the scraps that they are throwing them, while cutting them, will not

save them. And my friends on the other side of the aisle know it. They know that these scraps that they are throwing at rural hospitals will not save them.

And so in a very real sense, lives are on the line. We are in a moral moment because something else is on the line. I submit that the character of the country is on the line.

In a real sense, the question tonight is, Who are we? Not who we tell ourselves we are, but who are we really? What and who do we care about? What kind of nation are we? And what kind of people do we want to be? Who matters, and who doesn't? Who do we think is dispensable?

And no place is the answer to that question clearer than in a nation's budget. I submit that a budget is not just a fiscal document; a budget is a moral document. Show me your budget, and I will show you who you think matters and who doesn't.

And if this awful budget were an EKG, it would suggest that our Nation has a heart problem and is in need of moral surgery.

And so I am clear tonight. I understand the nature of what we are engaged in. This is a political process; it is. But it is also a moral exercise, not only for the Nation but for each of us individually, and especially for the mere 100 of us out of a nation of 300 million who get to vote, perhaps in a matter of hours.

We have the rare privilege of standing up for people who have entrusted with us the covenant of centering their families. It is a real privilege for the people of your State to say that since we can't all go to Washington, we are going to trust you in rooms of power to be thinking about our children, to be thinking about our parents as they deal with the blessings and the burdens of growing old.

And so the question for me tonight is, How will we show up in this moment? And that is why yesterday I gathered in the Russell rotunda with a multifaceted coalition of clergy to pray that lawmakers might have the courage to stand up to their party, to stand up to the special interests, and protect seniors in nursing homes and pregnant mothers on Medicaid and children who risk going to school hungry every single day in this country. One in five children in the wealthiest Nation on the planet are already food insecure. And with these SNAP cuts, this body is about to make it worse.

And so surrounded by clergy of many faith traditions, yesterday, I prayed that we would have the courage and I prayed that we would have the grace to stand as voices for the voiceless. And as I stood there, I could not help but feel a sense of *deja vu*.

This is not the first time I have been in our Nation's Capital speaking out against these policies that betray hard-working families. It was 8 years ago almost to the day in 2017 when Washington Republicans were trying to pass

a tax bill that favored wealthy Americans over working families that I came to this building, not as a Senator but as a pastor. I had no idea that 8 years later I would be serving in this body. I had no notion that I would even run for the Senate. I came as a citizen.

And standing with a multifaceted coalition, we were praying for our Nation's leaders, and we were gathered in the rotunda of the Russell Building. And, as we were singing and praying, the Capitol Police said: I am sorry, pastors. You can't sing and pray in the rotunda. If you do not disperse, we will have to arrest you.

And let me say that the Capitol Police did not mishandle us that day. They were first-rate professionals. But they said that if you don't disperse, we will have to arrest you. What they didn't understand is that I had already been arrested. My conscience had been arrested. My heart and my imagination—my moral imagination—had been arrested by this idea that we, as a country, are better than this.

I come from a tradition where you don't just pray with your lips; you pray with your legs. You put your body in the struggle for other struggling bodies.

And so here I am tonight, 8 years later, having transformed my agitation into legislation. I was arrested that day, but I have transformed my protest into public policy. Eight years ago, I was on the outside. Tonight, I am on the inside, but it is the same fight.

Some of us fight on the inside; some of us fight on the outside. Some of us get to serve in the Senate or in the House; others are just watching at home tonight. But be really clear that we are in the same fight, whether we are on the streets or in the suites—same fight.

In some ways, this is the same bill 8 years later, just worse. Like most horror movies, the sequel tends to be worse. When we were here 8 years ago, Washington politicians were trying their best to gut the Affordable Care Act. Remember that? When we were here, they were trying to gut ObamaCare out of political motives.

Millions of Americans were spared, but tonight is the sequel to that horror movie. They are back to their old political tricks, trying to dismantle the ACA again with this legislation. It is the same fight, just worse this time.

Instead of extending tax credits that would lower health insurance costs for the middle class, my friends on the other side are giving billionaires and the richest of the rich a tax cut. They are working real hard tonight to help billionaires because, God knows, they are having a hard time, apparently.

What that means is that 1.2 million Georgians and nearly 20 million Americans are going to see their healthcare premiums rise. That is what is at stake tonight. If they enact these deep cuts to Medicaid, as they are positioned not to extend these premiums, these tax credits, they are raising the cost of

healthcare for all of us. Even if you are on private insurance, you are not safe. Your healthcare is about to go up. Your hospital might close. And because they are cutting these clean energy tax cuts, your utility bills are about to go up.

So I have a question tonight. Who voted for that? Some of us are Democrats. Some of us are Republicans. Some of us are Independents. Some voted for one party; some voted for the other party. I get it. But who voted for that? Who voted for everybody's healthcare premiums to go up and their hospitals to close?

Here is what I know. The folks back in Georgia didn't vote for that. They voted for me, and they voted for Donald Trump, but they didn't vote for that.

Ordinary folks don't want this. Just ordinary, everyday people who barely pay attention to politics, they don't want this. Even a FOX News poll—and you won't often hear me say that—but even a FOX News poll from this month found that Americans don't support this "Big Ugly Bill." This is systemic in the ways in which the people's voices have been squeezed out of their democracy. This is not just a healthcare fight, it is that. It is not just a fight for food security for SNAP, it is that.

But in the real sense, it is a fight for our democracy. Whose voice gets to be heard in this Chamber? That is what this is about, the character of the country.

Ordinary Americans don't want to do this to our children. That is why they need to know that 71 percent of all Medicaid enrollees in Georgia are children—71 percent. They are taking away healthcare from kids to pay for tax cuts for billionaires.

Let me be clear. I am all for tax cuts. I believe working families deserve a tax cut, and I certainly don't want to see them face a tax hike this year. That is why I want to nearly double the child tax credit. I believe in tax cuts for hard-working families, for middle-class people, for working-class families.

Instead of doing that, instead of helping working-class families who are struggling now against a 10-percent tax on everything and rising costs, we are now burdening our children by adding \$3 trillion to the debt. We are taking away healthcare from kids and then burdening them with the debt. We are engaged in Robin Hood in reverse, this body, of stealing from the poor in order to give to the rich; this massive transfer of wealth from the bottom to the top.

This is socialism for the rich.

And when the people hear about it, guess what. They don't like it—Democrats and Republicans and Independents. When the people hear about what is in this "Big Ugly Bill," they don't like it.

And that is why the folks on the other side are trying their best to fast-

track it. That is why they are trying to pass it, and they haven't even finished writing it. They are twisting themselves in knots, making their Members walk the plank under the threat of a primary to pass this "Big Ugly Bill."

The American people do not want to rob our children of food and healthcare and then burden them with trillions in debt to give billionaires and wealthy corporations another tax cut. The people do not want this bill.

So if the people do not want this bill, but they are trying to pass it, here is the question that you have to ask yourselves at home. You have to ask yourselves: Well, whom are they working for? Whom are they fighting for? Who do they think matters? Do you think they are working for you?

This is a moral moment and a budget is a moral document. We have been summoned to this moment, people of faith and people of moral courage who claim no particular faith at all. Maybe because I was here yesterday and 8 years ago for a similar fight with faith leaders; maybe because I am a preacher and it is Sunday and I have been here instead of church, I have especially been thinking about those of us who are people of faith, people whose lives are informed by Scripture, people of the Book.

And maybe those of us who have different politics but read from the same Book ought to spend some time together reading the Book because I do sometimes wonder—and I say this with all humility. None of us owns the truth. But if I am honest, there are days when I have to ask people of my faith tradition as a Christian, are we reading the same Book? The Book I know says: I was hungry and you fed me. I was sick, I was in prison, and you visited me. I was a stranger and you welcomed me. In as much as you have done it to the least of these, you have done it unto me.

The Book that I love says: Learn to do good, seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, plead for the widow. Speak out for those who cannot speak, for the rights of the destitute. Speak out, judge righteously, defend the rights of the poor and the needy.

My Book says: Whoever is kind to the poor lends to the Lord and will be repaid in full.

The prophet Amos condemns those who "buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of sandals."

They sell the poor out and working-class people for cheap. And for those of us who have a vote in this moment, for my colleagues who are swinging on a moral dilemma, I hear the prophet Micah say: He has already told you what is good. What does the Lord require of you but that you do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with your God.

May God be with our Nation and grant us grace, wisdom, and courage for this moment.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Ms. HASSAN. Madam President, first, I want to thank my colleagues and, especially just now, my colleague from Georgia, for their work tonight, for their expression of what is at stake in this moment. And to Senator WARNOCK, I say thank you and amen.

I am here today because I am joining the majority of Americans who are deeply alarmed by this plan from the President and his congressional allies, a plan that will make life less affordable for more Americans.

When we return home for this Fourth of July, it would be nice to be able to tell our constituents that we came together and passed bipartisan legislation to help bring down costs for families. Instead, my colleagues who vote for this legislation will have to explain why, at a time when families' pocketbooks are strained, they chose to support a partisan bill to make American life even less affordable.

What will America look like once this bill takes effect? Millions of people will have lost their health coverage thanks to the largest cut to Medicaid in American history. More people won't be able to afford preventive care and cancer screenings, and more people will get sick. Healthcare premiums will surge for everyone because fewer people will have care, and the number of uninsured Americans will increase.

Rural hospitals will close their doors because they lost Medicaid reimbursements that help keep them afloat. More people, especially in States like mine, will have to make long car rides just to get to a hospital 50 miles away in those desperate moments when minutes feel like hours and hours like eternities.

Seniors will be thrown into grave peril because this bill threatens hundreds of billions in Medicare cuts.

And once this plan eviscerates food assistance programs, it will be much harder for families to afford to put food on the table at a time when groceries are already far too expensive.

Let there be no mistake, more families and children who today are being fed will go hungry, and all the while our children will be burdened with trillions more in debt.

In the name of what cause is all this done? Well, it is all to pay for tax breaks for billionaires. This bill will also make us an America where our people are less free.

In New Hampshire, during my time as Governor, we adopted Medicaid expansion with support from both political parties, and we balanced the budget at the same time. We understood that, with health, comes freedom: the freedom to work and provide for one's family; the freedom from disease and despair; the freedom that comes from—why do I even have to say this?—being alive. Granite Staters also understood that a great country like ours treats its people with great dignity. In America, we don't sacrifice the health of our

neighbors, and we don't let families fall sick. We do not imperil our economy, our debt, and our workforce just to pay for a tax giveaway for a billionaire.

So what kind of country will we be with this bill? We will not only be less healthy, but we will be less prosperous and less free. In short, this bill is at odds with what we aspire to be as Americans.

It is also worth noting how remarkably out of step this bill is with the American people's plea to bring down costs. In a democracy like ours, theoretically, the people's representatives pass legislation that reflects the aspirations of the majority. I say "theoretically" because, clearly, that is not what is happening today. Indeed, according to the data from the Joint Economic Committee minority, if one combines this bill with the President's tariffs, then firefighters, truckdrivers, and teachers, for instance, will lose \$470 or more next year while the top 0.1 percent—who are the people who earn about \$4 million or more—will be \$348,000 richer.

This bill would take away healthcare from tens of thousands of Granite Staters and would take a similar toll across the country. Indeed, in both Florida and Texas, the number of people who will lose their health insurance is greater than the entire population of New Hampshire—millions of people losing care with a stroke of a pen.

What have these people done to deserve that? All the American people are asking for is for us to help bring down costs. So the President and the Republicans in Congress take away their healthcare?

Sometimes in Washington, we are faced with bills that fail to fully meet the moment, to be sure, but it is rare to find legislation like this: a bill that makes life less affordable during a time when Americans of every political stripe are crying out for lower costs; a bill that seems as if it was drafted just to make a mockery of the wills and wishes of the majority of the people in this country.

Lately, many of my colleagues and some political pundits have been talking about this bill as if it were inevitable—a runaway freight train so vast that it cannot be stopped. In light of this inevitability, they suggest that some of the bill's deficiencies can just be overlooked. But, of course, this bill was not inevitable, nor is it now.

So let's be clear: Each and every Senator in this body has free will—God-given free will—which means that the measures in this legislation that gut Medicaid weren't written by mistake or by chance. We didn't arrive at this day with a vote on this terrible budget bill by accident. Let's not delude ourselves. We are only here because a majority in this body decided to ignore the majority of the country and make a series of decisions. The Republican majority decided to gut Medicaid. They decided to take away healthcare from millions. They decided to raise insur-

ance premiums for the rest of us. They decided that closed hospitals were a risk worth taking. They decided that taking food away from hungry kids was acceptable. They decided that trillions more in debt was not a problem. The Republican majority decided that depriving the American people of all of these things and raising their costs were worth it just as long as they paid for another tax break for billionaires.

That is the bargain that this administration, along with my Republican colleagues, is forcing the American people to accept. Our people will be less healthy, and our kids will have more debt, but the President and billionaires like him will get a tax break.

Of course, part of what makes this bill so frustrating is it includes some individual provisions that I have spent years trying to pass into law. This bill includes provisions I support, some even that I authored, like strengthening the R&D tax deduction to support our entrepreneurs and a tax cut for families to make childcare more affordable. I also support this bill's provisions which would tackle our housing crisis by expanding the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit, which would bring down the cost of housing, as well as a provision making mortgage insurance tax deductible so that it is easier to buy a home. I support a bill with real tax cuts for the middle class and small businesses, unlike the token measures included in this bill.

If my Republican colleagues worked across the aisle to draft a bill that brought this bipartisan approach to other critical areas like healthcare and food assistance, I would vote for it. Instead, my colleagues chose to take these commonsense solutions hostage by linking every good idea to three bad ones, turning this into a purely partisan endeavor. So, yes, I am glad that some of these bipartisan provisions will be signed into law, but I regret that they aren't a part of a truly bipartisan effort because of the politics of division and destruction that President Trump brings to Washington.

I know that there are many areas of common ground with my Republican colleagues in this body, but it has become far too difficult to move forward on finding solutions when, at every turn, the President seems far more interested in demonizing and dividing rather than in bringing people together; in turning areas of agreement into weapons to force disagreement. Now, that is exactly the kind of cynical politics of division that does lasting damage to our families, to our economy, and to our democracy.

President Trump, likely, will get this bill passed. He may get enough of the Republican caucus to stand in line once again to pass it, even though my Republican colleagues know that budget analysts have added up the financial cost of this bill and have told them that it adds trillions upon trillions to our national debt, burdening our children's futures.

But, you know, as important as the debt is, it is not the only cost of passing this awful bill. There is another kind of cost, a cost not simply of dollars and cents. I shouldn't have to remind this administration and my colleagues on the other side of the aisle about the nature of this cost. They know it. Just to be clear, this tax break for corporate special interests and billionaires has a price—a price that can't be summed up in a budget line or written off during tax season—because when we debate healthcare in America, some dress up these discussions with words like "reconciliation" and "program" and "discretionary spending," but what they are talking about is being sick and being healthy. What they are talking about, whether they want to admit it or not, is living and dying.

So how much does this bill cost?

The cost is that of millions of Americans losing their healthcare. The cost is of countless numbers of families feeling the pain of higher insurance premiums. The cost is a mother being forced to choose between paying out of pocket for her own care or paying for groceries for her kids. It is a price that is exacted in cancers that go undetected. It is exacted in chronic illnesses that go untreated. It is exacted in the healthcare challenges in our country that continue to go unaddressed because we spend all our energies simply trying to keep our heads above water in the floods of the President's own making.

The pricetag is more than dollars and cents. It includes the cost of losing more people from our workforce because they are too ill to work. It includes the gnawing pains of hunger and the slow toll of malnutrition that will come as food assistance programs are robbed. It includes the anguish of young parents who no longer know how they will make ends meet. It includes the lost hopes and deferred dreams of people held back by illness. It includes the cost of having to say more early good-byes.

What is the pricetag of this bill?

The price, in the end, is the health and freedom of millions of Americans. It is a price that will be paid because somewhere on the road that brought us here, here in President Trump's Washington, some people decided that the health of some child or her mother may be dear but that it doesn't carry the same weight that a bigger tax return for a billionaire does.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BENNET. Madam President, the hour is late. I want to thank the Presiding Officer for being here.

I am glad to be here with my colleague from New Hampshire and my neighbor from New Mexico.

I want to thank the floor staff that is here tonight. And I would like to suggest—but it is not the purpose of my speech—that the next time Senators

make the suggestion that the floor staff should spend the entire night reading a bill here, that the Senators actually read that bill instead of imposing that on the staff that is here. I think that would be a just thing for us to do and the appropriate and proper thing for us to do.

Madam President, the last time that we were headed down this road, which was when Republicans were passing President Trump's 2017 deficit-exploding tax cut, it didn't take a mathematical genius to figure out what was about to happen. I told the Senate at that time that, as our debt grows, we will spend billions more not on schools, roads, and innovation but on interest costs. Worse, we were about to blow another hole in the debt without really helping the middle class, and 8 years ago, I said: On top of that, we know that, when deficits swell, as they surely will, cuts to Medicaid and Medicare will be sure to follow, further burdening working families struggling to make ends meet.

Well, here we are. That is exactly the story of this bill. Utterly predictable is this bill which massively increases our deficit when our children can least afford it. The Republican Senators who will be passing this bill tonight or tomorrow morning, if they do, know they are doing it when we have already hit a new milestone for the first time in American history.

Our interest payments exceed the amount that we spend on our national defense. For the first time, the American people, because of the irresponsibility of those in this Chamber, are going to pay \$1 trillion in interest. That is a massive number. That is essentially the same as what we spend on Medicare; as what we spend on children and higher education together; as what we spend on housing, bridges, broadband, ports, and highways combined.

I want to be very clear tonight that over the years, Democrats and Republicans have pursued policies that have led to that \$1 trillion in interest payments—there is no doubt about it—and it is worth thinking about what we could do if we hadn't made such fiscally irresponsible choices: expand the child tax credit, as my colleague from Georgia said; cut childhood poverty in half and hunger by a quarter; build a modern energy group to meet our expanding energy demands so Americans in cities and rural communities can enjoy affordable, reliable energy at home; establish a healthcare system that the American people deserve—a modern system that people in other rich, industrialized countries take for granted, a system that does not cost twice as much with worse outcomes like in the United States of America, the richest country in the world, that forces parents to choose between their children's prescriptions and school supplies and that exhausts the American people who, day after day after day, have to fight endless negotiations with

their insurance companies just to keep their children covered; that constantly threatens rural hospitals and clinics with closures in this country. No other rich country in the world puts up with that craziness. And we are spending twice as much as any other country in the world to get worse healthcare, worse outcomes, and more scarcity.

Every Senator on this floor might make a different choice about the policies that they would enact, their preferred policies, but I doubt that there is anybody here who is willing to go home and defend the virtues of wasting \$1 trillion of the American people's money on interest payments.

The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office and outside groups like the Penn Wharton Budget Lab tell us that by the end of the next 10 years, we will have the highest debt ratio ever, eclipsing the debt our Nation had in the 1940s.

What was happening in the 1940s? That is when the "greatest generation" had borrowed money to defeat economic misery at home through the New Deal and European fascism by becoming the arsenal of democracy. Those were their receipts. Those were the receipts of a generation that understood its commitment to the next generation—to us.

When we contemplate from this broken Senate the patriotic accomplishments of the "greatest generation," what has always seemed particularly egregious to me has been the tax policy Republicans have passed four times since Ronald Reagan passed it in 1981. Every single time, they made the same promises—every time. Look it up. They made the same promises that their trickle-down tax policy would drive economic growth, cut our deficit, pay for itself. Every time, including the recent Trump tax cut in 2017, these promises have been false. They have been false. That was 8 years ago. That wasn't a century ago. We know what the math is. Everybody in this room knows the deficit is far worse today than it was when Donald Trump passed those tax cuts.

President Trump has had a very rare thing happen, which is he got to take 4 years off and come back and be President. The effect of the tax cuts he passed the last time that he said were going to pay for themselves clearly have not. There is nobody in this Chamber who can deny that.

I always find it amazing, when I hear these promises, why people make them if they know they are so false—over and over and over again. I think the reason is that it is a way that politicians in Washington can avoid the objections that you could never get away with at home.

Imagine for a minute if there were a mayor in America, any mayor in any town—in Santa Fe, NM; or in Limon, CO; or in Los Angeles, CA—it doesn't matter—a Republican town or a Democratic town. Imagine if a mayor came to join you and said: This town is going

to borrow more money than we have ever borrowed before.

That would worry you. That would worry me. I think our first question to that mayor would be: OK. That worries me. What are you going to spend the money on that you are going to borrow? Are you going to spend it on schools?

No.

Are you going to spend it on parks?

No.

Are you going to spend it on the water infrastructure that so many communities in New Mexico require? Are you going to spend it on the mental health crisis that our teenagers are facing because of our failure to address it? Are you going to spend it on infrastructure?

The answer to all those questions would be no.

What are you going to spend the money on, Mr. Mayor?

Well, the answer is, I am going to give tax cuts to the two richest neighborhoods in town and hope that those trickle down to everybody else.

That is the Republican tax policy.

There is a reason why no mayor in America has ever done that. There is no mayor in America who has ever pursued trickle-down economics because you would get run out on a rail. You would get run out on a rail if you went and said: We are going to borrow the most money that has ever been borrowed from our children to finance tax cuts for the richest neighborhoods in town.

It makes no sense. It is preposterous. Yet that has been the argument since Ronald Reagan first said that these tax cuts will be paid for, that the economy will grow, that there won't be a deficit.

There is a reason we are paying more than \$1 trillion in interest today, and that is because our deficits are enormous.

Fortunately—and this is really important for the American people to understand—we still live in the strongest country in the world. We are in the world's richest economy. We have the most lethal military. Apart from our President, we have a national commitment to an independent judiciary, the rule of law, and low levels of corruption in our economy and in our society. We have unparalleled capital markets, cutting-edge innovation, and world-leading universities. We have all those things going for us partly because the folks who came before us invested in those things and built those things and tended those things.

But what we struggle with in our time is a sense amongst most Americans that they can't get ahead, that the American dream is further and further out of reach for themselves and for their families. In my view, that is the biggest challenge our country faces and in the face of this bill's ill-considered tax cuts and cuts to our healthcare system, which is going to throw millions of people off of their healthcare and make healthcare more expensive for everybody else.

By the way, what is the logic of that? The logic of that is that when you throw people off their healthcare, they end up going to the emergency room to take care of themselves and take care of their families, just as anybody would. That is the most expensive care that anybody could have. That expense is then put in our insurance policies, and all of us are going to pay more. You can't wish away people just because you throw them off health insurance.

When other countries in the world—other wealthy, rich countries in the world—have a system of insurance that basically guarantees healthcare and mental health care to their citizens, it is worth asking why we would throw our people off the not-so-great health insurance that they have. That is a good question. But it is particularly crazy when it just drives up the cost for everybody else.

We need to deeply think about the challenges that our country is facing today. It is more unequal. The top 1 percent own 30 percent of our Nation's wealth, and the bottom 50 percent own 2½ percent. The top 1 percent of Americans own 50 percent of the value of the stock market. The top 1 percent of Americans own 50 percent of the value of the stock market while the bottom 50 percent own just 1 percent of its value.

Something that is really affecting my State is that the Nation's median home price is now five times higher than the median family income. As a result, the average first-time home buyer is now 38 years old—38 years old—versus 29 just a generation ago. Reading scores in our Nation have hit a 20-year low. And perhaps most damning and perhaps most upsetting is that our lifespan has declined since the 1980s. We are now, on average, likely to die 6 years sooner than other people who live in wealthy countries around the world. If you are African American, your chance of dying is, on average, 12 years—12 years—sooner than people living in the industrialized world.

If we don't shift course soon, we will be the first generation of Americans whose kids and grandkids will be worse off than we are. That has never happened before. We are on track for that to happen to our children.

Many young people today can't afford to live on their own, and they may never be able to afford a house. They can't afford healthcare or childcare. They can't count on a quality education for their children in too many parts of America. Some are really worried about whether they are going to be able to afford a child at all. If you haven't heard a family say that to you in your townhalls or in your meetings, you haven't been paying attention.

But instead of addressing any of these challenges, we are debating a bill tonight that will make the wealthiest Americans even wealthier and the poorest Americans even poorer—half a million of whom live in Colorado—

while adding millions more to the debt, which working Americans are going to have to pay back. That is what this Republican trickle-down economics comes down to. No matter how you dress it up, that is what it comes down to.

Our generation has made some very bad choices when it comes to our children's future. This bill only makes matters worse for them. And all this debt will constrain the choices they are going to be able to make for themselves. That is a shame because, unlike us, perhaps they will aspire to follow in the footsteps of the "greatest generation" and build a country where lifespans are growing, not falling; where economic mobility is rising; where poverty and economic anxiety are falling; where energy exports are increasing and emissions are decreasing; where quality healthcare and childcare and education and affordable housing are abundant, not scarce.

It seems obvious to me that our child's ambitions should be ours as well. Unfortunately, tomorrow, the Republican majority may pass a bill that takes us further in the wrong direction. In its wake and in its wreckage, Americans who do feel an obligation to the next generation are going to have to fight even harder to fulfill our duty.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam President, today, we meet at the center of a great debate, at a crossroads that will determine the direction of the country for another generation. And this debate, this choice, goes to the heart of a central question that has been plaguing families in America over the last three decades but that is now just coming to the forefront.

And that question is this: If you are working hard in America, can you still earn a good living for yourself and your family? If you are working hard in America, can you still buy a home or pay your rent, buy your food and medicine, get the healthcare you need, afford fuel for your car, get a decent education, or go on a family vacation? And if the answer is no—and for all too many millions of people, the answer is no—what do we do about it?

When I was a kid, my father was in the clothing business. He was a traveling salesman, and he made \$18,000 a year. On the strength of that single income, my parents bought our first home for \$18,000. He made \$18,000 a year, and my parents bought a home for \$18,000. It was the American dream, and it came true for our family.

Today, I am a U.S. Senator. That, too, is part of the American dream that anything is possible in this country. But could anyone buy a home for the cost of the annual income even of a U.S. Senator? Not a chance in the world. An average home in California costs three or four times that much.

My kids are paying thousands and thousands of dollars a month in rent.

Could they find a home for the cost of their annual income? There is even less of a chance of that.

And what about your grandkids? At the rate we are going, at the rate housing prices are rising, what chance will they have to afford a home at any income?

And, of course, it is not just a home. Healthcare costs are rising even faster. Millions of families are only one healthcare crisis away from failing, and it is not their fault. It is not their fault. They are working hard—harder than ever—and they can't keep pace with rising premiums, out-of-pocket costs, hospital stays, drug costs, and charges at the emergency room.

Energy prices are going up. It costs more to heat your home in the winter and a lot more to cool your home in the summer. Utility bills have been rising by double digits while incomes have remained comparatively flat. It is too much. It is too much.

Now, why is this coming to a head now? Why, when we are not in a great depression, not even a great recession—although, with Trump's destructive tariff wars, we may get there soon enough—why now? Why now is this coming to a head?

The answer is that people feel more squeezed than ever, more pressure than ever, more like a failure than ever because they are doing their best, working their hardest, and they are still hanging by a thread. And do you know something? It is not their fault. It is not their fault. They are doing everything they can to provide for their families, and it is just not enough.

It is not their fault, but it is someone's fault. It is someone's responsibility. There is someone who should be held accountable for the fact that this generation is the first to renege on a compact between generations that we would leave the country better off to the next generation than the one that came before.

And do you know who that someone is? It is us. It is us.

The world has changed, the nature of work has changed, and we have not changed with it. We have not kept pace. And in too many ways, through our policy failures, we have moved the country in the wrong direction.

And the question before us today is whether we continue to barrel down that track toward higher home prices, bigger healthcare costs, more hunger, and greater hardship, or whether we change direction—much too late, yes; requiring an even more profound course correction, certainly; but finally steer this country to a better quality of life for all of our citizens.

Is this bill that change in direction? Does it lead our country on a new path toward affordability and prosperity? The answer—the simple, terrible but clear-as-day answer—is no, it most emphatically does not. No, it does nothing to bring down costs. No, it does nothing to make it easier for your kids or mine to buy a house, pay their rent,

buy groceries, afford their medicine, or fill up the car for a family vacation. Instead, it throws more coal in the engine barreling down a track to nowhere.

Donald Trump promised he wouldn't cut Medicaid, but this bill cuts hundreds of billions of dollars from Medicaid. It is shredding the President's commitment made again and again. In January, the President said Republicans will "love and cherish" Medicaid. In February, he said, "We are not going to touch it." Even a few weeks ago, the President said, "We are not changing Medicaid. We are leaving it."

But we see in the black and white in this text they released in the dark of night that that simply isn't true. This bill will result in millions losing their healthcare from cuts to Medicaid. We know that. The Republicans know that. THOM TILLIS has made this point over and over again tonight, as have other Republicans in this body.

This bill will close down hospitals in the poorest counties and States. It will raise healthcare costs for families everywhere—and by the thousands of dollars. It takes food away from the hungry. It kills clean energy so that we have to rely on oil and gas for everything, enriching that industry and impoverishing the rest of us with higher prices at the pump.

It raises taxes on working families and the middle class, while lowering taxes on the very wealthy and corporations.

If you are in the top 0.1 percent of income earners, making more than \$5 million a year, you will get a \$346,000 tax cut. How is that fair? How is that right? And it borrows the money from our kids to pay for that \$346,000 tax cut, to pay for the habits of really rich people.

Where is the fairness, the morality in that? When is enough enough?

My father was part of the "greatest generation." We, it would appear, are part of the most selfish, and I am fed up with it. I am fed up with it.

What happened to any sense of responsibility in this generation? What happened to love of country?

Can we love our country and impoverish it? Can we love our children and grandchildren if we take from them only to give to ourselves?

In this bill, we borrow trillions from our kids, and for what? So the rich can have a bigger boat? So corporate CEOs can have more money? So a company can buy back more of its stock? So we can be richer than our neighbor while his neighbor has no home at all?

"The test of our progress," Franklin Roosevelt said in 1937, "is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

Last week, a landscaper in Los Angeles was tackled to the ground because he was undocumented. He is the father of three marines—three marines. When one of those marines was finally able

to speak to his father after his detention, he had one ask of his son: Please go back to the worksite and finish the job.

That was his ask. That is the work ethic that has made this country great, not the ethic that brought him to the ground. Raising three marines, that is the patriotism that has made this country great, not the rancor that beat him while he lay there.

But if this bill is not the answer—and it most certainly is not—if this bill only makes matters worse, far worse, then what is the answer? What direction shall we go? How can we begin to make the country work for people once again?

Well, we can give instead of take. We can build instead of tear down. We can recapture once again the sense of possibility in this country. If Eisenhower was part of the generation that won the war and built the roads and highways, let us be the generation that wins the peace by creating the next giant boom in housing in America, making the investment necessary, tapping into the great potential of the government and industry working together, breaking down each obstacle in the way—millions and millions of new homes that my children can afford and your children.

Let us build new hospitals instead of closing them down and, in so doing, bring the cost of healthcare down with them. Let us train new doctors and nurses so it is not so expensive to visit them and new home healthcare workers to take care of us even as we take care of them.

Let us grow more food and feed more people at home and abroad and bring down the costs of our groceries. Let us thank our farmworkers, instead of chasing them through the fields to separate them from those they love.

None of this—none of this—is beyond our capacity. It may mean that we can't afford yet another tax break for the wealthy or a giveaway to the oil industry or a giveaway to any other industry and its corporate titans.

It may call for some sacrifice on our part, but a fraction of what our parents and grandparents gave to this country. It means that we pay more attention to our kids and their needs and less our own; that we once again show concern and compassion for our neighbor and remember that we were once strangers in a strange land; that we show humility about our own achievements and recognize that none of us got here on our own; that all of us can prosper without someone else being made to suffer—you know, the way it used to be; the way it could be once again.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. LUJÁN. Madam President, I heard several of my colleagues speak tonight about what this bill means for Americans all across America. Now, each of us has a responsibility to ask whether this bill meets the needs of the people that we are honored to serve.

Now, I grew up on a small farm, as many of you know, working the land, caring for animals, sometimes even cleaning barns. And I can tell you, this bill does not pass the smell test.

For New Mexicans, hard-working people, this bill does not help our families get ahead. New Mexicans work hard. Folks are not looking for a hand-out. New Mexicans are the type of people who would give you the shirt off their back if you needed it. It is just who we are, and I am proud of it.

But sometimes people fall on hard times. And I will remind you all that this could happen to any of us. You might need medical care. You might need help putting food on the table, maybe support to care for a loved one, or just want enough security to know that a job will be there for us.

Some claim that this bill will help Americans, which we know is not the truth because, from where I stand, there is very little in this legislation that helps hard-working New Mexicans.

Now, it is important that this debate is happening because now New Mexicans and people all across America can clearly see what is in this bill and what is not. As has been said time and time again this evening, the vast majority of this legislation benefits the ultrawealthy. The wealthiest 0.1 percent are getting over 250 grand back in their pocket. Can you believe this?

How many people might not make that in a lifetime? An extra \$250,000 in their pockets, that is what this bill is about. Now, meanwhile, it does not help farmers; it does not support teachers or children.

Nothing for New Mexico seniors who rely on Medicaid SNAP, and nothing for New Mexicans who served our country and deserve our care in return.

New Mexicans are hard-working people who believe in the values of loving your neighbor, following what the Bible teaches us: Do unto others as you have them do unto you.

This bill goes against everything New Mexicans stand for. It is not honest; it is not caring; and it is not fair.

Now, I have heard my colleagues try to claim that this bill does not cut assistance. That is a lie. It is not true. This bill cuts more than a trillion dollars from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program and Medicaid, for crying out loud. Senate Republicans are gutting the Affordable Care Act and ripping healthcare away from 17 million Americans.

Now a few of my colleagues across the aisle have spoken with some clarity, saying out loud what we all know to be true.

One Republican Senator warned about SNAP, about these cuts, saying:

If we don't watch out, people are going to get hurt.

Another Republican colleague said on Medicaid:

We can't be cutting healthcare for working people and for poor people in order to constantly give special tax treatment to corporations.

Now that same Senator went on to say that:

Slashing health insurance for the working poor is morally wrong.

That is right. I wish more of them spoke with that clarity. At least a few of them are saying out loud what the rest of America is thinking.

Now is the time for more courage, though, the courage to put people first. My colleagues all have a chance to vote against this legislation. They all have a chance to vote for amendments that will say: Hands off Medicaid. Don't cut those nutrition programs that one Senator said are going to hurt people if we don't watch out.

This bill takes food from the mouths of New Mexican children and takes care away from New Mexicans who are sick. It is not just New Mexico. These cuts will hurt people in every State.

My Republican colleagues, to lock up one more vote, offered something called the Polar Payoff—a carve-out for one State. Now, look, these carve-outs are an admission that this bill will leave people hungry and without care—plain and simple. Otherwise, why would they want a carve-out for their State? Why was this carve-out added?

Because this scam of a bill cuts funding for rural hospitals and the programs that feed children and families in need. For our rural communities out there, for the farmers and ranchers who grow our food, this bill will hurt your bottom line while closing rural hospitals, closing rural grocery stores.

For families who rely on SNAP, this bill means less food on the table and more children going to bed hungry, all while making healthcare, especially emergency care, harder to access. That is what this bill does to hard-working Americans. And I am not even mentioning the Americans who currently have healthcare but will no longer be able to afford it because of this bill.

Those of you watching at home tonight who do not think this impacts you, it just might. Earlier this week, I had the honor of speaking with a healthcare worker from Las Cruces, Julee. Julee traveled all the way from New Mexico to Washington, DC, to tell Congress not to mess with her families' Medicaid.

Like many of her colleagues, she had a story to share. Now, Julee's son received mental health care through Medicaid. When that coverage was cut, Julee lost her son. Soon after, her daughter was diagnosed with a serious condition that required immediate care. Now, without Medicaid, her daughter may not have survived either. Just think about that. Let it sink in.

New Mexicans understand the responsibility of looking after family. Like so many families in New Mexico and across the country, I grew up helping to take care of my grandparents. Grandma Nestora and Grandpa Celedon, my dad's parents.

Now, when my other grandparents Grandpa Luis and Grandma Cleotilde were victims of a terrible car accident,

I watched my mom, my uncles, my aunts, and my cousins show what grace looks like, what love feels like, what compassion really means.

Now this bill is a direct attack on those values, values of helping one another and shared sacrifice. There is no shared sacrifice in this bill, only more handouts for the wealthy.

There is nothing in this bill that shows that we are all looking out for our neighbors across America. And like so many Americans, I am so deeply concerned about the pricetag. This bill would add more than \$3 trillion to the national debt.

To people watching, this is not just a number. It affects your everyday life—higher interest rates. Think about your credit cards, your car loans, your mortgages if you are fortunate to have one. This bill is going to make your life more expensive. It is a total betrayal of our constituents.

So to the American people: Hear me when I say, keep speaking. You have done it before. The American people—all of you that spoke up—you helped stop the sale of our public lands. You made your voices impossible to ignore.

Now, this bill is not the law of the land yet. But if we stay silent, it will be. So keep organizing, keep calling, and keep showing up because part of our responsibility as American citizens is to protect one another, to stand by one another, to treat others the way that we want to be treated, the Golden Rule. It is not hard.

We all have a responsibility to stand up when something this dangerous threatens our neighbors, our values, and our future.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORENO). The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. KIM. Mr. President, I rise today to lift up the fact that this reconciliation bill will do real harm to countless American families. It is not theoretical or hypothetical. Families are hurting right now: the opioid crisis that has ravaged large parts of my State, the mental health crisis that people across this country are so concerned about and are begging for help about, and so many other challenges that every single family knows the fear of a health crisis.

Like Susan, a mother I met at a townhall down in Egg Harbor—a townhall that was part of a series of townhalls that I did trying to highlight the challenges that so many families are facing—and in this crowded room full of hundreds of people, a woman named Susan shared her story, a mom of a 24-year-old son with Down syndrome.

They use Medicaid to be able to cover his care. She broke down at the weight of her fear and worry for her child, something a lot of us can relate to.

She said to me that this is the face of Medicaid. As I went over to give her a hug, I remember she said: "It's real."

And it is real, and I know everyone in here knows that. I know because of-

fices on both sides of the aisle are getting the same calls. Our phone systems broke down because of the overwhelming volume of people calling and literally begging—begging—us not to do this, begging us to protect Medicaid so their kids can see the doctors, begging us not to cut SNAP benefits so their students could have access to healthy food.

It is a humbling experience seeing a parent begging for the resources to take care of their sick child. Yet, as I look around, I see far too many people rushing through this process to get it done with little care about the resulting impact it will have, generational damage that will be done.

While we are rushing through, barreling through without the ability to properly debate this, I want you to know the people of New Jersey, the people of this country, this budget represents an abandonment by their government, and this will hurt everyone we are supposed to be helping.

Some of the people that could be impacted the most are people within the disability community, hundreds of thousands of people in New Jersey with disabilities that rely on Medicaid for coverage, over 15 million across our country, including a man named Tom Spadaro, a disability advocate in Ocean County, NJ, who joined me for a townhall.

After a gun accident when he was 11, Tom is a total quadriplegic, dependent on a ventilator and others. Medicaid helped him go to school, then college, and in his own words has given him dignity.

When talking about this bill that we are debating here today he said:

If I lose Medicaid, I feel like I'm getting shot in the head again. This time, it's not a bullet. It's legislation.

I want his words to echo through this Chamber today for everyone to hear. If this budget passes, families in every single State across this country will feel these cuts long after the media and the Trump administration have decided it is time to move on and "get over it."

A cancer patient doesn't just "move on" when they have to delay treatment because they have lost insurance coverage, when a family has to upend their lives to become caregivers to their parents because they can't afford elder care, when a hospital closes and the new closest emergency room is hours away after the child is in an accident and needs help now, not in 5 hours, they won't "get over it."

America will feel this long after Donald Trump is no longer in the White House, and they will remember what has happened to their lives because of it.

Now there are some people listening who might not think that this is going to affect them, but these cuts to healthcare in this bill are so dramatic, it is going to have an impact that reverberates all throughout our communities.

I talked to a hospital leader in New Jersey who said that these cuts could be so devastating for their revenue because of how much they get through Medicaid reimbursements, that they are not sure that they are going to be able keep their doors open, a hospital not certain if they can keep their doors open.

This is not the only story like this across my State, across the country, whether it is rural hospitals or it is suburban or urban. We are going to have a lot of challenges that are going to reverberate beyond just those on Medicaid. It is going to affect every single one of us and raise prices at the same time.

Losing that critical care in communities not only abandons people in their time of most need, but it leaves a tragic ripple effect on others and other hospitals.

So today I am putting forward an amendment to this bill that would stop this from happening and directly take out the parts of this bill that would force hospital closures and reduce access to affordable healthcare for so many across this country.

In no reality should we be helping billionaires send their rockets to outer space while turning people away at hospitals. And yet, this is the reality we find ourselves in, deciding how much care is acceptable to take away from families across New Jersey to fit a budget cut or how many patients can be turned away from lifesaving medication just so the wealthy can have a nice tax break.

A doctor from Frenchtown shared some profound words with my office.

She said:

Medicaid is a reflection of our values. It is how we show up for each other when life gets hard.

Well what does it say about our Nation as we are having this debate that could very well take a trillion dollars out of Medicaid; about those who need the care the most as if they are just expendable, as if they are just some remainder on the equation of capitalism that is just pushed to the wayside?

As just an inevitability, as a shrug of the shoulder of our society to say: I am sorry what happened to you, without a care and an extended arm and a hand to reach out and pull them up.

Let's be very clear. This bill will cause prices to drive up. In New Jersey alone, over 454,000 families will see higher costs in premiums, according to the New Jersey Department of Banking and Insurance, which is why I am introducing an amendment to make sure this bill wouldn't raise these costs by striking provisions that would increase premiums or out-of-pocket costs under Medicaid, the Children's Health Insurance Program, and some private insurance marketplaces too.

We cannot allow billionaires to get richer while working families are seeing drastic increases to their premiums or out-of-pocket costs, costs to keep their children healthy as we deal with

the worst measles epidemic in decades, costs to afford their kids medicine while we see our government attacking science and fact, making parents have to work that much harder to keep their children safe.

With all the challenges we are dealing with right now, it is painful to think through what will happen if this bill goes into effect and the fact that these healthcare cuts will increase our gaps and worsen conditions for our vulnerable communities, including children. If we can't stand up for them, for our children, who are we willing to stand up for?

And as I said at the beginning, every family has a healthcare story. Everyone has felt overwhelmed in the face of sickness and injury. Just a year ago, my father took a fall. I got the call while I was on the campaign trail. I rushed down to the hospital. But even after the surgery, what we learned is there was an even more debilitating challenge that we faced, a cognitive decline as my father is descending into dementia.

I just spent Father's Day weekend with my father, the entire weekend, but it was in the emergency room as he had twice fallen in 2 days—two separate trips to the emergency room.

My family is overwhelmed right now. We struggle to think through his needs that go far beyond what we can be able to provide, goes far beyond what Medicare can provide.

And it is not just my father and my family. We have failed seniors. We have failed as we have failed to plan and create a place for elder care in this country that preserves a foundation of dignity and decency for everybody.

And when you are in the trenches fighting for your own life or gripping the hand of a loved one struggling, the last thing you want to think about is worrying if you are eligible for this treatment or that.

You want to be able to provide what it takes for your loved one to survive, to go a little further, spend a little more time on this planet with us, and to grow our love deeper.

When we think about that and then we ask ourselves, well, why is this bill happening, why are these cuts happening, it is not to bring down the deficit. Instead, it is going to balloon the deficit by trillions of dollars. Who among us in this country think that the problems that we face as a Nation is because the wealthiest among us don't have enough?

The distrust in government right now, it is not because politics isn't doing enough to help the most well-off in our country, the billionaires and the millionaires.

I ask my colleagues to find the courage to do the right thing. I want to bring us back to 2017 in this very Chamber as Senators gathered to decide the fate of the Affordable Care Act, which was, at the time, hanging by a thread.

Many of my colleagues here in this Chamber were also on the floor at that

time. I was not. I was a regular citizen, angry at what I was seeing unfolding, watching it on my phone.

A citizen that felt so detached from what was happening in this Chamber, I remember thinking to myself, How could the Senate be seriously considering doing such harm to this country, to so many Americans by trying to gut preexisting condition protections, the Affordable Care Act, so much others? I asked myself: Am I missing something? Am I missing information to understand why it is that this is even happening?

And we saw rushed conversations, and we saw people running back and forth. And we also saw Senator John McCain step up and signal with his arm that he did not stand for this. Senator McCain's vote was a rare moment of doing what you know is right even when you are surrounded by noise telling you it is wrong.

It is surreal now finding myself on the floor of the Senate in a similar moment in our own Nation's history with so much on the line with this vote, and I look around this Chamber and yet again think the exact same questions from 8 years ago, How can the Senate seriously be considering gutting care for so many?

And now with the benefit of being here, the conversations and the information, I am still left with this question of, Am I missing something?

How is it that such an esteemed body that is meant to protect the American people, in this Chamber where so many decisions have been made to protect the American people, that we are on the cusp of doing something that will do generational damage to so many American families?

This vote before us seems as surreal and reckless from within this Chamber as it does from outside. But while the problem is the same, so is the solution. It is about courage—the courage John McCain had; the courage that so many of my constituents have.

So many people have called and shared their personal stories—stories about their families' health they probably had never told anybody, but they feel so desperate right now to do something that they are willing to open themselves up, be able to pull back the curtain of the dangers and the pain that they have endured, to be able to try to do anything to stop this bill from hurting Americans. That is courage.

And it is courage about standing up against the big money and the special interest, and sometimes it feels insurmountable.

And I say to my colleagues here today that you won't be remembered by whether or not you passed this bill on President Trump's timeline or if you feigned concern about constituents just to be able to stab them in the back later. You will be remembered by your courage to stand up and say no. You will be remembered by your courage to speak out for the people—not just a few who have paid, but for all of us.

You will be remembered in the same way as our former colleague was remembered by what he did 8 years ago. I urge you to remember that this job is bigger than all of us—bigger than any one man, any one party. It is about using our vote and our courage to make lives better for those that we represent.

History and the American people are watching. You still have time. We still have power. I still believe in this Chamber and believe it can be a force for good. Let us use it for the children, for the disabled, for those not in this room.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mr. PADILLA. Mr. President, I too rise in opposition to the reconciliation bill before us, but before I get to my objections over the substance of this historic attack on working and middle-class families, I want to speak for a minute as the ranking member of the Rules Committee, and I need to address how Republicans are abusing the process to get here.

They are breaking the Senate rules to hide the true cost of the bill. For the second time in just 6 weeks, the Republican majority is going nuclear on the Senate rules. And they are doing it with the same purpose: to avoid the 60-vote threshold of the filibuster in order to pass a very unpopular agenda.

Now, I know oftentimes, we are advised against getting into “process” because most people may not care about process or understand process. But in this particular case, it serves to underscore the significance of the damage that this bill represents, the procedural lengths to which the Republican majority is going to try to get this done.

And I do have to say it is a little surprising, because it was just in May that Leader Thune said—Leader Thune unequivocally said:

While Republicans are in charge, the legislative filibuster will remain in place.

If you go back to January, he was asked about this because folks kind of had a sense that this might be coming. He said then about overruling the Senate Parliamentarian:

That is totally akin to killing the filibuster. We can't go there. People need to understand that.

But now Republicans are trying to do exactly that, to hide behind the technical language of Senate procedure to harm working families.

And like I said, it is not the first time. Just last month, Republicans voted to override the very plain language of the Congressional Review Act, and they voted to overrule the Parliamentarian to repeal California's Clean Air Act standards with a simple majority vote.

Fast forward to today, they are running the same play, this time with trillion-dollar consequences, not just air quality and public health consequences.

See, colleagues and folks watching at home, budget reconciliation is the most powerful, expedited procedure statute on the books. You can do a lot with a simple majority and avoid the filibuster, but you have to do it by the rules of reconciliation.

But today, the Republican majority wants to extend trillions of dollars of tax cuts for President Trump's billionaire friends and extend those tax cuts permanently. That is not just terrible, terrible policy, it is against the Senate rules. The Congressional Budget Act says clearly that reconciliation bills cannot increase the debt beyond 10 years.

Now, it doesn't take a Nobel Prize-winning economist to know that a permanent trillion-dollar tax cut would do exactly that. And so once again, following the same playbook they did last month, the majority is going to twist the rules to try to find a way.

They are, again, ignoring the guidance from the Parliamentarian's office that doesn't fit their agenda. And they are setting yet another new precedent for this body not only to continue to overrule the Parliamentarian, but to ignore adding trillions of dollars of costs under the “current policy baseline.”

As we did during the Clean Air Act debate last month, I and my Democratic colleagues will once again remind our Republican colleagues that sooner or later, Democrats will be back in the majority. By then, the American people will have felt the pain of this bill, but we will make sure that they understand just how hard you tried to work to hide it from them.

Democrats will not let the American people forget what Senate Republicans do this week.

Now, on to the substance of budget reconciliation. How many times have we heard the Trump administration these past few months say they are focused on fraud? Waste? Abuse?

Now, these are the buzz words that they turn to when trying to bat away questions or when Americans are trying to get clarity on whether the life-saving services that they depend on are about to get cut.

But in reality, what we are seeing happen this week is one of the biggest acts of fraud in American history playing out right before our very eyes with the bill under debate today. And it is past midnight, so we are in Monday, so I can still say today. Donald Trump and his billionaire allies are literally stealing—stealing—from working families in order to reduce the amount of taxes they would have to pay, literally robbing from the poor to give to the rich.

For anyone really wondering whether they would actually do that, we know they will because they have done it before. In 2017, during the first Trump Presidency, Republicans seemed fine saying they could afford hundreds of billions of dollars in permanent tax cuts for large corporations. I remember

the arguments back then. “This is going to grow the economy,” they said. “In time, it will reduce the debt,” they said. That didn't happen.

So today, now, they are arguing that we can't afford programs that keep kids from going hungry? We can't afford the programs that keep lights on in emergency rooms? It is outrageous.

In 2025, so many working families are struggling—struggling to keep up with the rising costs from Trump's chaotic tariff wars, with prices going up for groceries and other everyday goods. Many are working long hours and still struggling to make ends meet or to afford care for their loved ones.

I get it. I have been there. Colleagues, as I have shared with you before, I am the proud son of working-class parents who came to the United States from Mexico in the 1960s. I will remind you that for 40 years, my father worked as a short-order cook and my mom cleaned houses. On those modest salaries, they raised my sister, my brother, and I in the proud working-class community of Pacoima, CA. And I remember what it was like to live paycheck to paycheck. I know how unnerving it can be, for example, when the car broke down, and you listened and witnessed your parents' debate because, on the one hand, maybe they couldn't afford the cost of repairing the car right away, but they also realized that they couldn't afford to not fix the car because they had to get to work.

I know that there are so many Americans in communities like the one I grew up in that aren't looking for handouts. That is not what we are arguing or debating in this bill. Americans just want a fair chance to work hard and provide for their families. There is pride and dignity in working hard and providing for families. That is part of the American dream. People just want a fair playing field. In a country with as much promise and profit as the United States of America, that shouldn't be too much to ask for.

But not only would the Republican budget reconciliation bill be one big handout for the wealthiest Americans, it would actually make life harder for working families in order to pay for it. That is wrong, and it is cruel.

At its very core, just like Trump did in 2017 with the help of Republicans in Congress, this bill is fundamentally about one thing and one thing only: cutting taxes for the wealthiest Americans and big corporations. How else do you explain the fact that the top 0.1 percent will see a tax cut of more than \$250,000 a year, while millions of American households will actually see a reduction in their annual income or take-home pay? That is because to pay for the massive handouts to the wealthy, Republicans are gutting healthcare and cutting services that so many working families depend on, and they are twisting themselves into knots in order to cut around \$1 trillion in healthcare—cuts that would leave 16 million Americans without health insurance. We are talking about seniors.

We are talking about children, Americans with disabilities, hard-working families who don't deserve to be kicked off their health insurance just so billionaires can pay less in taxes.

These devastating cuts, by the way, will also close rural hospitals around the country, including in California, where so many are already struggling just to keep the doors open.

And for folks listening to the debate thinking that "well, if I am not on Medicaid, then this may not apply to me; this isn't going to hurt me," let me remind you that if your local hospital that relies on Medicaid dollars is forced to cut services or cut staff or even close its doors as a result, then, yes, you, too, will be hurt.

But the bill doesn't stop there. In this bill, Republicans cut SNAP, nutrition assistance, that critical lifeline that so many count on to literally feed their families. How much more cruel can you get?

But wait, there is more. Republicans are also rolling back the historic progress we have made investing in our transition to a clean energy economy, targeting the millions of clean energy jobs that are fueling innovation and helping us stay ahead of China. The cuts to clean energy that Republicans are making in this bill will lead to higher energy costs, higher electricity bills for so many families.

I am reminded that this last November, so many voters went to the polls and voted, hoping for lower prices. They were desperate and looking for relief, and that is what motivated their votes. But this bill does the opposite.

So I have to wonder, for my Republican colleagues who are supporting this measure, who was it that you are fighting for? Did any of you really come to Congress to take food away from the hungry? to take care away from sick children? What are you proposing be done here?

Now, I have seen Republicans go back and forth on this bill for months now, I am sure trying to decide just how much they can try to get away with, and I have heard some of the arguments that they plan to make to justify voting for this bill. Some of them will argue that we need this bill because we need to reduce the deficit. Talk about misleading. This bill adds trillions—yes, trillions—of dollars to our Nation's debt. So even when they try to twist the numbers and come up with the funny math, it doesn't even result in deficit reduction. And do you know how you can tell? Because the Republicans included a \$5 trillion increase to the debt limit in this bill. If the bill and the cuts included in the bill indeed reduced the deficit, as they claim it does, they wouldn't have needed to raise the debt limit in the process.

So let's be clear. Republicans who are voting for this bill know full well it will hurt so many of their constituents. That is why behind closed doors you have Republicans handing out fly-

ers that show just how devastating Medicaid cuts will be in States represented by Republicans. Or we hear them discussing the burden SNAP cuts will have on State and local governments. But because the leader of their party wants to sign this bill to celebrate the Fourth of July this year, many of them will vote yes.

But I will ask again: Who is this bill in service of? Who are you standing up for? Who are you fighting for?

I will tell you who I am fighting for. I am fighting for people like Jesus Acosta from San Diego, a home care provider who in 2016 became his mother's full-time care provider when she was tragically hit by a car and became disabled. Jesus can't hold a full-time job and carry all the responsibilities of looking after his mother, so for both Jesus and his mother, Medicaid has been a lifeline. I am fighting for him.

I am fighting for people like Tina Ewing-Wilson in the Inland Empire, who remembers what it was like the last time her Medicaid benefits were cut. Tina struggles with seizures and developmental disabilities and requires care 24/7. But when the great recession hit and Medicaid cuts followed, Tina knew she could only afford her care by offering free room and board to caregivers—caregivers who went out to abuse drugs and alcohol and took advantage of her financially. Tina is terrified of that possibly happening again if these Republican cuts to Medicaid impact her. I am fighting for her.

I am fighting for the families I met at Rady Children's Hospital, where over half of all patients are covered by Medicaid.

I am fighting for the nurses and the caregivers who fear for their patients. They care for their patients, but they are fearing for their patients because of these proposals.

I am fighting for every parent across the country who is working their tail off to put food on the table for their children but every now and then may need a helping hand.

If you see these Americans, if you have constituents with similar experiences in Your States and still think they should have less of our help, not more, then I guess we came to Congress for different reasons.

If you have seen so many corporations' profits soaring and the wealth inequality in our country growing and think that billionaires need more tax relief, then I guess we came to Congress for different reasons.

If, this week, you will vote to rip these critical lifelines away from millions of Americans because you somehow think it is the right political calculation, then surely we came to Congress for different reasons.

Colleagues, it is crystal clear. I urge you to vote no on this bill and stand with me, stand with us, stand up for working families. That is what I plan to do.

I yield the floor.

MORNING BUSINESS

BUDGETARY REVISIONS

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, section 3001 of H.Con. Res. 14, the fiscal year 2025 congressional budget resolution, allows the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee to revise committee allocations, budgetary aggregates, and the pay-as-you-go ledger for legislation considered under the resolution's reconciliation instructions.

I find that amendment No. 2360 fulfills the conditions found in section 3001 of H.Con. Res. 14. Accordingly, I am revising the allocations for the reconciled committees and other enforceable budgetary levels to account for the updated budgetary effects of the amendment.

I ask unanimous consent that the accompanying tables providing details about the adjustments be printed in the RECORD.

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

REVISIONS TO BUDGET AGGREGATES—BUDGET AUTHORITY AND OUTLAYS

(Pursuant to Section 3001 of H. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025)
(\$ in billions)

	2025
Current Spending Aggregates:	
Budget Authority	4,540.812
Outlays	4,549.048
Adjustment:	
Budget Authority	187.694
Outlays	-170.468
Revised Aggregates:	
Budget Authority	4,728.506
Outlays	4,378.580

REVISIONS TO BUDGET AGGREGATES—REVENUES

(Pursuant to Section 3001 of H. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025)
(\$ in billions)

	2025	2025–2029	2025–2034
Current Revenue Aggregates ...	3,849.664	20,485.700	45,285.946
Adjustments	-123.805	-808.806	-814.834
Revised Revenue Aggregates ...	3,725.859	19,676.894	44,471.112

ALLOCATION OF SPENDING AUTHORITY TO SENATE COMMITTEES OTHER THAN APPROPRIATIONS

(Pursuant to Section 3001 of H. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025)
(\$ in billions)

	2025	2025–2029	2025–2034
Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry:			
Budget Authority ...	185.761	967.912	1,987.937
Outlays	177.349	926.669	1,876.969
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	-5.425	-46.180	-116.682
Outlays	0.400	-47.142	-119.250
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	180.336	921.732	1,871.255
Outlays	177.749	879.527	1,757.719
Armed Services:			
Budget Authority ...	289.771	1,117.079	2,102.064
Outlays	287.699	1,113.882	2,104.071
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	156.154	153.405	153.405
Outlays	2.020	130.659	149.542
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	445.925	1,270.484	2,254.469
Outlays	289.719	1,244.541	2,253.613
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs:			
Budget Authority ...	26.245	87.321	277.233
Outlays	-12.404	-128.025	-165.530
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	0.942	0.338	-0.794
Outlays	0.085	0.176	-0.668
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	27.187	87.659	276.439

ALLOCATION OF SPENDING AUTHORITY TO SENATE COMMITTEES OTHER THAN APPROPRIATIONS—Continued
(Pursuant to Section 3001 of H. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025)
(\$ in billions)

	2025	2025–2029	2025–2034
Outlays	–12.319	–127.849	–166.198
Commerce, Science, and Transportation:			
Budget Authority ...	28.674	112.433	208.612
Outlays	19.151	103.520	188.736
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	46.215	38.354	–38.919
Outlays	–0.065	15.764	–40.686
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	74.889	150.787	169.693
Outlays	19.086	119.284	148.050
Energy and Natural Resources:			
Budget Authority ...	11.317	46.797	94.470
Outlays	14.111	73.125	129.454
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	–10.154	–13.021	–25.718
Outlays	–0.056	–5.523	–19.189
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	1.163	33.776	68.752
Outlays	14.055	67.602	110.265
Environment and Public Works:			
Budget Authority ...	65.948	333.253	657.947
Outlays	26.197	70.513	92.512
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	–6.579	–6.579	–6.579
Outlays	–0.857	–4.487	–4.959
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	59.369	326.674	651.368
Outlays	25.340	66.026	87.553
Finance:			
Budget Authority ...	4,098.211	22,927.227	53,373.809
Outlays	4,086.136	22,904.608	53,305.155
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	0.383	–278.506	–1,157.393
Outlays	–0.091	–294.044	–1,159.108
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	4,098.594	22,648.721	52,216.416
Outlays	4,086.045	22,610.564	52,146.047
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions:			
Budget Authority ...	58.247	281.354	537.451
Outlays	73.149	274.662	513.809
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	–172.200	–231.904	–327.902
Outlays	–171.909	–221.398	–305.662
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	–113.953	49.450	209.549
Outlays	–98.760	53.264	208.147
Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs:			
Budget Authority ...	183.814	962.501	2,038.641
Outlays	186.248	954.058	2,009.642
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	132.701	132.402	130.779
Outlays	0.005	78.512	128.911
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	316.515	1,094.903	2,169.420
Outlays	186.253	1,032.570	2,138.553
Judiciary:			
Budget Authority ...	25.392	121.706	241.572
Outlays	23.858	120.549	237.629
Adjustments:			
Budget Authority ...	45.657	49.466	46.611
Outlays	0.000	30.729	46.056
Revised Allocation:			
Budget Authority ...	71.049	171.172	288.183
Outlays	23.858	151.278	283.685
Memo—Total of All Adjustments:			
Budget Authority	187.694	–202.225	–1,343.192
Outlays	–170.468	–316.754	–1,325.013

PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD FOR THE SENATE

(Revisions Pursuant to Section 3001 of H. Con. Res. 14, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025)
(\$ in billions)

	Balances	
Current Balances:		
Fiscal Year 2025		0.000
Fiscal Years 2025–2029		–0.008
Fiscal Years 2025–2034		–0.024
Revisions:		
Fiscal Year 2025		–47.063
Fiscal Years 2025–2029		490.052
Fiscal Years 2025–2034		–514.179
Revised Balances:		
Fiscal Year 2025		–47.063
Fiscal Years 2025–2029		490.044
Fiscal Years 2025–2034		–514.203

H.R. 1

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, when the Senate considers the reconciliation

bill, H.R. 1, it is my intention to make the following motions to commit to the bill:

(1) A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) restore funding for the Congressionally Directed Medical Research Program of the Department of Defense to an amount equal to not less than five percent real growth annually over the fiscal year 2024 level through fiscal year 2029.

(2) A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) insert after section 20011 a new section appropriating not less than \$300,000,000 for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative by using cost savings associated with a prohibition on the procurement, modification, restoration, or maintenance of an aircraft previously owned by a foreign government, an entity controlled by a foreign government, or a representative of a foreign government for the purposes of providing presidential airlift options.

(3) A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike provisions that would reduce funding that supports biomedical research into cancer, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), Alzheimer’s disease, congenital heart defects, and other critical conditions.

(4) A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) would eliminate provisions that cut Medicaid payments rural hospitals in Maine, Alaska, Missouri, Kansas, North Carolina, Louisiana, or West Virginia need to stay open; and

(3) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

(5) A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) increase funding to ensure personnel at the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are addressing the creation and distribution of child sexual abuse material, the fentanyl crisis, violent crime, political violence, and terrorism; and

(3) restrict the funds described in paragraph (2) from being used for mass deportations.

(6) A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) ensure that grant programs that fund victim service providers or provide support or compensation to victims of crime remain accessible or uninterrupted, and that any such programs subject to administrative funding freezes or terminations are restored.

H.R. 1

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, Senator BEN RAY LUJÁN of New Mexico and Senator PETER WELCH of Vermont support the motion to commit bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate and eliminate provisions that would cut Medicaid payments to rural hospitals in Maine, Alaska, Missouri, Kansas, North Carolina, Louisiana, or West Virginia and ensure big corporations and the ultrawealthy pay a fair share in taxes. Senator LUJÁN and Senator WELCH know the existing challenges rural hospitals face and understand the profound harm that this Republican tax scheme will have on our Nation’s rural hospitals. I hope my Senate Republican colleagues join us in standing up for the hospitals in their States that would suffer under this Republican legislation.

H.R. 1

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, when the Senate considers the reconciliation bill, H.R. 1, it is my intention to make the following motions to commit the bill:

1. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that (1) would strike any provision that cuts funding for Medicaid; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

This motion to commit is supported by Senators Cantwell, Bennet, Warner, Whitehouse, Hassan, Cortez Masto, Warren, Sanders, Smith, Luján, Warnock, Welch, Alsbrooks, Baldwin, Blumenthal, Blunt, Rochester, Booker, Gallego, Gillibrand, Hickenlooper, Hirono, Kaine, Kelly, Kim, Markey, Murray, Padilla, Peters, Reed, Rosen, Schumer, and Van Hollen.

It is also supported by Accountable.US, AFL-CIO, American Association of People with Disabilities, American Federation of State, Bazon Center for Mental Health Law, County and Municipal Employees, Catholic Health Association of the United States, Families USA, First Focus Campaign for Children, Justice in Aging, Leading Age, Medicare Rights Center, National Association of Community Health Centers, National Council on Independent Living, National Health Law Program, National Women’s Action Fund, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and UnidosUS.

2. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) increase annual funding for the Child Care Entitlement to States established in section 418 of the Social Security Act to at least \$20,000,000,000 per year; (2) provide an additional \$5,000,000,000 to such Child Care Entitlement to States annually to provide new grants to improve child care workforce, supply, quality, and access in areas of particular need, including rural communities; and (3)

eliminate provisions that would cut taxes for millionaires and billionaires.

This motion to commit is supported by Senators Warren, Smith, and Booker.

3. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that forces families to sell their home to qualify for long-term care in Medicaid; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

4. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that makes it harder for States to expand Medicaid to cover uninsured residents; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

5. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that creates a sick tax by charging Medicaid enrollees living on low incomes new copayments; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

6. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that locks kids out of the Children's Health Insurance Program; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

7. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that imposes waiting periods for health care on kids enrolled in the Children's Health Insurance Program; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

8. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that imposes lifetime limits on health care for kids enrolled in the Children's Health Insurance Program; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

9. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that will take nurses out of nursing homes; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

10. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that defunds Planned Parenthood; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

11. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that cuts Medicaid payments and restricts access to abortion; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

12. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that bans States from covering gender-affirming care in Medicaid for all enrollees; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

13. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) would strike any provision that cuts Medicaid payments rural hospitals need to stay open; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

14. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that cuts Medicaid payments, forcing States to cut K-12 education and public safety; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

15. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that cuts Medicaid payments, forcing States to cut home care seniors and kids with disabilities need to live at home; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

16. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike section 71101; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

17. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that strips Medicare coverage from victims of human trafficking, refugees, and asylum seekers; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

18. A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report changes that would (1) strike any provision that strips Medicare coverage from current enrollees; and (2) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

H.R. 1

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motion to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to eliminate any provisions that change State provider taxes and eliminate any provisions that would lead to any nursing home closures.

H.R. 1

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to strike chapter 1 of subtitle B of title VII;

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to strike provisions that reduce or eliminate Medicaid benefits or shift costs to States;

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to increase the Federal medical assistance percentage to 90 percent for all Medicaid beneficiaries; and

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to ensure the bill increases average, annual, after-tax-and-transfer resources for each of the bottom three deciles of households by income in each year from 2026 through 2034.

H.R. 1

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Motions to Commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. COONS moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would remove provisions stripping individuals in the United States of the Federal benefits to which they are entitled, by methods including but not limited to the creation of new administrative burdens and paperwork requirements.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. COONS moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would cause the bill to not increase the deficit for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. COONS moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would apply the conflict-of-interest requirements established under section 208 of title 18, United States Code, to the President and the Vice President.

H.R. 1

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motion to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A motion to commit the bill to the committee on Armed Services with instructions to prohibit the Department of Defense from using any funds appropriated by Congress for national security purposes and to support the troops of the United States to accept, retrofit, or transfer a plane given by a foreign government for use as Air Force One during the Trump Administration.

H.R. 1

Ms. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit be printed in the RECORD:

Ms. BALDWIN moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike provisions that will lower coverage rates, reduce benefits, or decrease affordability for individuals residing in rural communities receiving coverage through the Medicaid program or the Children's Health Insurance Program; increase the likelihood of the closure of rural hospitals, clinics, or other healthcare facilities serving rural communities, cause higher rates of uncompensated care; and increase costs for individuals with other types of insurance.

Ms. BALDWIN moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same

back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike provisions that will lower coverage rates, reduce benefits, or decrease affordability for children who are currently eligible for Medicaid or the Children's Health Insurance Program.

Ms. BALDWIN moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike provisions that will lower coverage rates, reduce benefits, or decrease affordability for pregnant women who are currently eligible for Medicaid or the Children's Health Insurance Program.

Ms. BALDWIN moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike provisions that will lower coverage rates, reduce benefits, or decrease affordability for individuals with substance use disorder who are currently eligible for Medicaid.

Ms. BALDWIN moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would follow through on the President's promise to eliminate the carried interest loophole for wall street.

H.R. 1

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

(1) A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs with changes that would ensure that the White House visitor logs are made publicly available.

(2) A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs with changes that would ensure the President is subject to the same ethics rules as employees of the Federal Government.

(3) A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with changes that would strike any provision which reduces the average tax liability of individual taxpayers with income in excess of \$500,000,000.

H.R. 1

Ms. HIRONO. Mr. President, when the Senate considers the reconciliation bill, H.R. 1, it is my intention to make the following motions to commit to the bill:

A motion to commit the bill, H.R. 1, to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

and (2) would strike provisions that reduce or eliminate grants or loans under the Green and Resilient Retrofit Program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

A motion to commit the bill, H.R. 1, to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and (2) would strike provisions that make it hard for children to access health care.

A motion to commit the bill, H.R. 1, to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and (2) would strike provisions that make it harder for small business owners, employees, or families covered under the Medicaid program or a qualified health plan offered on an Exchange to access health care.

H.R. 1

Mr. KING. Mr. President, when the Senate considers the reconciliation bill, H.R. 1, it is my intention to make the following motion to commit the bill:

A motion to commit the bill to the committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, with instructions to report H.R. 1 back to the Senate with changes that double the maximum Pell Grant by 2029, and increase the maximum award in future years by indexing the award to inflation.

A motion to commit the bill to the committee on Finance to strike any provision that reduces the average tax liability of individual taxpayers with income in excess of \$1,000,000,000.

H.R. 1

Mr. KAINE. Mr. President, I oppose H.R. 1 and believe it reflects profoundly misplaced priorities for America. Accordingly, it is my intention to make the following motions to commit the bill:

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs with instructions to report back to the Senate with changes that include provisions terminating the mass termination of federal employees who are veterans without a report to Congress 60 days ahead of such action, detailing the positions, agencies, and number of federal employees dismissed. Mass termination is defined as more than 1% of any federal agency's workforce who are veterans as of January 20, 2025.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs with instructions to report back with provisions that provide \$882,000,000 to the Building Resilient Infrastructure and Communities grant program within the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with instructions to report back with changes that would ensure that no State with a Medicaid expansion trigger law would see a reduction in its Federal Matching Assistance Percentage that would cause such a trigger law to take effect.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with instructions to report back with provisions that would elimi-

nate estate tax cuts for multi-millionaires and utilize the savings to reduce the number of Americans who would lose health care coverage under the bill.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with instructions to report back with provisions that would not increase the deficit in years beyond the budget window when measured against a current-law baseline produced by the Congressional Budget Office in consultation with the Joint Committee on Taxation.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with instructions to report back with provisions that would provide small businesses, farmers, and low- and moderate-income families with relief from the duties imposed pursuant to Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits).

H.R. 1

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

1. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike any provision which reduces the average tax liability of corporations with income in excess of \$1,000,000,000.

2. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) ensure sufficient funding and staffing for the Institute of Museum and Library Services.

3. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike any provision that increases the costs to students of attending an institution of higher education.

4. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) would strike any provision that cuts funding to Federal health programs, including Medicaid, Medicare, and the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act; and

(3) would protect patients and providers, including hospitals and community health centers.

5. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike cuts to Federal nutrition programs.

6. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike all provisions that would decrease access to comprehensive sexual and reproductive health care.

7. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike all provisions that would decrease access to comprehensive sexual and reproductive health care.

8. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure sufficient funding to reinstate veterans in Massachusetts who had been Federal employees and were removed while serving in a probationary period.

9. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would provide funding to protect the privacy of veterans in Massachusetts, including those working for the Federal Government.

10. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 1 day, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would restore to, or increase above, the fiscal year 2024 level any funding administered by the Office of Justice Programs of the Department of Justice for community violence intervention and prevention initiative programs.

11. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 1 day, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would restore to, or increase above, the fiscal year 2024 level any funding administered by the Office of Justice Programs of the Department of Justice for reentry programming and services, including to support employment, education, housing, and health care needs.

12. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure sufficient funding for the Local Food Purchase Assistance Cooperative Agreement Program.

13. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike any provision that restricts borrower defense to repayment or closed school discharge.

14. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) prohibit the privatization of the program 4 carried out under the National Flood Insurance Act 5 of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 4001 et seq.).

15. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) would strike any provision that will take nurses out of nursing homes; and

(3) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

16. A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike section 30002 (relating to rescission of funds for the Green and Resilient Retrofit Program for multifamily housing).

H.R. 1

Mr. BOOKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would—

(A) provide medical debt relief for the over 100,000,000 people in the United States affected by medical debt by reducing the tax breaks for the ultra-wealthy within this legislation; and

(B) ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would—

(A) create a report by the Government Accountability Office to Congress studying the health and economic impacts of cutting Medicaid funding, by the amounts provided in such legislation for those purposes, provided that such legislation would not increase the deficit over the period of the total of fiscal years 2025 through 2034; and

(B) ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

A motion moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would—

(A) disallow lower coverage rates, reduced benefits or decreased affordability for children and pregnant women receiving coverage through the Medicaid Program, the Children's Health Insurance Program, or the private insurance markets established under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act; and

(B) ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

A motion moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike any provision that cuts Medicaid payments for mental health care; and

(3) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

H.R. 1

Ms. HASSAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Motions to Commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would cut taxes and lower costs for middle class families and small businesses, and eliminate tax breaks for billionaires and corporate special interests.

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure that, consistent with current law, Federal Medicaid funds are not used to provide health coverage for undocumented immigrants.

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike section 70411 (relating to tax credits for contributions of individuals to scholarship granting organizations) (including the amendments made by such section) if it could result in expanded voucher programs that support schools that do not comply with requirements of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (20 U.S.C. 1400 et seq.) for students or their parents or guardians.

H.R. 1

Mr. KELLY. Mr. President, when the Senate considers the reconciliation

bill, H.R. 1, it is my intention to make the following motions to commit the bill:

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to strike any provision which reduces the average tax liability of individual taxpayers with income in excess of \$100,000,000.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation to ensure that the bill does not result in the movement of any non-Federal users by the Federal Communications Commission or the National Telecommunications and Information Administration into certain specified spectrum frequency bands without prior written approval from the Secretary of Defense.

H.R. 1

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure that any sales of public lands exclude—

(A) land deemed valuable for watershed health;

(B) land used for, or suitable for, hunting, fishing, or recreation;

(C) land with cultural or historic significance;

(D) land with critical wildlife habitat;

(E) land including areas sensitive for reasons relating to national security;

(F) land within the limits of an Indian reservation; and

(G) land over which federally recognized Indian Tribes retain reserved rights, including hunting, fishing, and gathering rights through a treaty, agreement, or Executive order.

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike any provision that cuts funding for Medicaid which covers care for 60 percent of all nursing home residents.

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would strike any provision that cuts funding for Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act which—

(A) protects access for the 7,000,000 small businesses workers who depend on Medicaid coverage; and

(B) protects access for the 4,000,000 small businesses who depend on the Affordable Care Act exchanges.

A motion to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure the State of Colorado is included in the definition of 'affected area' in downwind States, due to the catastrophic amounts of radiation exposure in this State after United States testing above ground nuclear weapons during World War II and the Cold War.

H.R. 1

Mr. WARNOCK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Motions to Commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the Congressional Record:

Mr. Warnock moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would protect clean energy manufacturing jobs in the United States.

H.R. 1

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure this legislation will not lead to cuts to the Medicare program.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure this legislation will not lead to Medicare sequestration cuts triggered by an increase to the deficit under the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would make changes to ensure that this Act will not cause rural hospitals to close.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure that as a result of the enactment of this bill, no labor and delivery units within hospitals will close.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate with in-

structions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would provide at least \$1,800,000,000 for hazardous fuels reduction projects on National Forest System land within the wildland-urban interface.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) do not include an increase in the statutory limit on the public debt under section 3101 of title 31, United States Code, if the bill would reduce taxes on individuals with an income of more than \$10,000,000 per year.

Motion to Commit With Instructions

Mr. SCHIFF moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would ensure that no provision of the bill cuts any food assistance benefits for families with children under the age of 12.

H.R. 1

Mr. GALLEG0. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following motions to commit for the bill H.R. 1 be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Mr. GALLEG0 moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) would provide permanent tax relief on overtime wages to working class Americans; and

(3) would ensure that giant corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.

Mr. GALLEG0 moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) would strike any provision that cuts Medicaid payments for substance use disorder treatment; and

(3) would ensure big corporations and the ultra-wealthy pay a fair share in taxes.

H.R. 1

Mr. WELCH. Mr. President, when the Senate considers the reconciliation bill, H.R. 1, it is my intention to make the following motions to commit the bill:

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with instructions to maintain the Energy Efficient Home Improvement Credit of section 25G of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as it is currently in effect, through December 31, 2028.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to strike any changes to

Medicaid provider tax provisions that impact Medicaid expansion states.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to strike any changes to Medicaid provider tax provisions.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to allow the use of electronic data sources, auto-renewal, and provisional advanced premium tax credits for verification of eligibility with respect to the tax credit allowed under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions to allow States to determine qualifying events eligible for special enrollment in qualified health plans offered on the American Health Benefit Exchanges.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to exempt managed care programs operated by a State government entity from any changes to State-directed payment.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance to strike provisions that negatively impact care provided at rural hospitals or to the fiscal well-being of rural hospitals.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions to establish that any Federal student loan payments made during the general forbearance period count towards payment requirements of the public service loan forgiveness program under Section 455(m) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(m)).

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions to strike and SNAP administrative cost-shifts to States.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions to make strong investments in organic farmers and businesses, including improvements for the Organic Certification Cost Share Program, support for organic supply chains, improvements in organic data collection, and continued efforts to address fraudulent organic imports and to protect the integrity of the organic seal.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Agriculture with instructions to make changes that would allow volunteer work to qualify as work under work requirements in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.

A motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance with instructions to revise section 48E of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to make investments in retrofitting or partially upgrading a qualified facility a qualified investment.

H.R. 1

Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the motions to commit be printed in the RECORD:

MOTION TO COMMIT WITH INSTRUCTIONS

Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee;

(2) would strike any provision limiting Medicaid state-directed payments; and

(3) would preserve access to hospital labor and delivery units to protect the 40% of births nationwide and nearly 50% of births in rural communities that are financed by Medicaid.

MOTION TO COMMIT WITH INSTRUCTIONS

Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) strike provisions that would undermine the access of the people of the United States to affordable, high-speed internet, including cuts to broadband funding, deployment, and access programs.

MOTION TO COMMIT WITH INSTRUCTIONS

Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Environment and Public Works of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would require federally funded lead service line removal projects to be completed within 10 years of the date of enactment of that bill.

MOTION TO COMMIT WITH INSTRUCTIONS

Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would create an above-the-line tax deduction for primary care, dental, and mental health workers serving in Health Professional Shortage Areas.

MOTION TO COMMIT WITH INSTRUCTIONS

Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER moves to commit the bill H.R. 1 to the Committee on Finance of the Senate with instructions to report the same back to the Senate in 3 days, not counting any day on which the Senate is not in session, with changes that—

(1) are within the jurisdiction of such committee; and

(2) would create a tax cut for veterans recently separated from military service.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 1. An act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

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. BOOKER (for himself, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. COONS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. MARKEY, Ms. SMITH, Ms. WARREN, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. WYDEN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. REED, Mr. SCHUMER, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 2203. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Health and Human Services to build safer, thriving communities, and save lives, by investing in effective community-based vio-

lence reduction initiatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Mr. COONS, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. Kaine, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Ms. DUCKWORTH, and Ms. ROSEN):

S. 2204. A bill to increase transparency, fairness, and protections for diplomatic personnel affected by reductions in force, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. HAGERTY (for himself, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. SHEEHY, Mr. JUSTICE, Mr. RISCH, Mr. TUBERVILLE, Mr. BUDD, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. DAINES, Ms. LUMMIS, Mr. RICKETTS, Mr. SCOTT of Florida, Mr. HOEVEN, Mr. LEE, Mr. SCHMITT, Mrs. BRITT, and Mr. LANKFORD):

S. 2205. A bill to require a citizenship question on the decennial census, to require reporting on certain census statistics, and to modify apportionment of Representatives to be based on United States citizens instead of all individuals; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 1779

At the request of Ms. ERNST, the name of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1779, a bill to amend the Clean Air Act to prohibit State standards relating to the control of emissions from existing locomotives and engines used in locomotives, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 2361

At the request of Ms. HIRONO, the names of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) and the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. WHITEHOUSE) were added as cosponsors of amendment No. 2361 intended to be proposed to H.R. 1, a bill to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

AMENDMENT NO. 2362

At the request of Ms. HIRONO, the names of the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. REED) and the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. WHITEHOUSE) were added as cosponsors of amendment No. 2362 intended to be proposed to H.R. 1, a bill to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

AMENDMENT NO. 2586

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Ms. DUCKWORTH) was added as a cosponsor of amendment No. 2586 intended to be proposed to H.R. 1, a bill to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 2360. Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14.

SA 2361. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2362. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the

bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2629. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2630. Mr. REED (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2631. Mr. REED (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2632. Mr. REED (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2633. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2634. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2635. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2636. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2637. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2638. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2639. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2640. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2641. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2642. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2643. Mr. BENNET (for himself, Mr. WARNOCK, Mr. KELLY, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Ms. ROSEN, and Mr. GALLEGO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2644. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2645. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2646. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2647. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2648. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2649. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2650. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2651. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2652. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2653. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2654. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2655. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2656. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2657. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 2360. Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “One Big Beautiful Bill Act”.

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title.
Sec. 2. Table of contents.

TITLE I—COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Subtitle A—Nutrition

Sec. 10101. Re-evaluation of thrifty food plan.
Sec. 10102. Modifications to SNAP work requirements for able-bodied adults.
Sec. 10103. Availability of standard utility allowances based on receipt of energy assistance.

Sec. 10104. Restrictions on internet expenses.

Sec. 10105. Matching funds requirements.

Sec. 10106. Administrative cost sharing.

Sec. 10107. National education and obesity prevention grant program.

Sec. 10108. Alien SNAP eligibility.

Subtitle B—Forestry

Sec. 10201. Rescission of amounts for forestry.

Subtitle C—Commodities

Sec. 10301. Effective reference price; reference price.

Sec. 10302. Base acres.

Sec. 10303. Producer election.

Sec. 10304. Price loss coverage.

Sec. 10305. Agriculture risk coverage.

Sec. 10306. Equitable treatment of certain entities.

Sec. 10307. Payment limitations.

Sec. 10308. Adjusted gross income limitation.

Sec. 10309. Marketing loans.

Sec. 10310. Repayment of marketing loans.

Sec. 10311. Economic adjustment assistance for textile mills.

Sec. 10312. Sugar program updates.

Sec. 10313. Dairy policy updates.

Sec. 10314. Implementation.

Subtitle D—Disaster Assistance Programs

Sec. 10401. Supplemental agricultural disaster assistance.

Subtitle E—Crop Insurance

Sec. 10501. Beginning farmer and rancher benefit.

Sec. 10502. Area-based crop insurance coverage and affordability.

Sec. 10503. Administrative and operating expense adjustments.

Sec. 10504. Premium support.

Sec. 10505. Program compliance and integrity.

Sec. 10506. Reviews, compliance, and integrity.

Sec. 10507. Poultry insurance pilot program.

Subtitle F—Additional Investments in Rural America

Sec. 10601. Conservation.

Sec. 10602. Supplemental agricultural trade promotion program.

Sec. 10603. Nutrition.

Sec. 10604. Research.

Sec. 10605. Energy.

Sec. 10606. Horticulture.

Sec. 10607. Miscellaneous.

TITLE II—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Sec. 20001. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the quality of life for military personnel.

Sec. 20002. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for shipbuilding.

Sec. 20003. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for integrated air and missile defense.

Sec. 20004. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for munitions and defense supply chain resiliency.

Sec. 20005. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for scaling low-cost weapons into production.

Sec. 20006. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the efficiency and cybersecurity of the Department of Defense.

Sec. 20007. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for air superiority.

Sec. 20008. Enhancement of resources for nuclear forces.

- Sec. 20009. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources to improve capabilities of United States Indo-Pacific Command.
- Sec. 20010. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the readiness of the Department of Defense.
- Sec. 20011. Improving Department of Defense border support and counter-drug missions.
- Sec. 20012. Department of Defense oversight.
- Sec. 20013. Military construction projects authorized.
- Sec. 20014. Multi-year operational plan.
- TITLE III—COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS**
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**TITLE I—COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,
NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY**

Subtitle A—Nutrition

SEC. 10101. RE-EVALUATION OF THRIFTY FOOD PLAN.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 3 of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012) is amended by striking subsection (u) and inserting the following:

“(u) THRIFTY FOOD PLAN.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘thrifty food plan’ means the diet required to feed a family of 4 persons consisting of a man and a woman ages 20 through 50, a child ages 6 through 8, and a child ages 9 through 11 using the items and quantities of food described in the report of the Department of Agriculture entitled ‘Thrifty Food Plan, 2021’, and each successor report updated pursuant to this subsection, subject to the conditions that—

“(A) the relevant market baskets of the thrifty food plan shall only be changed pursuant to paragraph (4);

“(B) the cost of the thrifty food plan shall be the basis for uniform allotments for all households, regardless of the actual composition of the household; and

“(C) the cost of the thrifty food plan may only be adjusted in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) HOUSEHOLD ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall make household adjustments using the following ratios of household size as a percentage of the maximum 4-person allotment:

“(A) For a 1-person household, 30 percent.

“(B) For a 2-person household, 55 percent.

“(C) For a 3-person household, 79 percent.

“(D) For a 4-person household, 100 percent.

“(E) For a 5-person household, 119 percent.

“(F) For a 6-person household, 143 percent.

“(G) For a 7-person household, 158 percent.

“(H) For an 8-person household, 180 percent.

“(I) For a household of 9 persons or more, an additional 22 percent per person, which additional percentage shall not total more than 200 percent.

“(3) ALLOWABLE COST ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall—

“(A) make cost adjustments in the thrifty food plan for Hawaii and the urban and rural parts of Alaska to reflect the cost of food in Hawaii and urban and rural Alaska;

“(B) make cost adjustments in the separate thrifty food plans for Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States to reflect the cost of food in those States, but not to exceed the cost of food in the 50 States and the District of Columbia; and

“(C) on October 1, 2025, and on each October 1 thereafter, adjust the cost of the thrifty food plan to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, for the most recent 12-month period ending in June.

“(4) RE-EVALUATION OF MARKET BASKETS.—

“(A) RE-EVALUATION.—Not earlier than October 1, 2027, the Secretary may re-evaluate the market baskets of the thrifty food plan based on current food prices, food composition data, consumption patterns, and dietary guidance.

“(B) COST NEUTRALITY.—The Secretary shall not increase the cost of the thrifty food plan based on a re-evaluation under this paragraph.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 16(c)(1)(A)(ii)(II) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(c)(1)(A)(ii)(II)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

(2) Section 19(a)(2)(A)(ii) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C.

2028(a)(2)(A)(ii)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

(3) Section 27(a)(2) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2036(a)(2)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” each place it appears and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

SEC. 10102. MODIFICATIONS TO SNAP WORK REQUIREMENTS FOR ABLE-BODIED ADULTS.

(a) EXCEPTIONS.—Section 6(o) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)) is amended by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following:

“(3) EXCEPTIONS.—Paragraph (2) shall not apply to an individual if the individual is—

“(A) under 18, or over 65, years of age;

“(B) medically certified as physically or mentally unfit for employment;

“(C) a parent or other member of a household with responsibility for a dependent child under 14 years of age;

“(D) otherwise exempt under subsection (d)(2);

“(E) a pregnant woman;

“(F) an Indian or an Urban Indian (as such terms are defined in paragraphs (13) and (28) of section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act); or

“(G) a California Indian described in section 809(a) of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act.”

(b) STANDARDIZING ENFORCEMENT.—Section 6(o)(4) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (ii) and inserting the following:

“(ii) is in a noncontiguous State and has an unemployment rate that is at or above 1.5 times the national unemployment rate 8 percent.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) DEFINITION OF NONCONTIGUOUS STATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ means a State that is not 1 of the contiguous 48 States or the District of Columbia.

“(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—The term ‘noncontiguous State’ does not include Guam or the Virgin Islands of the United States.”

(c) WAIVER FOR NONCONTIGUOUS STATES.—Section 6(o) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraph (7) as paragraph (8); and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (6) the following:

“(7) EXEMPTION FOR NONCONTIGUOUS STATES.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF NONCONTIGUOUS STATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ means a State that is not 1 of the contiguous 48 States or the District of Columbia.

“(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ does not include Guam or the Virgin Islands of the United States.

“(B) EXEMPTION.—Subject to subparagraph (D), the Secretary may exempt individuals in a noncontiguous State from compliance with the requirements of paragraph (2) if—

“(i) the State agency submits to the Secretary a request for that exemption, made in such form and at such time as the Secretary may require, and including the information described in subparagraph (C); and

“(ii) the Secretary determines that based on that request, the State agency is demonstrating a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of paragraph (2).

“(C) GOOD FAITH EFFORT DETERMINATION.—In determining whether a State agency is demonstrating a good faith effort for purposes of subparagraph (B)(ii), the Secretary shall consider—

“(i) any actions taken by the State agency toward compliance with the requirements of paragraph (2);

“(ii) any significant barriers to or challenges in meeting those requirements, including barriers or challenges relating to funding, design, development, procurement, or installation of necessary systems or resources;

“(iii) the detailed plan and timeline of the State agency for achieving full compliance with those requirements, including any milestones (as defined by the Secretary); and

“(iv) any other criteria determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(D) DURATION OF EXEMPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An exemption granted under subparagraph (B) shall expire not later than December 31, 2028, and may not be renewed beyond that date.

“(ii) EARLY TERMINATION.—The Secretary may terminate an exemption granted under subparagraph (B) prior to the expiration date of that exemption if the Secretary determines that the State agency—

“(I) has failed to comply with the reporting requirements described in subparagraph (E); or

“(II) based on the information provided pursuant to subparagraph (E), failed to make continued good faith efforts toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection.

“(E) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—A State agency granted an exemption under subparagraph (B) shall submit to the Secretary—

“(i) quarterly progress reports on the status of the State agency in achieving the milestones toward full compliance described in subparagraph (C)(iii); and

“(ii) information on specific risks or newly identified barriers or challenges to full compliance, including the plan of the State agency to mitigate those risks, barriers, or challenges.”

SEC. 10103. AVAILABILITY OF STANDARD UTILITY ALLOWANCES BASED ON RECEIPT OF ENERGY ASSISTANCE.

(a) STANDARD UTILITY ALLOWANCE.—Section 5(e)(6)(C)(iv)(I) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(e)(6)(C)(iv)(I)) is amended by inserting “with an elderly or disabled member” after “households”.

(b) THIRD-PARTY ENERGY ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS.—Section 5(k)(4) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(k)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “without an elderly or disabled member” before “shall be”; and

(2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “with an elderly or disabled member” before “under a State law”.

SEC. 10104. RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNET EXPENSES.

Section 5(e)(6) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(e)(6)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(E) RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNET EXPENSES.—Any service fee associated with internet connection shall not be used in computing the excess shelter expense deduction under this paragraph.”

SEC. 10105. MATCHING FUNDS REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4(a) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2013(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking “(a) Subject to” and inserting the following:

“(a) PROGRAM.—

“(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—Subject to”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) STATE QUALITY CONTROL INCENTIVE.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF PAYMENT ERROR RATE.—In this paragraph, the term ‘payment error rate’ has the meaning given the term in section 16(c)(2).

“(B) STATE COST SHARE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Beginning in fiscal year 2028, if the payment error rate of a State as determined under clause (ii) is—

“(I) less than 6 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 100 percent, and the State share shall be 0 percent;

“(II) equal to or greater than 6 percent but less than 8 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 95 percent, and the State share shall be 5 percent;

“(III) equal to or greater than 8 percent but less than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 90 percent, and the State share shall be 10 percent; and

“(IV) equal to or greater than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 85 percent, and the State share shall be 15 percent.

“(ii) ELECTIONS.—

“(I) FISCAL YEAR 2028.—For fiscal year 2028, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), a State may elect to use the payment error rate of the State from fiscal year 2025 or 2026.

“(II) FISCAL YEAR 2029 AND THEREAFTER.—For fiscal year 2029 and each fiscal year thereafter, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), the Secretary shall use the payment error rate of the State for the third fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the State share is being calculated.

“(3) MAXIMUM FEDERAL PAYMENT.—The Secretary may not pay towards the cost of an allotment described in paragraph (1) an amount that is greater than the applicable Federal share under paragraph (2).

“(4) WAIVER AUTHORITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may waive the requirement under paragraph (2) for a noncontiguous State (excluding Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States) for a period of not more than 2 years if—

“(i) the Secretary determines that the waiver is necessary; and

“(ii) the noncontiguous State is—

“(I) actively implementing a corrective action plan (as described in section 275.17 of title 7, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation)); and

“(II) carrying out any other activities determined necessary by the Secretary to reduce its payment error rate (as defined in paragraph (2)).

“(B) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.—The waiver authority under subparagraph (A) shall terminate on the date that is 4 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph.”.

(b) LIMITATION ON AUTHORITY.—Section 13(a)(1) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2022(a)(1)) is amended in the first sentence by inserting “or the payment or disposition of a State share under section 4(a)(2)” after “16(c)(1)(D)(i)(II)”.

SEC. 10106. ADMINISTRATIVE COST SHARING.

Section 16(a) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(a)) is amended in the matter preceding paragraph (1) by striking “agency an amount equal to 50 per centum” and inserting “agency, through fiscal year 2026, 50 percent, and for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter, 25 percent.”.

SEC. 10107. NATIONAL EDUCATION AND OBESITY PREVENTION GRANT PROGRAM.

Section 28(d)(1)(F) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2036a(d)(1)(F)) is amended by striking “for fiscal year 2016 and each subsequent fiscal year” and inserting “for each of fiscal years 2016 through 2025”.

SEC. 10108. ALIEN SNAP ELIGIBILITY.

Section 6(f) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(f)) is amended to read as follows:

“(f) No individual who is a member of a household otherwise eligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program under this section shall be eligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program as a member of that or any other household unless he or she is—

“(1) a resident of the United States; and

“(2) either—

“(A) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(B) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding, among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country;

“(C) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(D) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

The income (less, at State option, a pro rata share) and financial resources of the individual rendered ineligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program under this subsection shall be considered in determining the eligibility and the value of the allotment of the household of which such individual is a member.”.

Subtitle B—Forestry

SEC. 10201. RESCISSION OF AMOUNTS FOR FORESTRY.

The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated by the following provisions of Public Law 117-169 are rescinded:

(1) Paragraphs (3) and (4) of section 23001(a) (136 Stat. 2023).

(2) Paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 23002(a) (136 Stat. 2025).

(3) Section 23003(a)(2) (136 Stat. 2026).

(4) Section 23005 (136 Stat. 2027).

Subtitle C—Commodities

SEC. 10301. EFFECTIVE REFERENCE PRICE; REFERENCE PRICE.

(a) EFFECTIVE REFERENCE PRICE.—Section 1111(8)(B)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(8)(B)(ii)) is amended by striking “85” and inserting “beginning with the crop year 2025, 88”.

(b) REFERENCE PRICE.—Section 1111 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011) is amended by striking paragraph (19) and inserting the following:

“(19) REFERENCE PRICE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, subject to subparagraphs (B) and (C), the term ‘reference price’, with respect to a covered commodity for a crop year, means the following:

“(i) For wheat, \$6.35 per bushel.

“(ii) For corn, \$4.10 per bushel.

“(iii) For grain sorghum, \$4.40 per bushel.

“(iv) For barley, \$5.45 per bushel.

“(v) For oats, \$2.65 per bushel.

“(vi) For long grain rice, \$16.90 per hundredweight.

“(vii) For medium grain rice, \$16.90 per hundredweight.

“(viii) For soybeans, \$10.00 per bushel.

“(ix) For other oilseeds, \$23.75 per hundredweight.

“(x) For peanuts, \$630.00 per ton.

“(xi) For dry peas, \$13.10 per hundredweight.

“(xii) For lentils, \$23.75 per hundredweight.

“(xiii) For small chickpeas, \$22.65 per hundredweight.

“(xiv) For large chickpeas, \$25.65 per hundredweight.

“(xv) For seed cotton, \$0.42 per pound.

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2031 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price in the previous crop year multiplied by 1.005.

“(C) LIMITATION.—In no case shall a reference price for a covered commodity exceed 113 percent of the reference price for such covered commodity listed in subparagraph (A).”.

SEC. 10302. BASE ACRES.

Section 1112 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9012) is amended—

(1) in subsection (d)(3)(A), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) ADDITIONAL BASE ACRES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this subsection, and notwithstanding subsection (a), the Secretary shall provide notice to owners of eligible farms pursuant to paragraph (3) and allocate to those eligible farms a total of not more than an additional 30,000,000 base acres in the manner provided in this subsection. An owner of a farm that is eligible to receive an allocation of base acres may elect to not receive that allocation by notifying the Secretary not later than 90 days after receipt of the notice provided by the Secretary under this paragraph.

“(2) CONTENT OF NOTICE.—The notice under paragraph (1) shall include the following:

“(A) Information that the allocation is occurring.

“(B) Information regarding the eligibility of the farm for an allocation of base acres under paragraph (3).

“(C) Information regarding how an owner may appeal a determination of ineligibility for an allocation of base acres under paragraph (3) through an appeals process established by the Secretary.

“(3) ELIGIBILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (D), effective beginning with the 2026 crop year, a farm is eligible to receive an allocation of base acres if, with respect to the farm, the amount described in subparagraph (B) exceeds the amount described in subparagraph (C).

“(B) 5-YEAR AVERAGE SUM.—The amount described in this subparagraph, with respect to a farm, is the sum of—

“(i) the 5-year average of—

“(I) the acreage planted on the farm to all covered commodities for harvest, grazing, haying, silage or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(II) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to covered commodities because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary; plus

“(ii) the lesser of—

“(I) 15 percent of the total acres on the farm; and

“(II) the 5-year average of—

“(aa) the acreage planted on the farm to eligible noncovered commodities for harvest, grazing, haying, silage, or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(bb) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to eligible noncovered commodities because of drought,

flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary.

“(C) TOTAL NUMBER OF BASE ACRES FOR COVERED COMMODITIES.—The amount described in this subparagraph, with respect to a farm, is the total number of base acres for covered commodities on the farm (excluding unassigned crop base), as in effect on September 30, 2024.

“(D) EFFECT OF NO RECENT PLANTINGS OF COVERED COMMODITIES.—In the case of a farm for which the amount determined under clause (i) of subparagraph (B) is equal to zero, that farm shall be ineligible to receive an allocation of base acres under this subsection.

“(E) ACREAGE PLANTED ON THE FARM TO ELIGIBLE NONCOVERED COMMODITIES DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘acreage planted on the farm to eligible noncovered commodities’ means acreage planted on a farm to commodities other than covered commodities, trees, bushes, vines, grass, or pasture (including cropland that was idle or fallow), as determined by the Secretary.

“(4) NUMBER OF BASE ACRES.—Subject to paragraphs (3) and (8), the number of base acres allocated to an eligible farm shall—

“(A) be equal to the difference obtained by subtracting the amount determined under subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3) from the amount determined under subparagraph (B) of that paragraph; and

“(B) include unassigned crop base.

“(5) ALLOCATION OF ACRES.—

“(A) ALLOCATION.—The Secretary shall allocate the number of base acres under paragraph (4) among those covered commodities planted on the farm at any time during the 2019 through 2023 crop years.

“(B) ALLOCATION FORMULA.—The allocation of additional base acres for covered commodities shall be in proportion to the ratio of—

“(i) the 5-year average of—

“(I) the acreage planted on the farm to each covered commodity for harvest, grazing, haying, silage, or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(II) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to that covered commodity because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary; to

“(ii) the 5-year average determined under paragraph (3)(B)(i).

“(C) INCLUSION OF ALL 5 YEARS IN AVERAGE.—For the purpose of determining a 5-year acreage average under subparagraph (B) for a farm, the Secretary shall not exclude any crop year in which a covered commodity was not planted.

“(D) TREATMENT OF MULTIPLE PLANTING OR PREVENTED PLANTING.—For the purpose of determining under subparagraph (B) the acreage on a farm that producers planted or were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to covered commodities, if the acreage that was planted or prevented from being planted was devoted to another covered commodity in the same crop year (other than a covered commodity produced under an established practice of double cropping), the owner may elect the covered commodity to be used for that crop year in determining the 5-year average, but may not include both the initial covered commodity and the subsequent covered commodity.

“(E) LIMITATION.—The allocation of additional base acres among covered commodities on a farm under this paragraph may not result in a total number of base acres for the farm in excess of the total number of acres on the farm.

“(6) REDUCTION BY THE SECRETARY.—In carrying out this subsection, if the total number of eligible acres allocated to base acres across all farms in the United States under this subsection would exceed 30,000,000 acres, the Secretary shall apply an across-the-board, pro-rata reduction to the number of eligible acres to ensure the number of allocated base acres under this subsection is equal to 30,000,000 acres.

“(7) PAYMENT YIELD.—Beginning with crop year 2026, for the purpose of making price loss coverage payments under section 1116, the Secretary shall establish payment yields to base acres allocated under this subsection equal to—

“(A) the payment yield established on the farm for the applicable covered commodity; and

“(B) if no such payment yield for the applicable covered commodity exists, a payment yield—

“(i) equal to the average payment yield for the covered commodity for the county in which the farm is situated; or

“(ii) determined pursuant to section 1113(c).

“(8) TREATMENT OF NEW OWNERS.—In the case of a farm for which the owner on the date of enactment of this subsection was not the owner for the 2019 through 2023 crop years, the Secretary shall use the planting history of the prior owner or owners of that farm for purposes of determining—

“(A) eligibility under paragraph (3);

“(B) eligible acres under paragraph (4); and

“(C) the allocation of acres under paragraph (5).”.

SEC. 10303. PRODUCER ELECTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1115 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9015) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “crop year or” and inserting “crop year,”; and

(ii) by inserting “or the 2026 crop year,” after “2019 crop year,”;

(B) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “crop year or” and inserting “crop year,”; and

(ii) by inserting “or the 2026 crop year,” after “2019 crop year,”; and

(C) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(iii) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) the same coverage for each covered commodity on the farm for the 2027 through 2031 crop years as was applicable for the 2025 crop year.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(i) HIGHER OF PRICE LOSS COVERAGE PAYMENTS AND AGRICULTURE RISK COVERAGE PAYMENTS.—For the 2025 crop year, the Secretary shall, on a covered commodity-by-covered commodity basis, make the higher of price loss coverage payments under section 1116 and agriculture risk coverage county coverage payments under section 1117 to the producers on a farm for the payment acres for each covered commodity on the farm.”.

(b) FEDERAL CROP INSURANCE SUPPLEMENTAL COVERAGE OPTION.—Section 508(c)(4)(C)(iv) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(c)(4)(C)(iv)) is amended by striking “Crops for which the producer has elected under section 1116 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 to receive agriculture risk coverage and acres” and inserting “Acres”.

SEC. 10304. PRICE LOSS COVERAGE.

Section 1116 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9016) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)(1)(B)—

(A) in the subparagraph heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(3) in subsection (d), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2025” and inserting “2031”; and

(4) in subsection (g)—

(A) by striking “subparagraph (F) of section 1111(19)” and inserting “paragraph (19)(A)(vi) of section 1111”; and

(B) by striking “2012 through 2016” each place it appears and inserting “2017 through 2021”.

SEC. 10305. AGRICULTURE RISK COVERAGE.

Section 1117 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9017) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “for each of the 2014 through 2024 crop years and 90 percent of the benchmark revenue for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years” before the period at the end;

(B) by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”; and

(C) in paragraph (4)(B), in the subparagraph heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(3) in subsection (d)(1), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) for each of the 2014 through 2024 crop years, 10 percent of the benchmark revenue for the crop year applicable under subsection (c); and

“(ii) for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years, 12 percent of the benchmark revenue for the crop year applicable under subsection (c).”; and

(4) in subsections (e), (g)(5), and (i)(5), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10306. EQUITABLE TREATMENT OF CERTAIN ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (6); and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (4) the following:

“(5) QUALIFIED PASS-THROUGH ENTITY.—The term ‘qualified pass-through entity’ means—

“(A) a partnership (within the meaning of subchapter K of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986);

“(B) an S corporation (as defined in section 1361 of that Code);

“(C) a limited liability company that does not affirmatively elect to be treated as a corporation; and

“(D) a joint venture or general partnership.”;

(2) in subsections (b) and (c), by striking “except a joint venture or general partnership” each place it appears and inserting “except a qualified pass-through entity”; and

(3) in subsection (d), by striking “subtitle B of title I of the Agricultural Act of 2014 or”.

(b) ATTRIBUTION OF PAYMENTS.—Section 1001(e)(3)(B)(ii) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308(e)(3)(B)(ii)) is amended—

(1) in the clause heading, by striking “JOINT VENTURES AND GENERAL PARTNERSHIPS” and inserting “QUALIFIED PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES”;

(2) by striking “a joint venture or a general partnership” and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity”;

(3) by striking “joint ventures and general partnerships” and inserting “qualified pass-through entities”; and

(4) by striking “the joint venture or general partnership” and inserting “the qualified pass-through entity”.

(c) PERSONS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FARMING.—Section 1001A(b)(2) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-1(b)(2)) is amended—

(1) subparagraphs (A) and (B), by striking “a general partnership, a participant in a joint venture” each place it appears and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking “a general partnership, joint venture, or similar entity” and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity or a similar entity”.

(d) JOINT AND SEVERAL LIABILITY.—Section 1001B(d) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-2(d)) is amended by striking “partnerships and joint ventures” and inserting “qualified pass-through entities”.

(e) EXCLUSION FROM AGI CALCULATION.—Section 1001D(d) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-3a(d)) is amended by striking “, general partnership, or joint venture” each place it appears.

SEC. 10307. PAYMENT LIMITATIONS.

Section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) by striking “The” and inserting “Subject to subsection (i), the”; and

(B) by striking “\$125,000” and inserting “\$155,000”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking “The” and inserting “Subject to subsection (i), the”; and

(B) by striking “\$125,000” and inserting “\$155,000”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(i) ADJUSTMENT.—For the 2025 crop year and each crop year thereafter, the Secretary shall annually adjust the amounts described in subsections (b) and (c) for inflation based on the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.”.

SEC. 10308. ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME LIMITATION.

Section 1001D(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-3a(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “paragraph (3)” and inserting “paragraphs (3) and (4)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN OPERATIONS.—

“(A) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) EXCEPTED PAYMENT OR BENEFIT.—The term ‘excepted payment or benefit’ means—

“(I) a payment or benefit under subtitle E of title I of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081 et seq.);

“(II) a payment or benefit under section 196 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7333); and

“(III) a payment or benefit described in paragraph (2)(C) received on or after October 1, 2024.

“(ii) FARMING, RANCHING, OR SILVICULTURE ACTIVITIES.—The term ‘farming, ranching, or silviculture activities’ includes agri-tourism, direct-to-consumer marketing of agricultural products, the sale of agricultural equipment owned by the person or legal entity, and other agriculture-related activities, as determined by the Secretary.

“(B) EXCEPTION.—In the case of an excepted payment or benefit, the limitation established by paragraph (1) shall not apply to a person or legal entity during a crop, fiscal, or program year, as appropriate, if greater

than or equal to 75 percent of the average gross income of the person or legal entity derives from farming, ranching, or silviculture activities.”.

SEC. 10309. MARKETING LOANS.

(a) AVAILABILITY OF NONRECOURSE MARKETING ASSISTANCE LOANS FOR LOAN COMMODITIES.—Section 1201(b)(1) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9031(b)(1)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(b) LOAN RATES FOR NONRECOURSE MARKETING ASSISTANCE LOANS.—Section 1202 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9032) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”; and

(B) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”;

(2) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (d) and (e), respectively;

(3) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

“(c) 2026 THROUGH 2031 CROP YEARS.—For purposes of each of the 2026 through 2031 crop years, the loan rate for a marketing assistance loan under section 1201 for a loan commodity shall be equal to the following:

“(1) In the case of wheat, \$3.72 per bushel.

“(2) In the case of corn, \$2.42 per bushel.

“(3) In the case of grain sorghum, \$2.42 per bushel.

“(4) In the case of barley, \$2.75 per bushel.

“(5) In the case of oats, \$2.20 per bushel.

“(6) In the case of upland cotton, \$0.55 per pound.

“(7) In the case of extra long staple cotton, \$1.00 per pound.

“(8) In the case of long grain rice, \$7.70 per hundredweight.

“(9) In the case of medium grain rice, \$7.70 per hundredweight.

“(10) In the case of soybeans, \$6.82 per bushel.

“(11) In the case of other oilseeds, \$11.10 per hundredweight for each of the following kinds of oilseeds:

“(A) Sunflower seed.

“(B) Rapeseed.

“(C) Canola.

“(D) Safflower.

“(E) Flaxseed.

“(F) Mustard seed.

“(G) Crambe.

“(H) Sesame seed.

“(I) Other oilseeds designated by the Secretary.

“(12) In the case of dry peas, \$6.87 per hundredweight.

“(13) In the case of lentils, \$14.30 per hundredweight.

“(14) In the case of small chickpeas, \$11.00 per hundredweight.

“(15) In the case of large chickpeas, \$15.40 per hundredweight.

“(16) In the case of graded wool, \$1.60 per pound.

“(17) In the case of nongraded wool, \$0.55 per pound.

“(18) In the case of mohair, \$5.00 per pound.

“(19) In the case of honey, \$1.50 per pound.

“(20) In the case of peanuts, \$390 per ton.”;

(4) in subsection (d) (as so redesignated), by striking “(a)(11) and (b)(11)” and inserting “(a)(11), (b)(11), and (c)(11)”; and

(5) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated), in paragraph (1), by striking “\$0.25” and inserting “\$0.30”.

(c) PAYMENT OF COTTON STORAGE COSTS.—Section 1204(g) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9034(g)) is amended—

(1) by striking “Effective” and inserting the following:

“(1) CROP YEARS 2014 THROUGH 2025.—Effective”;

(2) in paragraph (1) (as so designated), by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) PAYMENT OF COTTON STORAGE COSTS.—Effective for each of the 2026 through 2031 crop years, the Secretary shall make cotton storage payments for upland cotton and extra long staple cotton available in the same manner as the Secretary provided storage payments for the 2006 crop of upland cotton, except that the payment rate shall be equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the submitted storage charge for the current marketing year; and

“(B) in the case of storage in—

“(i) California or Arizona, a payment rate of \$4.90; and

“(ii) any other State, a payment rate of \$3.00”.

(d) LOAN DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS.—

(1) CONTINUATION.—Section 1205(a)(2)(B) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9035(a)(2)(B)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(2) PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF LDPS.—Section 1206 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9036) is amended, in subsections (a) and (d), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(e) SPECIAL COMPETITIVE PROVISIONS FOR EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON.—Section 1208(a) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9038(a)) is amended, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2026” and inserting “2032”.

(f) AVAILABILITY OF RECOURSE LOANS.—Section 1209 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9039) is amended, in subsections (a)(2), (b), and (c), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10310. REPAYMENT OF MARKETING LOANS.

Section 1204 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9034) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (1) as subparagraph (A) and indenting appropriately;

(B) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) (as so redesignated), by striking “The Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary”; and

(C) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) in the case of long grain rice and medium grain rice, the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section; or

“(ii) in the case of upland cotton, the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section.

“(2) REFUND FOR UPLAND COTTON.—In the case of a repayment for a marketing assistance loan for upland cotton at a rate described in paragraph (1)(B)(ii), the Secretary shall provide to the producer a refund (if any) in an amount equal to the difference between the lowest prevailing world market price, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section, during the 30-day period following the date on which the producer repays the marketing assistance loan and the repayment rate.”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(B) by striking “at the loan rate” and inserting the following: “at a rate that is the lesser of—

“(1) the loan rate”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section.”;

(3) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “and medium grain rice” and inserting “medium grain rice, and extra long staple cotton”;

(B) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(C) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) (as so redesignated), by striking “For purposes” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) UPLAND COTTON.—In the case of upland cotton, for any period when price quotations for Middling (M) 1½-inch cotton are available, the formula under paragraph (1)(A) shall be based on the average of the 3 lowest-priced growths that are quoted.”; and

(4) in subsection (e)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by inserting “EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON,” after “UPLAND COTTON,”;

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by inserting “UPLAND” before “COTTON”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (B), in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2024” and inserting “2032”;

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (4); and

(D) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3) EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON.—The prevailing world market price for extra long staple cotton determined under subsection (d)—

“(A) shall be adjusted to United States quality and location, with the adjustment to include the average costs to market the commodity, including average transportation costs, as determined by the Secretary; and

“(B) may be further adjusted, during the period beginning on the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and ending on July 31, 2032, if the Secretary determines the adjustment is necessary—

“(i) to minimize potential loan forfeitures;

“(ii) to minimize the accumulation of stocks of extra long staple cotton by the Federal Government;

“(iii) to ensure that extra long staple cotton produced in the United States can be marketed freely and competitively; and

“(iv) to ensure an appropriate transition between current-crop and forward-crop price quotations, except that the Secretary may use forward-crop price quotations prior to July 31 of a marketing year only if—

“(I) there are insufficient current-crop price quotations; and

“(II) the forward-crop price quotation is the lowest such quotation available.”.

SEC. 10311. ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE FOR TEXTILE MILLS.

Section 1207(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9037(c)) is amended by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(2) VALUE OF ASSISTANCE.—The value of the assistance provided under paragraph (1) shall be—

“(A) for the period beginning on August 1, 2013, and ending on July 31, 2025, 3 cents per pound; and

“(B) beginning on August 1, 2025, 5 cents per pound.”.

SEC. 10312. SUGAR PROGRAM UPDATES.

(a) LOAN RATE MODIFICATIONS.—Section 156 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7272) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (4), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (5), by striking “2023 crop years.” and inserting “2024 crop years; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(6) 24.00 cents per pound for raw cane sugar for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years.”;

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “2023 crop years.” and inserting “2024 crop years; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) a rate that is equal to 136.55 percent of the loan rate per pound of raw cane sugar under subsection (a)(6) for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years.”; and

(3) in subsection (i), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(b) ADJUSTMENTS TO COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION STORAGE RATES.—Section 167 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7287) is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) IN GENERAL.—For the 2025 crop year and each subsequent crop year, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall establish rates for the storage of forfeited sugar in an amount that is not less than—

“(1) in the case of refined sugar, 34 cents per hundredweight per month; and

“(2) in the case of raw cane sugar, 27 cents per hundredweight per month.”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “SUBSEQUENT” and inserting “PRIOR”; and

(B) by striking “and subsequent” and inserting “through 2024”.

(c) MODERNIZING BEET SUGAR ALLOTMENTS.—

(1) SUGAR ESTIMATES.—Section 359b(a)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359bb(a)(1)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(2) ALLOCATION TO PROCESSORS.—Section 359c(g)(2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359cc(g)(2)) is amended—

(A) by striking “In the case” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), in the case”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EXCEPTION.—If the Secretary makes an upward adjustment under paragraph (1)(A), in adjusting allocations among beet sugar processors, the Secretary shall give priority to beet sugar processors with available sugar.”.

(3) TIMING OF REASSIGNMENT.—Section 359e(b)(2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359ee(b)(2)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (C) as clauses (i) through (iii), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “If the Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) TIMING.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall—

“(i) make an initial determination based on the World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates approved by the World Agricultural Outlook Board for January that shall be applicable to the crop year for which allotments are required; and

“(ii) provide for an initial reassignment under subparagraph (A)(i) not later than 30 days after the date on which the World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates described in clause (i) is released.”.

(d) REALLOCATIONS OF TARIFF-RATE QUOTA SHORTFALL.—Section 359k of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(c) REALLOCATION.—

“(1) INITIAL REALLOCATION.—Subject to paragraph (3), following the establishment of the tariff-rate quotas under subsection (a) for a quota year, the Secretary shall—

“(A) determine which countries do not intend to fulfill their allocation for the quota year; and

“(B) reallocate any forecasted shortfall in the fulfillment of the tariff-rate quotas as soon as practicable.

“(2) SUBSEQUENT REALLOCATION.—Subject to paragraph (3), not later than March 1 of a quota year, the Secretary shall reallocate any additional forecasted shortfall in the fulfillment of the tariff-rate quotas for raw cane sugar established under subsection (a)(1) for that quota year.

“(3) CESSATION OF EFFECTIVENESS.—Paragraphs (1) and (2) shall cease to be in effect if—

“(A) the Agreement Suspending the Countervailing Duty Investigation on Sugar from Mexico, signed December 19, 2014, is terminated; and

“(B) no countervailing duty order under subtitle A of title VII of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1671 et seq.) is in effect with respect to sugar from Mexico.

“(d) REFINED SUGAR.—

“(1) DEFINITION OF DOMESTIC SUGAR INDUSTRY.—In this subsection, the term ‘domestic sugar industry’ means domestic—

“(A) sugar beet producers and processors;

“(B) producers and processors of sugar cane; and

“(C) refiners of raw cane sugar.

“(2) STUDY REQUIRED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Secretary shall conduct a study on whether the establishment of additional terms and conditions with respect to refined sugar imports is necessary and appropriate.

“(B) ELEMENTS.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall examine the following:

“(i) The need for—

“(I) defining ‘refined sugar’ as having a minimum polarization of 99.8 degrees or higher;

“(II) establishing a standard for color- or reflectance-based units for refined sugar such as those utilized by the International Commission of Uniform Methods of Sugar Analysis;

“(III) prescribing specifications for packaging type for refined sugar;

“(IV) prescribing specifications for transportation modes for refined sugar;

“(V) requiring evidence that sugar imported as refined sugar will not undergo further refining in the United States;

“(VI) prescribing appropriate terms and conditions to avoid unlawful sugar imports; and

“(VII) establishing other definitions, terms and conditions, or other requirements.

“(ii) The potential impact of modifications described in each of subclauses (I) through (VII) of clause (i) on the domestic sugar industry.

“(iii) Whether, based on the needs described in clause (i) and the impact described in clause (ii), the establishment of additional terms and conditions is appropriate.

“(C) CONSULTATION.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall consult with representatives of the domestic sugar industry and users of refined sugar.

“(D) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate a report that describes the findings of the study conducted under subparagraph (A).

“(3) ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS PERMITTED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Based on the findings in the report submitted under paragraph (2)(D),

and after providing notice to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate, the Secretary may issue regulations in accordance with subparagraph (B) to establish additional terms and conditions with respect to refined sugar imports that are necessary and appropriate.

“(B) PROMULGATION OF REGULATIONS.—The Secretary may issue regulations under subparagraph (A) if the regulations—

“(i) do not have an adverse impact on the domestic sugar industry; and

“(ii) are consistent with the requirements of this part, section 156 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7272), and obligations under international trade agreements that have been approved by Congress.”

(e) CLARIFICATION OF TARIFF-RATE QUOTA ADJUSTMENTS.—Section 359k(b)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk(b)(1)) is amended, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “if there is an” and inserting “for the sole purpose of responding directly to an”.

(f) PERIOD OF EFFECTIVENESS.—Section 359l(a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359ll(a)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10313. DAIRY POLICY UPDATES.

(a) DAIRY MARGIN COVERAGE PRODUCTION HISTORY.—

(1) DEFINITION.—Section 140l(8) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 905l(8)) is amended by striking “when the participating dairy operation first registers to participate in dairy margin coverage”.

(2) PRODUCTION HISTORY OF PARTICIPATING DAIRY OPERATIONS.—Section 1405 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9055) is amended by striking subsections (a) and (b) and inserting the following:

“(a) PRODUCTION HISTORY.—Except as provided in subsection (b), the production history of a dairy operation for dairy margin coverage is equal to the highest annual milk marketings of the participating dairy operation during any 1 of the 2021, 2022, or 2023 calendar years.

“(b) ELECTION BY NEW DAIRY OPERATIONS.—In the case of a participating dairy operation that has been in operation for less than a year, the participating dairy operation shall elect 1 of the following methods for the Secretary to determine the production history of the participating dairy operation:

“(1) The volume of the actual milk marketings for the months the participating dairy operation has been in operation extrapolated to a yearly amount.

“(2) An estimate of the actual milk marketings of the participating dairy operation based on the herd size of the participating dairy operation relative to the national rolling herd average data published by the Secretary.”

(b) DAIRY MARGIN COVERAGE PAYMENTS.—Section 1406(a)(1)(C) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9056(a)(1)(C)) is amended by striking “5,000,000” each place it appears and inserting “6,000,000”.

(c) PREMIUMS FOR DAIRY MARGINS.—

(1) TIER I.—Section 1407(b) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(b)) is amended—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”.

(2) TIER II.—Section 1407(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(c)) is amended—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”.

(3) PREMIUM DISCOUNTS.—Section 1407(g) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(g)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “2019 through 2023” and inserting “2026 through 2031”; and

(ii) by striking “January 2019” and inserting “January 2026”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(d) DURATION.—Section 1409 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9059) is amended by striking “2025” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10314. IMPLEMENTATION.

Section 1614(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9097(c)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) FURTHER FUNDING.—The Secretary shall make available to carry out subtitle C of title I of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and the amendments made by that subtitle \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended, of which—

“(A) not less than \$5,000,000 shall be used to carry out paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (b);

“(B) \$3,000,000 shall be used for activities described in paragraph (3)(A);

“(C) \$3,000,000 shall be used for activities described in paragraph (3)(B);

“(D) \$9,000,000 shall be used—

“(i) to carry out mandatory surveys of dairy production cost and product yield information to be reported by manufacturers required to report under section 273 of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1637b), for all products processed in the same facility or facilities; and

“(ii) to publish the results of such surveys biennially; and

“(E) \$1,000,000 shall be used to conduct the study under subsection (d) of section 359k of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk).”

Subtitle D—Disaster Assistance Programs

SEC. 10401. SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.

(a) LIVESTOCK INDEMNITY PAYMENTS.—Section 150l(b) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(b)) is amended—

(1) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(2) PAYMENT RATES.—

“(A) LOSSES DUE TO PREDATION.—Indemnity payments to an eligible producer on a farm under paragraph (1)(A) shall be made at a rate of 100 percent of the market value of the affected livestock on the applicable date, as determined by the Secretary.

“(B) LOSSES DUE TO ADVERSE WEATHER OR DISEASE.—Indemnity payments to an eligible producer on a farm under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) shall be made at a rate of 75 percent of the market value of the affected livestock on the applicable date, as determined by the Secretary.

“(C) DETERMINATION OF MARKET VALUE.—In determining the market value described in subparagraphs (A) and (B), the Secretary may consider the ability of eligible producers to document regional price premiums for affected livestock that exceed the national average market price for those livestock.

“(D) APPLICABLE DATE DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘applicable date’ means, with respect to livestock, as applicable—

“(i) the day before the date of death of the livestock; or

“(ii) the day before the date of the event that caused the harm to the livestock that resulted in a reduced sale price.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(5) ADDITIONAL PAYMENT FOR UNBORN LIVESTOCK.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of unborn livestock death losses incurred on or after January 1, 2024, the Secretary shall make an additional payment to eligible producers on farms that have incurred such losses in excess of the normal mortality due to a condition specified in paragraph (1).

“(B) PAYMENT RATE.—Additional payments under subparagraph (A) shall be made at a rate—

“(i) determined by the Secretary; and

“(ii) less than or equal to 85 percent of the payment rate established with respect to the lowest weight class of the livestock, as determined by the Secretary, acting through the Administrator of the Farm Service Agency.

“(C) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The amount of a payment to an eligible producer that has incurred unborn livestock death losses shall be equal to the payment rate determined under subparagraph (B) multiplied, in the case of livestock described in—

“(i) subparagraph (A), (B), or (F) of subsection (a)(4), by 1;

“(ii) subparagraph (D) of such subsection, by 2;

“(iii) subparagraph (E) of such subsection, by 12; and

“(iv) subparagraph (G) of such subsection, by the average number of birthed animals (for one gestation cycle) for the species of each such livestock, as determined by the Secretary.

“(D) UNBORN LIVESTOCK DEATH LOSSES DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘unborn livestock death losses’ means losses of any livestock described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), (E), (F), or (G) of subsection (a)(4) that was gestating on the date of the death of the livestock.”

(b) LIVESTOCK FORAGE DISASTER PROGRAM.—Section 150l(c)(3)(D)(ii)(I) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(c)(3)(D)(ii)(I)) is amended—

(1) by striking “1 monthly payment” and inserting “2 monthly payments”; and

(2) by striking “county for at least 8 consecutive” and inserting the following: “county for not less than—

“(aa) 4 consecutive weeks during the normal grazing period for the county, as determined by the Secretary, shall be eligible to receive assistance under this paragraph in an amount equal to 1 monthly payment using the monthly payment rate determined under subparagraph (B); or

“(bb) 7 of the previous 8 consecutive”.

(c) EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR LIVESTOCK, HONEY BEES, AND FARM-RAISED FISH.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 150l(d) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) ASSISTANCE FOR LOSSES DUE TO BIRD DEPREDAATION.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF FARM-RAISED FISH.—In this paragraph, the term ‘farm-raised fish’ means fish propagated and reared in a controlled fresh water environment.

“(B) PAYMENTS.—Eligible producers of farm-raised fish, including fish grown as food for human consumption, shall be eligible to receive payments under this subsection to aid in the reduction of losses due to piscivorous birds.

“(C) PAYMENT RATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The payment rate for payments under subparagraph (B) shall be determined by the Secretary, taking into account—

“(I) costs associated with the deterrence of piscivorous birds;

“(II) the value of lost fish and revenue due to bird depredation; and

“(III) costs associated with disease loss from bird depredation.

“(ii) MINIMUM RATE.—The payment rate for payments under subparagraph (B) shall be

not less than \$600 per acre of farm-raised fish.

“(D) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The amount of a payment under subparagraph (B) shall be the product obtained by multiplying—

“(i) the applicable payment rate under subparagraph (C); and

“(ii) 85 percent of the total number of acres of farm-raised fish farms that the eligible producer has in production for the calendar year.”.

(2) EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR HONEY-BEES.—In determining honeybee colony losses eligible for assistance under section 1501(d) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(d)), the Secretary shall utilize a normal mortality rate of 15 percent.

(d) TREE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—Section 1501(e) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “15 percent (adjusted for normal mortality)” and inserting “normal mortality”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)(i), by striking “15 percent mortality (adjusted for normal mortality)” and inserting “normal mortality”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) by striking “50” and inserting “65”; and

(ii) by striking “15 percent damage or mortality (adjusted for normal tree damage and mortality)” and inserting “normal tree damage or mortality”.

Subtitle E—Crop Insurance

SEC. 10501. BEGINNING FARMER AND RANCHER BENEFIT.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 502(b)(3) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1502(b)(3)) is amended by striking “5” and inserting “10”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 522(c)(7) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1522(c)(7)) is amended by striking subparagraph (F).

(b) INCREASE IN ASSISTANCE.—Section 508(e) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(9) ADDITIONAL SUPPORT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other provision of this subsection (except paragraph (2)(A)) regarding payment of a portion of premiums, a beginning farmer or rancher shall receive additional premium assistance that is the number of percentage points specified in subparagraph (B) greater than the premium assistance that would otherwise be available for the applicable policy, plan of insurance, and coverage level selected by the beginning farmer or rancher.

“(B) PERCENTAGE POINTS ADJUSTMENTS.—The percentage points referred to in subparagraph (A) are the following:

“(i) For each of the first and second reinsurance years that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 5 percentage points.

“(ii) For the third reinsurance year that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 3 percentage points.

“(iii) For the fourth reinsurance year that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 1 percentage point.”.

SEC. 10502. AREA-BASED CROP INSURANCE COVERAGE AND AFFORDABILITY.

(a) COVERAGE LEVEL.—Section 508(c)(4) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(c)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (ii) and inserting the following:

“(ii) may be purchased at any level not to exceed—

“(I) in the case of the individual yield or revenue coverage, 85 percent;

“(II) in the case of individual yield or revenue coverage aggregated across multiple commodities, 90 percent; and

“(III) in the case of area yield or revenue coverage (as determined by the Corporation), 95 percent.”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “14” and inserting “10”; and

(B) in clause (iii)(I), by striking “86” and inserting “90”.

(b) PREMIUM SUBSIDY.—Section 508(e)(2)(H)(i) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)(2)(H)(i)) is amended by striking “65” and inserting “80”.

SEC. 10503. ADMINISTRATIVE AND OPERATING EXPENSE ADJUSTMENTS.

Section 508(k) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(k)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(10) ADDITIONAL EXPENSES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, in addition to the terms and conditions of the Standard Reinsurance Agreement, to cover additional expenses for loss adjustment procedures, the Corporation shall pay an additional administrative and operating expense subsidy to approved insurance providers for eligible contracts.

“(B) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—In the case of an eligible contract, the payment to an approved insurance provider required under subparagraph (A) shall be the amount equal to 6 percent of the net book premium.

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) ELIGIBLE CONTRACT.—The term ‘eligible contract’—

“(I) means a crop insurance contract entered into by an approved insurance provider in an eligible State; and

“(II) does not include a contract for—

“(aa) catastrophic risk protection under subsection (b);

“(bb) an area-based plan of insurance or similar plan of insurance, as determined by the Corporation; or

“(cc) a policy under which an approved insurance provider does not incur loss adjustment expenses, as determined by the Corporation.

“(ii) ELIGIBLE STATE.—The term ‘eligible State’ means a State in which, with respect to an insurance year, the loss ratio for eligible contracts is greater than 120 percent of the total net book premium written by all approved insurance providers.

“(11) SPECIALTY CROPS.—

“(A) MINIMUM REIMBURSEMENT.—Beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, the rate of reimbursement to approved insurance providers and agents for administrative and operating expenses with respect to crop insurance contracts covering agricultural commodities described in section 101 of the Specialty Crops Competitiveness Act of 2004 (7 U.S.C. 1621 note; Public Law 108-465) shall be equal to or greater than the percentage that is the greater of the following:

“(i) 17 percent of the premium used to define loss ratio.

“(ii) The percent of the premium used to define loss ratio that is otherwise applicable for the reinsurance year under the terms of the Standard Reinsurance Agreement in effect for the reinsurance year.

“(B) OTHER CONTRACTS.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Corporation shall not reduce, with respect to any reinsurance year, the amount or the rate of reimbursement to approved insurance providers and agents under the Standard Reinsurance Agreement described in clause (ii) of such subparagraph

for administrative and operating expenses with respect to contracts covering agricultural commodities that are not subject to such subparagraph.

“(C) ADMINISTRATION.—The requirements of this paragraph and the adjustments made pursuant to this paragraph shall not be considered a renegotiation under paragraph (8)(A).

“(12) A&O INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, the Corporation shall increase the total administrative and operating expense reimbursements otherwise required under the Standard Reinsurance Agreement in effect for the reinsurance year in order to account for inflation, in a manner consistent with the increases provided with respect to the 2011 through 2015 reinsurance years under the enclosure included in Risk Management Agency Bulletin numbered MGR-10-007 and dated June 30, 2010.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR 2026 REINSURANCE YEAR.—The increase under subparagraph (A) for the 2026 reinsurance year shall not exceed the percentage change for the preceding reinsurance year included in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

“(C) ADMINISTRATION.—An increase under subparagraph (A)—

“(i) shall apply with respect to all contracts covering agricultural commodities that were subject to an increase during the period of the 2011 through 2015 reinsurance years under the enclosure referred to in that subparagraph; and

“(ii) shall not be considered a renegotiation under paragraph (8)(A).”.

SEC. 10504. PREMIUM SUPPORT.

Section 508(e)(2) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)(2)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)(i), by striking “64” and inserting “69”;

(2) in subparagraph (D)(i), by striking “59” and inserting “64”;

(3) in subparagraph (E)(i), by striking “55” and inserting “60”;

(4) in subparagraph (F)(i), by striking “48” and inserting “51”; and

(5) in subparagraph (G)(i), by striking “38” and inserting “41”.

SEC. 10505. PROGRAM COMPLIANCE AND INTEGRITY.

Section 515(l)(2) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1515(l)(2)) is amended by striking “than” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting the following: “than—

“(A) \$4,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2009 through 2025; and

“(B) \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year.”.

SEC. 10506. REVIEWS, COMPLIANCE, AND INTEGRITY.

Section 516(b)(2)(C)(i) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1516(b)(2)(C)(i)) is amended, in the matter preceding subclause (I), by striking “for each fiscal year” and inserting “for each of fiscal years 2014 through 2025 and \$10,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter”.

SEC. 10507. POULTRY INSURANCE PILOT PROGRAM.

Section 523 of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1523) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(j) POULTRY INSURANCE PILOT PROGRAM.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding subsection (a)(2), the Corporation shall establish a pilot program under which contract poultry growers, including growers of broilers and laying hens, may elect to receive indexed insurance from extreme weather-related risk resulting in increased utility costs

(including costs of natural gas, propane, electricity, water, and other appropriate costs, as determined by the Corporation) associated with poultry production.

“(2) **STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT.**—The Corporation shall engage with poultry industry stakeholders in establishing the pilot program under paragraph (1).

“(3) **LOCATION.**—The pilot program established under paragraph (1) shall be conducted in a sufficient number of counties to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the feasibility, effectiveness, and demand among producers in the top poultry producing States, as determined by the Corporation.

“(4) **APPROVAL OF POLICY OR PLAN.**—Notwithstanding section 508(1), the Board shall approve a policy or plan of insurance based on the pilot program under paragraph (1)—

“(A) in accordance with section 508(h); and
“(B) not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this subsection.”.

Subtitle F—Additional Investments in Rural America

SEC. 10601. CONSERVATION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1241(a) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3841(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking subparagraphs (A) through (F) and inserting the following:

- “(A) \$625,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(B) \$650,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(C) \$675,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(D) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(E) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(F) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—
(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking clauses (i) through (v) and inserting the following:

- “(i) \$2,655,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(ii) \$2,855,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(iii) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(iv) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(v) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(vi) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2031; and”;

and
(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking clauses (i) through (v) and inserting the following:

- “(i) \$1,300,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(ii) \$1,325,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(iii) \$1,350,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(iv) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(v) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(vi) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”.

(b) **REGIONAL CONSERVATION PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM.**—Section 1271D of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3871d) is amended by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) **AVAILABILITY OF FUNDING.**—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out the program, to the maximum extent practicable—

- “(1) \$425,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(2) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(3) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(4) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(5) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(6) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”.

(c) **GRASSROOTS SOURCE WATER PROTECTION PROGRAM.**—Section 1240(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3839bb–2(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) \$1,000,000 beginning in fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

(d) **VOLUNTARY PUBLIC ACCESS AND HABITAT INCENTIVE PROGRAM.**—Section 1240R(f)(1) of

the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3839bb–5(f)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “2023, and” and inserting “2023,”; and

(2) by inserting “, and \$70,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2031” before the period at the end.

(e) **WATERSHED PROTECTION AND FLOOD PREVENTION.**—Section 15 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (16 U.S.C. 1012a) is amended by striking “\$50,000,000 for fiscal year 2019 and each fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “\$150,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter, to remain available until expended”.

(f) **FERAL SWINE ERADICATION AND CONTROL PILOT PROGRAM.**—Section 2408(g)(1) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (7 U.S.C. 8351 note; Public Law 115–334) is amended—

(1) by striking “2023 and” and inserting “2023,”; and

(2) by inserting “, and \$105,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2031” before the period at the end.

(g) **RESCISSION.**—The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated by section 21001(a) of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2015) are rescinded.

SEC. 10602. SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURAL TRADE PROMOTION PROGRAM.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of Agriculture shall carry out a program to encourage the accessibility, development, maintenance, and expansion of commercial export markets for United States agricultural commodities.

(b) **FUNDING.**—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary of Agriculture shall make available to carry out this section \$285,000,000 for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter.

SEC. 10603. NUTRITION.

Section 203D(d)(5) of the Emergency Food Assistance Act of 1983 (7 U.S.C. 7507(d)(5)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10604. RESEARCH.

(a) **URBAN, INDOOR, AND OTHER EMERGING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND EXTENSION INITIATIVE.**—Section 1672E(d)(1)(B) of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 5925g(d)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “fiscal year 2024, to remain available until expended” and inserting “each of fiscal years 2024 through 2031”.

(b) **FOUNDATION FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE RESEARCH.**—Section 7601(g)(1)(A) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 5939(g)(1)(A)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) **FURTHER FUNDING.**—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this clause, of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall transfer to the Foundation to carry out this section \$37,000,000, to remain available until expended.”.

(c) **SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDENTS AT 1890 INSTITUTIONS.**—Section 1446(b)(1) of the National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 (7 U.S.C. 3222a(b)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(C) **FURTHER FUNDING.**—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$60,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

(d) **ASSISTIVE TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM FOR FARMERS WITH DISABILITIES.**—Section 1680 of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 5933) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(2), by inserting “and subsection (d)” after “paragraph (1)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(d) **MANDATORY FUNDING.**—Subject to subsection (c)(2), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out this section \$8,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

(e) **SPECIALTY CROP RESEARCH INITIATIVE.**—Section 412(k)(1)(B) of the Agricultural Research, Extension, and Education Reform Act of 1998 (7 U.S.C. 7632(k)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “section \$80,000,000 for fiscal year 2014” and inserting the following: “section—

“(i) \$80,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2014 through 2025; and

“(ii) \$175,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(f) **RESEARCH FACILITIES ACT.**—Section 6 of the Research Facilities Act (7 U.S.C. 390d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c), by striking “subsection (a)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (e)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) **MANDATORY FUNDING.**—Subject to subsections (b), (c), and (d), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out the competitive grant program under section 4 \$125,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter.”.

SEC. 10605. ENERGY.

Section 9005(g)(1)(F) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 8105(g)(1)(F)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10606. HORTICULTURE.

(a) **PLANT PEST AND DISEASE MANAGEMENT AND DISASTER PREVENTION.**—Section 420(f) of the Plant Protection Act (7 U.S.C. 7721(f)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7);

(3) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) \$75,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2018 through 2025; and”;

(4) in paragraph (7) (as so redesignated), by striking “\$75,000,000 for fiscal year 2018” and inserting “\$90,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(b) **SPECIALTY CROP BLOCK GRANTS.**—Section 101(1)(1) of the Specialty Crops Competitiveness Act of 2004 (7 U.S.C. 1621 note; Public Law 108–465) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (E) as subparagraph (F);

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following:

“(E) \$85,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2018 through 2025; and”;

(4) in subparagraph (F) (as so redesignated), by striking “\$85,000,000 for fiscal year 2018” and inserting “\$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(c) **ORGANIC PRODUCTION AND MARKET DATA INITIATIVE.**—Section 7407(d)(1) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 5925e(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(D) \$10,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2026 through 2031.”.

(d) **MODERNIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS AND DATA COLLECTION.**—Section 2123(c)(4) of the Organic Foods Production Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 6522(c)(4)) is amended, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 2024” and inserting “, \$1,000,000 for fiscal years 2024 and 2025, and \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(e) **NATIONAL ORGANIC CERTIFICATION COST-SHARE PROGRAM.**—Section 10606(d)(1)(C) of

the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 6523(d)(1)(C)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(f) MULTIPLE CROP AND PESTICIDE USE SURVEY.—Section 10109(c) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (Public Law 115-334; 132 Stat. 4907) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(3) FURTHER MANDATORY FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out this section \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

SEC. 10607. MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) ANIMAL DISEASE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT.—Section 10409A(d)(1) of the Animal Health Protection Act (7 U.S.C. 8308a(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the heading, by striking “SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS” and inserting “FISCAL YEARS 2023 THROUGH 2025”; and

(B) by striking “fiscal year 2023 and each fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “each of fiscal years 2023 through 2025”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) FISCAL YEARS 2026 THROUGH 2030.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$233,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2030, of which—

(i) not less than \$10,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (a);

(ii) not less than \$70,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (b); and

(iii) not less than \$153,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (c).

(D) SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$75,000,000 for fiscal year 2031 and each fiscal year thereafter, of which not less than \$45,000,000 shall be made available for each of those fiscal years to carry out subsection (b).”.

(b) SHEEP PRODUCTION AND MARKETING GRANT PROGRAM.—Section 209(c) of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1627a(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking “2019, and” and inserting “2019,”; and

(2) by inserting “and \$3,000,000 for fiscal year 2026,” after “fiscal year 2024.”

(c) PIMA AGRICULTURE COTTON TRUST FUND.—Section 12314 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 2101 note; Public Law 113-79) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) in subsection (h), by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(d) AGRICULTURE WOOL APPAREL MANUFACTURERS TRUST FUND.—Section 12315 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 7101 note; Public Law 113-79) is amended by striking “2024” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(e) WOOL RESEARCH AND PROMOTION.—Section 12316(a) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 7101 note; Public Law 113-79) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(f) EMERGENCY CITRUS DISEASE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TRUST FUND.—Section 12605(d) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (7 U.S.C. 7632 note; Public Law 115-334) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

TITLE II—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

SEC. 20001. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$230,480,000 for restoration and modernization costs under the Marine Corps Barracks 2030 initiative;

(2) \$119,000,000 for base operating support costs under the Marine Corps;

(3) \$1,000,000,000 for Army, Navy, Air Force, and Space Force sustainment, restoration, and modernization of military unaccompanied housing;

(4) \$2,000,000,000 for the Defense Health Program;

(5) \$2,900,000,000 to supplement the basic allowance for housing payable to members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force, notwithstanding section 403 of title 37, United States Code;

(6) \$50,000,000 for bonuses, special pays, and incentive pays for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force pursuant to titles 10 and 37, United States Code;

(7) \$10,000,000 for the Defense Activity for Non-Traditional Education Support’s Online Academic Skills Course program for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force;

(8) \$100,000,000 for tuition assistance for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force pursuant to title 10, United States Code;

(9) \$100,000,000 for child care fee assistance for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force under part II of chapter 88 of title 10, United States Code;

(10) \$590,000,000 to increase the Temporary Lodging Expense Allowance under chapter 8 of title 37, United States Code, to 21 days;

(11) \$100,000,000 for Department of Defense Impact Aid payments to local educational agencies under section 2008 of title 10, United States Code;

(12) \$10,000,000 for military spouse professional licensure under section 1784 of title 10, United States Code;

(13) \$6,000,000 for Armed Forces Retirement Home facilities;

(14) \$100,000,000 for the Defense Community Infrastructure Program;

(15) \$100,000,000 for Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) casualty care research; and

(16) \$62,000,000 for modernization of Department of Defense childcare center staffing.

(b) TEMPORARY INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE OF VALUE OF AUTHORIZED INVESTMENT IN CERTAIN PRIVATIZED MILITARY HOUSING PROJECTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—During the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending on September 30, 2029, the Secretary concerned shall apply—

(A) paragraph (1) of subsection (c) of section 2875 of title 10, United States Code, by substituting “60 percent” for “33 ⅓ percent”; and

(B) paragraph (2) of such subsection by substituting “60 percent” for “45 percent”.

(2) SECRETARY CONCERNED DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term “Secretary concerned” has the meaning given such term in section 101 of title 10, United States Code.

(c) TEMPORARY AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION OR CONSTRUCTION OF PRIVATIZED MILITARY UNACCOMPANIED HOUSING.—Section 2881a of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking the heading and inserting “Temporary authority for acquisition or construction of privatized military unaccompanied housing”;

(2) by striking “Secretary of the Navy” each place it appears and inserting “Secretary concerned”;

(3) by striking “under the pilot projects” each place it appears and inserting “pursuant to this section”;

(4) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking the heading and inserting “IN GENERAL”; and

(B) by striking “carry out not more than three pilot projects under the authority of this section or another provision of this subchapter to use the private sector” and inserting “use the authority under this subchapter to enter into contracts with appropriate private sector entities”;

(5) in subsection (c), by striking “privatized housing” and inserting “privatized housing units”;

(6) by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (e); and

(7) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated)—

(A) by striking “under the pilot programs” and inserting “under this section”; and

(B) by striking “September 30, 2009” and inserting “September 30, 2029”.

SEC. 20002. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR SHIPBUILDING.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$250,000,000 for the expansion of accelerated Training in Defense Manufacturing program;

(2) \$250,000,000 for United States production of turbine generators for shipbuilding industrial base;

(3) \$450,000,000 for United States additive manufacturing for wire production and machining capacity for shipbuilding industrial base;

(4) \$492,000,000 for next-generation shipbuilding techniques;

(5) \$85,000,000 for United States-made steel plate for shipbuilding industrial base;

(6) \$50,000,000 for machining capacity for naval propellers for shipbuilding industrial base;

(7) \$110,000,000 for rolled steel and fabrication facility for shipbuilding industrial base;

(8) \$400,000,000 for expansion of collaborative campus for naval shipbuilding;

(9) \$450,000,000 for application of autonomy and artificial intelligence to naval shipbuilding;

(10) \$500,000,000 for the adoption of advanced manufacturing techniques in the shipbuilding industrial base;

(11) \$500,000,000 for additional dry-dock capability;

(12) \$50,000,000 for the expansion of cold spray repair technologies;

(13) \$450,000,000 for additional maritime industrial workforce development programs;

(14) \$750,000,000 for additional supplier development across the naval shipbuilding industrial base;

(15) \$250,000,000 for additional advanced manufacturing processes across the naval shipbuilding industrial base;

(16) \$4,600,000,000 for a second Virginia-class submarine in fiscal year 2026;

(17) \$5,400,000,000 for two additional Guided Missile Destroyer (DDG) ships;

(18) \$160,000,000 for advanced procurement for Landing Ship Medium;

(19) \$1,803,941,000 for procurement of Landing Ship Medium;

(20) \$295,000,000 for development of a second Landing Craft Utility shipyard and production of additional Landing Craft Utility;

(21) \$100,000,000 for advanced procurement for light replenishment oiler program;

(22) \$600,000,000 for the lease or purchase of new ships through the National Defense Sealift Fund;

(23) \$2,725,000,000 for the procurement of T-AO oilers;

(24) \$500,000,000 for cost-to-complete for rescue and salvage ships;

(25) \$300,000,000 for production of ship-to-shore connectors;

(26) \$1,470,000,000 for the implementation of a multi-ship amphibious warship contract;

(27) \$80,000,000 for accelerated development of vertical launch system reloading at sea;

(28) \$250,000,000 for expansion of Navy corrosion control programs;

(29) \$159,000,000 for leasing of ships for Marine Corps operations;

(30) \$1,534,000,000 for expansion of small unmanned surface vessel production;

(31) \$2,100,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of purpose-built medium unmanned surface vessels;

(32) \$1,300,000,000 for expansion of unmanned underwater vehicle production;

(33) \$188,360,000 for the development and testing of maritime robotic autonomous systems and enabling technologies;

(34) \$174,000,000 for the development of a Test Resource Management Center robotic autonomous systems proving ground;

(35) \$250,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of wave-powered unmanned underwater vehicles; and

(36) \$150,000,000 for retention of inactive reserve fleet ships.

SEC. 20003. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR INTEGRATED AIR AND MISSILE DEFENSE.

(a) NEXT GENERATION MISSILE DEFENSE TECHNOLOGIES.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$250,000,000 for development and testing of directed energy capabilities by the Under Secretary for Research and Engineering;

(2) \$500,000,000 for national security space launch infrastructure;

(3) \$2,000,000,000 for air moving target indicator military satellites;

(4) \$400,000,000 for expansion of Multi-Service Advanced Capability Hypersonic Test Bed program;

(5) \$5,600,000,000 for development of space-based and boost phase intercept capabilities;

(6) \$7,200,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space-based sensors; and

(7) \$2,550,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military missile defense capabilities.

(b) LAYERED HOMELAND DEFENSE.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,200,000,000 for acceleration of hypersonic defense systems;

(2) \$800,000,000 for accelerated development and deployment of next-generation intercontinental ballistic missile defense systems;

(3) \$408,000,000 for Army space and strategic missile test range infrastructure restoration and modernization in the United States Indo-Pacific Command area of operations west of the international dateline;

(4) \$1,975,000,000 for improved ground-based missile defense radars; and

(5) \$530,000,000 for the design and construction of Missile Defense Agency missile instrumentation range safety ship.

SEC. 20004. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR MUNITIONS AND DEFENSE SUPPLY CHAIN RESILIENCY.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$400,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of Navy and Air Force long-range anti-ship missiles;

(2) \$380,000,000 for production capacity expansion for Navy and Air Force long-range anti-ship missiles;

(3) \$490,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of Navy and Air Force long-range air-to-surface missiles;

(4) \$94,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of alternative Navy and Air Force long-range air-to-surface missiles;

(5) \$630,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of long-range Navy air defense and anti-ship missiles;

(6) \$688,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of long-range multi-service cruise missiles;

(7) \$250,000,000 for production capacity expansion and supplier base strengthening of long-range multi-service cruise missiles;

(8) \$70,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of short-range Navy and Marine Corps anti-ship missiles;

(9) \$100,000,000 for the development of an anti-ship seeker for short-range Army ballistic missiles;

(10) \$175,000,000 for production capacity expansion for next-generation Army medium-range ballistic missiles;

(11) \$50,000,000 for the mitigation of diminishing manufacturing sources for medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(12) \$250,000,000 for the procurement of medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(13) \$225,000,000 for the expansion of production capacity for medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(14) \$50,000,000 for the development of second sources for components of short-range air-to-air missiles;

(15) \$325,000,000 for production capacity improvements for air-launched anti-radiation missiles;

(16) \$50,000,000 for the accelerated development of Army next-generation medium-range anti-ship ballistic missiles;

(17) \$114,000,000 for the production of Army next-generation medium-range ballistic missiles;

(18) \$300,000,000 for the production of Army medium-range ballistic missiles;

(19) \$85,000,000 for the accelerated development of Army long-range ballistic missiles;

(20) \$400,000,000 for the production of heavy-weight torpedoes;

(21) \$200,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of mass-producible autonomous underwater munitions;

(22) \$70,000,000 for the improvement of heavyweight torpedo maintenance activities;

(23) \$200,000,000 for the production of light-weight torpedoes;

(24) \$500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of maritime mines;

(25) \$50,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of new underwater explosives;

(26) \$55,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of lightweight multi-mission torpedoes;

(27) \$80,000,000 for the production of sonobuoys;

(28) \$150,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of air-delivered long-range maritime mines;

(29) \$61,000,000 for the acceleration of Navy expeditionary loitering munitions deployment;

(30) \$50,000,000 for the acceleration of one-way attack unmanned aerial systems with advanced autonomy;

(31) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion of the one-way attack unmanned aerial systems industrial base;

(32) \$200,000,000 for investments in solid rocket motor industrial base through the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code;

(33) \$400,000,000 for investments in the emerging solid rocket motor industrial base through the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code;

(34) \$42,000,000 for investments in second sources for large-diameter solid rocket motors for hypersonic missiles;

(35) \$1,000,000,000 for the creation of next-generation automated munitions production factories;

(36) \$170,000,000 for the development of advanced radar depot for repair, testing, and production of radar and electronic warfare systems;

(37) \$25,000,000 for the expansion of the Department of Defense industrial base policy analysis workforce;

(38) \$30,300,000 for the repair of Army missiles;

(39) \$100,000,000 for the production of small and medium ammunition;

(40) \$2,000,000,000 for additional activities to improve the United States stockpile of critical minerals through the National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund, authorized by subchapter III of chapter 5 of title 50, United States Code;

(41) \$10,000,000 for the expansion of the Department of Defense armaments cooperation workforce;

(42) \$500,000,000 for the expansion of the Defense Exportability Features program;

(43) \$350,000,000 for production of Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(44) \$93,000,000 for replacement of Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(45) \$100,000,000 for development of a second solid rocket motor source for Navy air defense and anti ship missiles;

(46) \$65,000,000 for expansion of production capacity of Missile Defense Agency long-range anti-ballistic missiles;

(47) \$225,000,000 for expansion of production capacity for Navy air defense and anti-ship missiles;

(48) \$103,300,000 for expansion of depot level maintenance facility for Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(49) \$18,000,000 for creation of domestic source for guidance section of Navy short-range air defense missiles;

(50) \$65,000,000 for integration of Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptor with Navy ships;

(51) \$176,100,000 for production of Army long-range movable missile defense radar;

(52) \$167,000,000 for accelerated fielding of Army short-range gun-based air and missile defense system;

(53) \$40,000,000 for development of low-cost alternatives to air and missile defense interceptors;

(54) \$50,000,000 for acceleration of Army next-generation shoulder-fired air defense system;

(55) \$91,000,000 for production of Army next-generation shoulder-fired air defense system;

(56) \$500,000,000 for development, production, and integration of counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(57) \$350,000,000 for development, production, and integration of non-kinetic counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(58) \$250,000,000 for development, production, and integration of land-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(59) \$200,000,000 for development, production, and integration of ship-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(60) \$400,000,000 for acceleration of hypersonic strike programs;

(61) \$167,000,000 for procurement of additional launchers for Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(62) \$500,000,000 for expansion of defense advanced manufacturing techniques;

(63) \$1,000,000 for establishment of the Joint Energetics Transition Office;

(64) \$200,000,000 for acceleration of Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(65) \$150,000,000 for additive manufacturing for propellant;

(66) \$250,000,000 for expansion and acceleration of penetrating munitions production; and

(67) \$50,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of precision extended-range artillery.

(b) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$3,300,000,000 for grants and purchase commitments made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code.

(c) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$5,000,000,000 for investments in critical minerals supply chains made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code.

(d) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$500,000,000 to the “Department of Defense Credit Program Account” to carry out the capital assistance program, including loans, loan guarantees, and technical assistance, established under section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code, for critical minerals and related industries and projects, including related Covered Technology Categories: *Provided, That*—

(1) such amounts are available to subsidize gross obligations for the principal amount of direct loans, and total loan principal, any part of which is to be guaranteed, not to exceed \$100,000,000,000; and

(2) such amounts are available to cover all costs and expenditures as provided under section 149(e)(5)(B) of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20005. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR SCALING LOW-COST WEAPONS INTO PRODUCTION.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$25,000,000 for the Office of Strategic Capital Global Technology Scout program;

(2) \$1,400,000,000 for the expansion of the small unmanned aerial system industrial base;

(3) \$400,000,000 for the development and deployment of the Joint Fires Network and associated joint battle management capabilities;

(4) \$400,000,000 for the expansion of advanced command-and-control tools to combatant commands and military departments;

(5) \$100,000,000 for the development of shared secure facilities for the defense industrial base;

(6) \$50,000,000 for the creation of additional Defense Innovation Unit OnRamp Hubs;

(7) \$600,000,000 for the acceleration of Strategic Capabilities Office programs;

(8) \$650,000,000 for the expansion of Mission Capabilities office joint prototyping and experimentation activities for military innovation;

(9) \$500,000,000 for the accelerated development and integration of advanced 5G/6G technologies for military use;

(10) \$25,000,000 for testing of simultaneous transmit and receive technology for military spectrum agility;

(11) \$50,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of high-altitude stratospheric balloons for military use;

(12) \$120,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of long-endurance unmanned aerial systems for surveillance;

(13) \$40,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of alternative positioning and navigation technology to enable military operations in contested electromagnetic environments;

(14) \$750,000,000 for the acceleration of innovative military logistics and energy capability development and deployment;

(15) \$125,000,000 for the acceleration of development of small, portable modular nuclear reactors for military use;

(16) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion of programs to accelerate the procurement and fielding of innovative technologies;

(17) \$90,000,000 for the development of reusable hypersonic technology for military strikes;

(18) \$2,000,000,000 for the expansion of Defense Innovation Unit scaling of commercial technology for military use;

(19) \$500,000,000 to prevent delays in delivery of attritable autonomous military capabilities;

(20) \$1,500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of low-cost cruise missiles;

(21) \$124,000,000 for improvements to Test Resource Management Center artificial intelligence capabilities;

(22) \$145,000,000 for the development of artificial intelligence to enable one-way attack unmanned aerial systems and naval systems;

(23) \$250,000,000 for the development of the Test Resource Management Center digital test environment;

(24) \$250,000,000 for the advancement of the artificial intelligence ecosystem;

(25) \$250,000,000 for the expansion of Cyber Command artificial intelligence lines of effort;

(26) \$250,000,000 for the acceleration of the Quantum Benchmarking Initiative;

(27) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion and acceleration of qualification activities and technical data management to enhance competition in defense industrial base;

(28) \$400,000,000 for the expansion of the defense manufacturing technology program;

(29) \$1,685,000,000 for military cryptographic modernization activities;

(30) \$90,000,000 for APEX Accelerators, the Mentor-Protege Program, and cybersecurity support to small non-traditional contractors;

(31) \$250,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Air Force low-cost counter-air capabilities;

(32) \$10,000,000 for additional Air Force wargaming activities; and

(33) \$20,000,000 for the Office of Strategic Capital workforce.

(b) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$1,000,000,000 to the “Department of Defense Credit Program Account” to carry out the capital assistance program, including loans, loan guarantees, and technical assistance, established under section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code: *Provided, That*—

(1) such amounts are available to subsidize gross obligations for the principal amount of direct loans, and total loan principal, any part of which is to be guaranteed, not to exceed \$100,000,000,000; and

(2) such amounts are available to cover all costs and expenditures as provided under section 149(e)(5)(B) of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20006. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY AND CYBERSECURITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$150,000,000 for business systems replacement to accelerate the audits of the financial statements of the Department of Defense pursuant to chapter 9A and section 2222 of title 10, United States Code;

(2) \$200,000,000 for the deployment of automation and artificial intelligence to accelerate the audits of the financial statements of the Department of Defense pursuant to chapter 9A and section 2222 of title 10, United States Code;

(3) \$10,000,000 for the improvement of the budgetary and programmatic infrastructure of the Office of the Secretary of Defense; and

(4) \$20,000,000 for defense cybersecurity programs of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency.

SEC. 20007. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR AIR SUPERIORITY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$3,150,000,000 to increase F-15EX aircraft production;

(2) \$361,220,000 to prevent the retirement of F-22 aircraft;

(3) \$127,460,000 to prevent the retirement of F-15E aircraft;

(4) \$187,000,000 to accelerate installation of F-16 electronic warfare capability;

(5) \$116,000,000 for C-17A Mobility Aircraft Connectivity;

(6) \$84,000,000 for KC-135 Mobility Aircraft Connectivity;

(7) \$440,000,000 to increase C-130J production;

(8) \$474,000,000 to increase EA-37B production;

(9) \$678,000,000 to accelerate the Collaborative Combat Aircraft program;

(10) \$400,000,000 to accelerate production of the F-47 aircraft;

(11) \$750,000,000 accelerate the FA/XX aircraft;

(12) \$100,000,000 for production of Advanced Aerial Sensors;

(13) \$160,000,000 to accelerate V-22 nacelle and reliability and safety improvements;

(14) \$100,000,000 to accelerate production of MQ-25 aircraft;

(15) \$270,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of Marine Corps unmanned combat aircraft;

(16) \$96,000,000 for the procurement and integration of infrared search and track pods;

(17) \$50,000,000 for the procurement and integration of additional F-15EX conformal fuel tanks;

(18) \$600,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Air Force long-range strike aircraft; and

(19) \$500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Navy long-range strike aircraft.

SEC. 20008. ENHANCEMENT OF RESOURCES FOR NUCLEAR FORCES.

(a) DOD APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,500,000,000 for risk reduction activities for the Sentinel intercontinental ballistic missile program;

(2) \$4,500,000,000 only for expansion of production capacity of B-21 long-range bomber aircraft and the purchase of aircraft only available through the expansion of production capacity;

(3) \$500,000,000 for improvements to the Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile system;

(4) \$100,000,000 for capability enhancements to intercontinental ballistic missile reentry vehicles;

(5) \$148,000,000 for the expansion of D5 missile motor production;

(6) \$400,000,000 to accelerate the development of Trident D5LE2 submarine-launched ballistic missiles;

(7) \$2,000,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile;

(8) \$62,000,000 to convert Ohio-class submarine tubes to accept additional missiles, not to be obligated before March 1, 2026;

(9) \$168,000,000 to accelerate the production of the Survivable Airborne Operations Center program;

(10) \$65,000,000 to accelerate the modernization of nuclear command, control, and communications;

(11) \$210,300,000 for the increased production of MH-139 helicopters; and

(12) \$150,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of military nuclear weapons delivery programs.

(b) NNSA APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$200,000,000 to perform National Nuclear Security Administration Phase 1 studies pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(2) \$540,000,000 to address deferred maintenance and repair needs of the National Nuclear Security Administration pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(3) \$1,000,000,000 to accelerate the construction of National Nuclear Security Administration facilities pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(4) \$400,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of the warhead for the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile pursuant to section 3211 of the

National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(5) \$750,000,000 to accelerate primary capability modernization pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(6) \$750,000,000 to accelerate secondary capability modernization pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(7) \$120,000,000 to accelerate domestic uranium enrichment centrifuge deployment for defense purposes pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(8) \$10,000,000 for National Nuclear Security Administration evaluation of spent fuel reprocessing technology; and

(9) \$115,000,000 for accelerating nuclear national security missions through artificial intelligence.

SEC. 20009. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES TO IMPROVE CAPABILITIES OF UNITED STATES INDO-PACIFIC COMMAND.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$365,000,000 for Army exercises and operations in the Western Pacific area of operations;

(2) \$53,000,000 for Special Operations Command exercises and operations in the Western Pacific area of operations;

(3) \$47,000,000 for Marine Corps exercises and operations in Western Pacific area of operations;

(4) \$90,000,000 for Air Force exercises and operations in Western Pacific area of operations;

(5) \$532,600,000 for the Pacific Air Force biennial large-scale exercise;

(6) \$19,000,000 for the development of naval small craft capabilities;

(7) \$35,000,000 for military additive manufacturing capabilities in the United States Indo-Pacific Command area of operations west of the international dateline;

(8) \$450,000,000 for the development of airfields within the area of operations of United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(9) \$1,100,000,000 for development of infrastructure within the area of operations of United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(10) \$124,000,000 for mission networks for United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(11) \$100,000,000 for Air Force regionally based cluster pre-position base kits;

(12) \$115,000,000 for exploration and development of existing Arctic infrastructure;

(13) \$90,000,000 for the accelerated development of non-kinetic capabilities;

(14) \$20,000,000 for United States Indo-Pacific Command military exercises;

(15) \$143,000,000 for anti-submarine sonar arrays;

(16) \$30,000,000 for surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities for United States Africa Command;

(17) \$30,000,000 for surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities for United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(18) \$500,000,000 for the development, coordination, and deployment of economic competition effects within the Department of Defense;

(19) \$10,000,000 for the expansion of Department of Defense workforce for economic competition;

(20) \$1,000,000,000 for offensive cyber operations;

(21) \$500,000,000 for personnel and operations costs associated with forces assigned to United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(22) \$300,000,000 for the procurement of mesh network communications capabilities for Special Operations Command Pacific;

(23) \$850,000,000 for the replenishment of military articles;

(24) \$200,000,000 for acceleration of Guam Defense System program;

(25) \$68,000,000 for Space Force facilities improvements;

(26) \$150,000,000 for ground moving target indicator military satellites;

(27) \$528,000,000 for DARC and SILENTBARKER military space situational awareness programs;

(28) \$80,000,000 for Navy Operational Support Division;

(29) \$1,000,000,000 for the X-37B military spacecraft program;

(30) \$3,650,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of United States military satellites and the protection of United States military satellites.

(31) \$125,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space communications.

(32) \$350,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space command and control systems.

SEC. 20010. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE READINESS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$1,400,000,000 for a pilot program on OPN-8 maritime spares and repair rotatable pool;

(2) \$700,000,000 for a pilot program on OPN-8 maritime spares and repair rotatable pool for amphibious ships;

(3) \$2,118,000,000 for spares and repairs to keep Air Force aircraft mission capable;

(4) \$1,500,000,000 for Army depot modernization and capacity enhancement;

(5) \$2,000,000,000 for Navy depot and shipyard modernization and capacity enhancement;

(6) \$250,000,000 for Air Force depot modernization and capacity enhancement;

(7) \$1,640,000,000 for Special Operations Command equipment, readiness, and operations;

(8) \$500,000,000 for National Guard unit readiness;

(9) \$400,000,000 for Marine Corps readiness and capabilities;

(10) \$20,000,000 for upgrades to Marine Corps utility helicopters;

(11) \$310,000,000 for next-generation vertical lift, assault, and intra-theater aeromedical evacuation aircraft;

(12) \$75,000,000 for the procurement of anti-lock braking systems for Army wheeled transport vehicles;

(13) \$230,000,000 for the procurement of Army wheeled combat vehicles;

(14) \$63,000,000 for the development of advanced rotary-wing engines;

(15) \$241,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Marine Corps amphibious vehicles;

(16) \$250,000,000 for the procurement of Army tracked combat transport vehicles;

(17) \$98,000,000 for additional Army light rotary-wing capabilities;

(18) \$1,500,000,000 for increased depot maintenance and shipyard maintenance activities;

(19) \$2,500,000,000 for Air Force facilities sustainment, restoration, and modernization;

(20) \$92,500,000 for the completion of Robotic Combat Vehicle prototyping;

(21) \$125,000,000 for Army operations;

(22) \$10,000,000 for the Air Force Concepts, Development, and Management Office; and

(23) \$320,000,000 for Joint Special Operations Command.

SEC. 20011. IMPROVING DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BORDER SUPPORT AND COUNTER-DRUG MISSIONS.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$1,000,000,000 for the deployment of military personnel in support of border operations, operations and maintenance activities in support of border operations, counter-narcotics and counter-transnational criminal organization mission support, the operation of national defense areas and construction in national defense areas, and the temporary detention of migrants on Department of Defense installations, in accordance with chapter 15 of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20012. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OVERSIGHT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Inspector General of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, to monitor Department of Defense activities for which funding is appropriated in this title, including—

(1) programs with mutual technological dependencies;

(2) programs with related data management and data ownership considerations; and

(3) programs particularly vulnerable to supply chain disruptions and long lead time components.

SEC. 20013. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS AUTHORIZED.

(a) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—Funds are hereby authorized to be appropriated for military construction, land acquisition, and military family housing functions of each military department (as defined in section 101(a) of title 10, United States Code) as specified in this title.

(b) **SPENDING PLAN.**—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this title, the Secretary of each military department shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives a detailed spending plan by project for all funds made available by this title to be expended on military construction projects.

SEC. 20014. MULTI-YEAR OPERATIONAL PLAN.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense and the Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives a plan detailing how the funds appropriated to the Department of Defense and the National Nuclear Security Administration under the Act will be spent over the four-year period ending with fiscal year 2029.

(b) **QUARTERLY UPDATES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than the last day of each calendar quarter beginning during the applicable period, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives a report on the plan established under subsection (a), including—

(A) any updates to the plan;

(B) progress made in implementing the plan; and

(C) any changes in circumstances or challenges in implementing the plan.

(2) **APPLICABLE PERIOD.**—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable period is the pe-

riod beginning one year after the date the plan required under subsection (a) is due and ending on September 30, 2029.

(c) **REDUCTION IN APPROPRIATION.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any failure to submit a plan required under subsection (a) or a report required under subsection (b) by the date specified in paragraph (2), the amounts made available to the Department of Defense under this Act shall be reduced by \$100,000 for each day after such specified date that the report has not been submitted to Congress.

(2) **SPECIFIED DATE.**—For purposes of the reduction in appropriations under paragraph (1), the specified date is the date that is 60 days after the date the plan or report is required to be submitted under subsection (a) or (b), as the case may be.

TITLE III—COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SEC. 30001. FUNDING CAP FOR THE BUREAU OF CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTION.

Section 1017(a)(2)(A)(iii) of the Consumer Financial Protection Act of 2010 (12 U.S.C. 5497(a)(2)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking “12” and inserting “6.5”.

SEC. 30002. RESCISSION OF FUNDS FOR GREEN AND RESILIENT RETROFIT PROGRAM FOR MULTIFAMILY HOUSING.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available under section 30002(a) of the Act entitled “An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 14”, approved August 16, 2022 (Public Law 117-169; 136 Stat. 2027) are rescinded.

SEC. 30003. SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION RESERVE FUND.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 4 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78d) is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (i); and

(2) by redesignating subsections (j) and (k) as subsections (i) and (j), respectively.

(b) **TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 21F(g)(2) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78u-6(g)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) **USE OF FUND.**—The Fund shall be available to the Commission, without further appropriation or fiscal year limitation, for paying awards to whistleblowers as provided in subsection (b).”

(c) **TRANSITION PROVISION.**—During the period beginning on the date of enactment of this Act and ending on October 1, 2025, the Securities and Exchange Commission may expend amounts in the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund that were obligated before the date of enactment of this Act for any program, project, or activity that is ongoing (as of the day before the date of enactment of this Act) in accordance with subsection (i) of section 4 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78d), as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) **TRANSFER OF REMAINING AMOUNTS.**—Effective on October 1, 2025, the obligated and unobligated balances of amounts in the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund shall be transferred to the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) **CLOSING OF ACCOUNT.**—For the purposes of section 1555 of title 31, United States Code, the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund shall be considered closed, and thereafter shall not be available for obligation or expenditure for any purpose, upon execution of the transfer required under subsection (d).

SEC. 30004. APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of amounts not otherwise appro-

riated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2027, to carry out the Defense Production Act (50 U.S.C. 4501 et seq.).

TITLE IV—COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

SEC. 40001. COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 11 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“Subchapter V—Coast Guard Mission Readiness

“§ 1181. Special appropriations

“In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Coast Guard for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$24,593,500,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 1105(a) and sections 1131, 1132, 1133, and 1156, to use expedited processes to procure or acquire new operational assets and systems, to maintain existing assets and systems, to design, construct, plan, engineer, and improve necessary shore infrastructure, and to enhance operational resilience for monitoring, search and rescue, interdiction, hardening of maritime approaches, and navigational safety, of which—

“(1) \$1,142,500,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of fixed-wing aircraft, equipment related to such aircraft and training simulators and program management for such aircraft, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(2) \$2,283,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of rotary-wing aircraft, equipment related to such aircraft and training simulators and program management for such aircraft, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(3) \$266,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of long-range unmanned aircraft and base stations, equipment related to such aircraft and base stations, and program management for such aircraft and base stations, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(4) \$4,300,000,000 is provided for procurement of Offshore Patrol Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to provide operational presence and security of the maritime border and for interdiction of persons and controlled substances;

“(5) \$1,000,000,000 is provided for procurement of Fast Response Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to provide operational presence and security of the maritime border and for interdiction of persons and controlled substances;

“(6) \$4,300,000,000 is provided for procurement of Polar Security Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to ensure timely presence of the Coast Guard in the Arctic and Antarctic regions;

“(7) \$3,500,000,000 is provided for procurement of Arctic Security Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to ensure timely presence of the Coast Guard in the Arctic and Antarctic regions;

“(8) \$816,000,000 is provided for procurement of light and medium icebreaking cutters, and equipment relating to such cutters, from shipyards that have demonstrated success in the cost-effective application of design standards and in delivering, on schedule and within budget, vessels of a size and tonnage that are not less than the size and tonnage of the cutters described in this paragraph, and for program management for such cutters, to expand domestic icebreaking capacity;

“(9) \$162,000,000 is provided for procurement of Waterways Commerce Cutters, equipment

related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to support aids to navigation, waterways and coastal security, and search and rescue in inland waterways;

“(10) \$4,379,000,000 is provided for design, planning, engineering, recapitalization, construction, rebuilding, and improvement of, and program management for, shore facilities, of which—

“(A) \$425,000,000 is provided for design, planning, engineering, construction of, and program management for—

“(i) the enlisted boot camp barracks and multi-use training center; and

“(ii) other related facilities at the enlisted boot camp;

“(B) \$500,000,000 is provided for—

“(i) construction, improvement, and dredging at the Coast Guard Yard; and

“(ii) acquisition of a floating drydock for the Coast Guard Yard;

“(C) not more than \$2,729,500,000 is provided for homeports and hangars for cutters and aircraft for which funds are appropriated under paragraph (1) through (9); and

“(D) \$300,000,000 is provided for homeporting of the existing polar icebreaker commissioned into service in 2025;

“(11) \$2,200,000,000 is provided for aviation, cutter, and shore facility depot maintenance and maintenance of command, control, communication, computer, and cyber assets;

“(12) \$170,000,000 is provided for improving maritime domain awareness on the maritime border, at United States ports, at land-based facilities and in the cyber domain; and

“(13) \$75,000,000 is provided to contract the services of, acquire, or procure autonomous maritime systems.”

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The analysis for chapter 11 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SUBCHAPTER V—COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS

“1181. Special appropriations.”

SEC. 4002. SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The term “Assistant Secretary” means the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

(2) COMMISSION.—The term “Commission” means the Federal Communications Commission.

(3) COVERED BAND.—The term “covered band”—

(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), means the band of frequencies between 1.3 gigahertz and 10.5 gigahertz; and

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal; or

(ii) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal.

(4) FULL-POWER COMMERCIAL LICENSED USE CASES.—The term “full-power commercial licensed use cases” means flexible use wireless broadband services with base station power levels sufficient for high-power, high-density, and wide-area commercial mobile services, consistent with the service rules under part 27 of title 47, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulations, for wireless broadband deployments throughout the covered band.

(b) GENERAL AUCTION AUTHORITY.—

(1) AMENDMENT.—Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and inserting the following: “complete a system

of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034, except that, with respect to the electromagnetic spectrum—

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply.”

(2) SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses through systems of competitive bidding, before the expiration of the general auction authority of the Commission under section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection, for not less than 300 megahertz, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz.

(c) IDENTIFICATION FOR REALLOCATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Assistant Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall identify 500 megahertz of frequencies in the covered band for reallocation to non-Federal use, shared Federal and non-Federal use, or a combination thereof, for full-power commercial licensed use cases, that—

(A) as of the date of enactment of this Act, are allocated for Federal use; and

(B) shall be in addition to the 300 megahertz of frequencies for which the Commission grants licenses under subsection (b)(2).

(2) SCHEDULE.—The Assistant Secretary shall identify the frequencies under paragraph (1) according to the following schedule:

(A) Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify not less than 200 megahertz of frequencies within the covered band.

(B) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify any remaining bandwidth required to be identified under paragraph (1).

(3) REQUIRED ANALYSIS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In determining under paragraph (1) which specific frequencies within the covered band to reallocate, the Assistant Secretary shall determine the feasibility of the reallocation of frequencies.

(B) REQUIREMENTS.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall assess net revenue potential, relocation or sharing costs, as applicable, and the feasibility of reallocating specific frequencies, with the goal of identifying the best approach to maximize net proceeds of systems of competitive bidding for the Treasury, consistent with section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)).

(d) AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses for the frequencies identified for reallocation under subsection (c) through systems of competitive bidding in accordance with the following schedule:

(1) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for not less than 200 megahertz of the frequencies.

(2) Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for any frequencies identified under subsection (c) that remain to be auctioned after compliance with paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(e) LIMITATION.—The President shall modify or withdraw any frequency proposed for reallocation under this section not later

than 60 days before the commencement of a system of competitive bidding scheduled by the Commission with respect to that frequency, if the President determines that such modification or withdrawal is necessary to protect the national security of the United States.

(f) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of Commerce for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$50,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, to provide additional support to the Assistant Secretary to—

(1) conduct a timely spectrum analysis of the bands of frequencies—

(A) between 2.7 gigahertz and 2.9 gigahertz;

(B) between 4.4 gigahertz and 4.9 gigahertz; and

(C) between 7.25 gigahertz and 7.4 gigahertz; and

(2) publish a biennial report, with the last report to be published not later than June 30, 2034, on the value of all spectrum used by Federal entities (as defined in section 113(l) of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration Organization Act (47 U.S.C. 923(1))), that assesses the value of bands of frequencies in increments of not more than 100 megahertz.

SEC. 4003. AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL IMPROVEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For the purpose of the acquisition, construction, sustainment, and improvement of facilities and equipment necessary to improve or maintain aviation safety, in addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$4,750,000,000 for telecommunications infrastructure modernization and systems upgrades;

(2) \$3,000,000,000 for radar systems replacement;

(3) \$500,000,000 for runway safety technologies, runway lighting systems, airport surface surveillance technologies, and to carry out section 347 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(4) \$300,000,000 for Enterprise Information Display Systems;

(5) \$80,000,000 to acquire and install not less than 50 Automated Weather Observing Systems, to acquire and install not less than 60 Visual Weather Observing Systems, to acquire and install not less than 64 weather camera sites, and to acquire and install weather stations;

(6) \$40,000,000 to carry out section 44745 of title 49, United States Code, (except for activities described in paragraph (5));

(7) \$1,900,000,000 for necessary actions to construct a new air route traffic control center (in this subsection referred to as “ARTCC”): *Provided*, That not more than 2 percent of such amount is used for planning or administrative purposes: *Provided further*, That at least 3 existing ARTCCs are divested and integrated into the newly constructed ARTCC;

(8) \$100,000,000 to conduct an ARTCC Realignment and Consolidation Effort under which at least 10 existing ARTCCs are closed or consolidated to facilitate recapitalization of ARTCC facilities owned and operated by the Federal Aviation Administration;

(9) \$1,000,000,000 to support recapitalization and consolidation of terminal radar approach control facilities (in this subsection referred to as “TRACONS”), the analysis and identification of TRACONS for divestment, consolidation, or integration, planning, site selection, facility acquisition, and transition

activities and other appropriate activities for carrying out such divestment, consolidation, or integration, and the establishment of brand new TRACONS;

(10) \$350,000,000 for unstaffed infrastructure sustainment and replacement;

(11) \$50,000,000 to carry out section 961 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(12) \$300,000,000 to carry out section 619 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(13) \$50,000,000 to carry out section 621 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024 and to deploy remote tower technology at untowered airports; and

(14) \$100,000,000 for air traffic controller advanced training technologies.

(b) QUARTERLY REPORTING.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 90 days thereafter, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration shall submit to Congress a report that describes any expenditures under this section.

SEC. 40004. SPACE LAUNCH AND REENTRY LICENSING AND PERMITTING USER FEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 509 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“§ 50924. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees

“(a) FEES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Transportation shall impose a fee, which shall be deposited in the account established under subsection (b), on each launch or reentry carried out under a license or permit issued under section 50904 during 2026 or a subsequent year, in an amount equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the amount specified in paragraph (2) for the year involved per pound of the weight of the payload; or

“(B) the amount specified in paragraph (3) for the year involved.

“(2) PARAGRAPH (2) SPECIFIED AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is—

- “(A) for 2026, \$0.25;
- “(B) for 2027, \$0.35;
- “(C) for 2028, \$0.50;
- “(D) for 2029, \$0.60;
- “(E) for 2030, \$0.75;
- “(F) for 2031, \$1;
- “(G) for 2032, \$1.25;
- “(H) for 2033, \$1.50; and

“(I) for 2034 and each subsequent year, the amount specified in this paragraph for the previous year increased by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (all items; United States city average) over the previous year.

“(3) PARAGRAPH (3) SPECIFIED AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is—

- “(A) for 2026, \$30,000;
- “(B) for 2027, \$40,000;
- “(C) for 2028, \$50,000;
- “(D) for 2029, \$75,000;
- “(E) for 2030, \$100,000;
- “(F) for 2031, \$125,000;
- “(G) for 2032, \$170,000;
- “(H) for 2033, \$200,000; and

“(I) for 2034 and each subsequent year, the amount specified in this paragraph for the previous year increased by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (all items; United States city average) over the previous year.

(b) OFFICE OF COMMERCIAL SPACE TRANSPORTATION LAUNCH AND REENTRY LICENSING AND PERMITTING FUND.—There is established in the Treasury of the United States a separate account, which shall be known as the ‘Office of Commercial Space Transportation Launch and Reentry Licensing and Permitting Fund’, for the purposes of expenses of the Office of Commercial Space Transportation of the Federal Aviation Administra-

tion and to carry out section 630(b) of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024. 70 percent of the amounts deposited into the fund shall be available for such purposes and shall be available without further appropriation and without fiscal year limitation.”.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 509 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 50923 the following:

“50924. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees.”.

SEC. 40005. MARS MISSIONS, ARTEMIS MISSIONS, AND MOON TO MARS PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“§ 20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$9,995,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2032, to use as follows:

“(1) \$700,000,000, to be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026, for the procurement, using a competitively bid, firm fixed-price contract with a United States commercial provider (as defined in section 50101(7)), of a high-performance Mars telecommunications orbiter—

“(A) that—

“(i) is capable of providing robust, continuous communications for—

“(I) a Mars sample return mission, as described in section 432(3)(C) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 115-10); and

“(II) future Mars surface, orbital, and human exploration missions;

“(ii) supports autonomous operations, on-board processing, and extended mission duration capabilities; and

“(iii) is selected from among the commercial proposals that—

“(I) received funding from the Administration in fiscal year 2024 or 2025 for commercial design studies for Mars Sample Return; and

“(II) proposed a separate, independently launched Mars telecommunication orbiter supporting an end-to-end Mars sample return mission; and

“(B) which shall be delivered to the Administration not later than December 31, 2028.

“(2) \$2,600,000,000 to meet the requirements of section 20302(a) using the program of record known, as of the date of the enactment of this section, as ‘Gateway’, and as described in section 10811(b)(2)(B)(iv) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 117-167), of which not less than \$750,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, and 2028.

“(3) \$4,100,000,000 for expenses related to meeting the requirements of section 10812 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20301; Public Law 117-167) for the procurement, transportation, integration, operation, and other necessary expenses of the Space Launch System for Artemis Missions IV and V, of which not less than \$1,025,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(4) \$20,000,000 for expenses related to the continued procurement of the multi-purpose crew vehicle described in section 303 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18323), known as the ‘Orion’, for use with the Space Launch System on the Artemis IV

Mission and reuse in subsequent Artemis Missions, of which not less than \$20,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026.

“(5) \$1,250,000,000 for expenses related to the operation of the International Space Station and for the purpose of meeting the requirement under section 503(a) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18353(a)), of which not less than \$250,000,000 shall be obligated for such expenses for each of fiscal years 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(6) \$1,000,000,000 for infrastructure improvements at the manned spaceflight centers of the Administration, of which not less than—

“(A) \$120,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 12641 (53 Fed. Reg. 18816; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the State of Mississippi as the John C. Stennis Space Center);

“(B) \$250,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 11129 (28 Fed. Reg. 12787; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and of the Department of Defense, in the State of Florida, as the John F. Kennedy Space Center);

“(C) \$300,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in the Joint Resolution entitled ‘Joint Resolution to designate the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas, as the ‘Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center’ in honor of the late President’, approved February 17, 1973 (Public Law 93-8; 87 Stat. 7);

“(D) \$100,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 10870 (25 Fed. Reg. 2197; relating to designating the facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration at Huntsville, Alabama, as the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center);

“(E) \$30,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the Michoud Assembly Facility in New Orleans, Louisiana; and

“(F) \$85,000,000 shall be obligated to carry out subsection (b), of which not less than \$5,000,000 shall be obligated for the transportation of the space vehicle described in that subsection, with the remainder transferred not later than the date that is 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section to the entity designated under that subsection, for the purpose of construction of a facility to house the space vehicle referred to in that subsection.

“(7) \$325,000,000 to fulfill contract number 80JSC024CA002 issued by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on June 26, 2024.

“(b) SPACE VEHICLE TRANSFER.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this section, the Administrator shall identify a space vehicle described in paragraph (2) to be—

“(A) transferred to a field center of the Administration that is involved in the administration of the Commercial Crew Program (as

described in section 302 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 50111 note; Public Law 115-10)); and

“(B) placed on public exhibition at an entity within the Metropolitan Statistical Area where such center is located.

“(2) SPACE VEHICLE DESCRIBED.—A space vehicle described in this paragraph is a vessel that—

“(A) has flown into space;

“(B) has carried astronauts; and

“(C) is selected with the concurrence of an entity designated by the Administrator.

“(3) TRANSFER.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section, the space vehicle identified under paragraph (1) shall be transferred to an entity designated by the Administrator.

“(B) TITLE.—Not later than 1 year after the date on which a space vehicle is identified under paragraph (1), the Federal Government shall, as applicable, transfer the title to the space vehicle to the entity designated by the Administrator.

“(C) RESPONSIBILITY.—The transfer under this paragraph shall be carried out under the Administrator or acting Administrator.

“(c) OBLIGATION OF FUNDS.—Funds appropriated under subsection (a) shall be obligated as follows:

“(1) Not less than 50 percent of the total funds in subsection (a) shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2028.

“(2) 100 percent of funds shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2029.

“(3) All associated outlays shall occur not later than September 30, 2034.”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program.”

SEC. 40006. CORPORATE AVERAGE FUEL ECONOMY CIVIL PENALTIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 32912 of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “\$5” and inserting “\$0.00”; and

(2) in subsection (c)(1)(B), by striking “\$10” and inserting “\$0.00”.

(b) EFFECT; APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall—

(1) take effect on the date of enactment of this section; and

(2) apply to all model years of a manufacturer for which the Secretary of Transportation has not provided a notification pursuant to section 32903(b)(2)(B) of title 49, United States Code, specifying the penalty due for the average fuel economy of that manufacturer being less than the applicable standard prescribed under section 32902 of that title.

SEC. 40007. PAYMENTS FOR LEASE OF METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON AIRPORTS.

Section 49104(b) of title 49, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“(b) PAYMENTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), under the lease, the Airports Authority must pay to the general fund of the Treasury annually an amount, computed using the GNP Price Deflator—

“(A) during the period from 1987 to 2026, equal to \$3,000,000 in 1987 dollars; and

“(B) for 2027 and subsequent years, equal to \$15,000,000 in 2027 dollars.

“(2) RENEGOTIATION.—The Secretary and the Airports Authority shall renegotiate the level of lease payments at least once every 10 years to ensure that in no year the amount specified in paragraph (1)(B) is less than \$15,000,000 in 2027 dollars.”

SEC. 40008. RESCISSION OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS FOR THE NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION.

Any unobligated balances of amounts appropriated or otherwise made available by sections 40001, 40002, 40003, and 40004 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2028) are hereby rescinded.

SEC. 40009. REDUCTION IN ANNUAL TRANSFERS TO TRAVEL PROMOTION FUND.

Subsection (d)(2)(B) of the Travel Promotion Act of 2009 (22 U.S.C. 2131(d)(2)(B)) is amended by striking “\$100,000,000” and inserting “\$20,000,000”.

SEC. 40010. TREATMENT OF UNOBLIGATED FUNDS FOR ALTERNATIVE FUEL AND LOW-EMISSION AVIATION TECHNOLOGY.

Out of the amounts made available by section 40007(a) of title IV of Public Law 117-169 (49 U.S.C. 44504 note), any unobligated balances of such amounts are hereby rescinded.

SEC. 40011. RESCISSION OF AMOUNTS APPROPRIATED TO PUBLIC WIRELESS SUPPLY CHAIN INNOVATION FUND.

Of the unobligated balances of amounts made available under section 106(a) of the CHIPS Act of 2022 (Public Law 117-167; 136 Stat. 1392), \$850,000,000 are permanently rescinded.

SEC. 40012. SUPPORT FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE UNDER THE BROADBAND EQUITY, ACCESS, AND DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 60102 of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) through (N) as subparagraphs (F) through (R), respectively;

(B) by redesignating subparagraph (A) as subparagraph (D);

(C) by inserting before subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(A) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term ‘artificial intelligence’ has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

“(B) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODEL.—The term ‘artificial intelligence model’ means a software component of an information system that implements artificial intelligence technology and uses computational, statistical, or machine-learning techniques to produce outputs from a defined set of inputs.

“(C) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM.—The term ‘artificial intelligence system’ means any data system, software, hardware, application, tool, or utility that operates, in whole or in part, using artificial intelligence.”

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(E) AUTOMATED DECISION SYSTEM.—The term ‘automated decision system’ means any computational process derived from machine learning, statistical modeling, data analytics, or artificial intelligence that issues a simplified output, including a score, classification, or recommendation, to materially influence or replace human decision making.”; and

(E) by striking subparagraph (O), as so redesignated, and inserting the following:

“(O) PROJECT.—The term ‘project’ means an undertaking by a subgrantee under this section to construct and deploy infrastructure for the provision of—

“(i) broadband service; or

“(ii) artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems.”;

(2) in subsection (b), by adding at the end the following:

“(5) APPROPRIATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated to the Pro-

gram, there is appropriated to the Assistant Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$500,000,000, to remain available until expended, to carry out the Program.

“(B) SET-ASIDE FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE INFRASTRUCTURE MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—Of the amount appropriated under subparagraph (A), \$25,000,000 shall be used by the Assistant Secretary for the purpose of negotiating master services agreements on behalf of subgrantees of an eligible entity or political subdivision to enable access to quantity purchasing and licensing discounts for the construction, acquisition, and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems funded under this section.”;

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) the construction and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; and”;

(4) in subsection (g)(3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) may, in addition to other authority under applicable law, deobligate grant funds awarded to an eligible entity that—

“(i) violates paragraph (2);

“(ii) demonstrates an insufficient level of performance, or wasteful or fraudulent spending, as defined in advance by the Assistant Secretary; or

“(iii) if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is not in compliance with subsection (q) or (r); and”;

(5) in subsection (j)(1)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(C) in subparagraph (C)—

(i) by redesignating clauses (iv) and (v) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively; and

(ii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r);”;

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(p) RECEIPT OF FUNDS CONDITIONED ON TEMPORARY PAUSE AND EFFICIENCIES.—On and after the date of enactment of this subsection, no funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) may be obligated to an eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof that is not in compliance with subsections (q) and (r).

“(q) TEMPORARY PAUSE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), no eligible entity or political subdivision thereof to which funds made

available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection may enforce, during the 10-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this subsection, any law or regulation of that eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof limiting, restricting, or otherwise regulating artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems entered into interstate commerce.

“(2) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Paragraph (1) may not be construed to prohibit the enforcement of any law or regulation—

“(A) the primary purpose and effect of which is to—

“(i) remove legal impediments to, or facilitate the deployment or operation of, an artificial intelligence model, artificial intelligence system, or automated decision system; or

“(ii) streamline licensing, permitting, routing, zoning, procurement, or reporting procedures in a manner that facilitates the adoption of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; or

“(B) that does not impose any substantive design, performance, data-handling, documentation, civil liability, taxation, fee, or other requirement on artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems unless that requirement is imposed under—

“(i) Federal law; or

“(ii) a generally applicable law, such as a body of common law; and

“(C) that does not impose a fee or bond unless—

“(i) the fee or bond is reasonable and cost-based; and

“(ii) under the fee or bond, artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, and automated decision systems are treated in the same manner as other models and systems that perform comparable functions.

“(r) **MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.**—An eligible entity, or political subdivision thereof, to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection shall certify to the Assistant Secretary either that—

“(1) each subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision is utilizing applicable master services agreements negotiated using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B); or

“(2) each contract, license, purchase order, or services agreement entered into, procured, or made by a subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision for purposes described in subsection (b)(5)(B) is at least as cost-effective as the terms of executable master services agreements, as applicable, negotiated by the Assistant Secretary using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B).”

(b) **TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.**—Section 60102(a)(1) of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(i)”; and

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(i)”.

TITLE V—COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Subtitle A—Oil and Gas Leasing

SEC. 50101. ONSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) **REPEAL OF INFLATION REDUCTION ACT PROVISIONS.**—

(1) **ONSHORE OIL AND GAS ROYALTY RATES.**—Subsection (a) of section 50262 of Public Law

117-169 (136 Stat. 2056) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that subsection is restored or revived as if that subsection had not been enacted into law.

(2) **NONCOMPETITIVE LEASING.**—Subsection (e) of section 50262 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2057) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that subsection is restored or revived as if that subsection had not been enacted into law.

(b) **REQUIREMENT TO IMMEDIATELY RESUME ONSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASE SALES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of the Interior shall immediately resume quarterly onshore oil and gas lease sales in compliance with the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.).

(2) **REQUIREMENT.**—The Secretary of the Interior shall ensure—

(A) that any oil and gas lease sale required under paragraph (1) is conducted immediately on completion of all applicable scoping, public comment, and environmental analysis requirements under the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.) and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.); and

(B) that the processes described in subparagraph (A) are conducted in a timely manner to ensure compliance with subsection (b)(1).

(3) **LEASE OF OIL AND GAS LANDS.**—Section 17(b)(1)(A) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226(b)(1)(A)), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by inserting “For purposes of the previous sentence, the term ‘eligible lands’ means all lands that are subject to leasing under this Act and are not excluded from leasing by a statutory prohibition, and the term ‘available’, with respect to eligible lands, means those lands that have been designated as open for leasing under a land use plan developed under section 202 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712) and that have been nominated for leasing through the submission of an expression of interest, are subject to drainage in the absence of leasing, or are otherwise designated as available pursuant to regulations adopted by the Secretary.” after “sales are necessary.”

(c) **QUARTERLY LEASE SALES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In accordance with the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.), each fiscal year, the Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 4 oil and gas lease sales of available land in each of the following States:

- (A) Wyoming.
- (B) New Mexico.
- (C) Colorado.
- (D) Utah.
- (E) Montana.
- (F) North Dakota.
- (G) Oklahoma.
- (H) Nevada.
- (I) Alaska.

(2) **REQUIREMENT.**—In conducting a lease sale under paragraph (1) in a State described in that paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) shall offer not less than 50 percent of available parcels nominated for oil and gas development under the applicable resource management plan in effect for relevant Bureau of Land Management resource management areas within the applicable State; and

(B) shall not restrict the parcels offered to 1 Bureau of Land Management field office within the applicable State unless all nominated parcels are located within the same Bureau of Land Management field office.

(3) **REPLACEMENT SALES.**—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a replacement sale during the same fiscal year if—

(A) a lease sale under paragraph (1) is canceled, delayed, or deferred, including for a lack of eligible parcels; or

(B) during a lease sale under paragraph (1) the percentage of acreage that does not receive a bid is equal to or greater than 25 percent of the acreage offered.

(d) **MINERAL LEASING ACT REFORMS.**—Section 17 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) by striking the section designation and all that follows through the end of subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“SEC. 17. LEASING OF OIL AND GAS PARCELS.

“(a) **LEASING AUTHORIZED.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Any parcel of land subject to disposition under this Act that is known or believed to contain oil or gas deposits shall be made available for leasing, subject to paragraph (2), by the Secretary of the Interior, not later than 18 months after the date of receipt by the Secretary of an expression of interest in leasing the applicable parcel of land available for disposition under this section, if the Secretary determines that the parcel of land is open to oil or gas leasing under the approved resource management plan applicable to the planning area in which the parcel of land is located that is in effect on the date on which the expression of interest was submitted to the Secretary (referred to in this subsection as the ‘approved resource management plan’).

“(2) **RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLANS.**—

“(A) **LEASE TERMS AND CONDITIONS.**—A lease issued by the Secretary under this section with respect to an applicable parcel of land made available for leasing under paragraph (1)—

“(i) shall be subject to the terms and conditions of the approved resource management plan; and

“(ii) may not require any stipulations or mitigation requirements not included in the approved resource management plan.

“(B) **EFFECT OF AMENDMENT.**—The initiation of an amendment to an approved resource management plan shall not prevent or delay the Secretary from making the applicable parcel of land available for leasing in accordance with that approved resource management plan if the other requirements of this section have been met, as determined by the Secretary.”;

(2) in subsection (p), by adding at the end the following:

“(4) **TERM.**—A permit to drill approved under this subsection shall be valid for a single, non-renewable 4-year period beginning on the date that the permit to drill is approved.”; and

(3) by striking subsection (q) and inserting the following:

“(q) **COMMINGLING OF PRODUCTION.**—The Secretary of the Interior shall approve applications allowing for the commingling of production from 2 or more sources (including the area of an oil and gas lease, the area included in a drilling spacing unit, a unit participating area, a communitized area, or non-Federal property) before production reaches the point of royalty measurement regardless of ownership, the royalty rates, and the number or percentage of acres for each source if the applicant agrees to install measurement devices for each source, utilize an allocation method that achieves volume measurement uncertainty levels within plus or minus 2 percent during the production phase reported on a monthly basis, or utilize an approved periodic well testing methodology. Production from multiple oil and gas leases, drilling spacing units, communitized areas, or participating areas from a single wellbore shall be considered a single source. Nothing in this subsection shall prevent the Secretary of the Interior from continuing the current practice of exercising discretion to authorize higher percentage volume measurement uncertainty levels if appropriate

technical and economic justifications have been provided.”.

SEC. 50102. OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) LEASE SALES.—

(1) GULF OF AMERICA REGION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding the 2024–2029 National Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Program (and any successor leasing program that does not satisfy the requirements of this section), in addition to lease sales which may be held under that program, and except within areas subject to existing oil and gas leasing moratoria, the Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 30 region-wide oil and gas lease sales, in a manner consistent with the schedule described in subparagraph (B), in the region identified in the map depicting lease terms and economic conditions accompanying the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Gulf of Mexico Outer Continental Shelf Region-Wide Oil and Gas Lease Sale 254” (85 Fed. Reg. 8010 (February 12, 2020)).

(B) TIMING REQUIREMENT.—Of the not fewer than 30 region-wide lease sales required under this paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in the region described in subparagraph (A) by December 15, 2025;

(ii) hold not fewer than 2 lease sales in that region in each of calendar years 2026 through 2039, 1 of which shall be held by March 15 of the applicable calendar year and 1 of which shall be held after March 15 but not later than August 15 of the applicable calendar year; and

(iii) hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in that region in calendar year 2040, which shall be held by March 15, 2040.

(2) ALASKA REGION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 6 offshore lease sales, in a manner consistent with the schedule described in subparagraph (B), in the Cook Inlet Planning Area as identified in the 2017–2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program published on November 18, 2016, by the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (as announced in the notice of availability of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Notice of Availability of the 2017–2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program” (81 Fed. Reg. 84612 (November 23, 2016))).

(B) TIMING REQUIREMENT.—Of the not fewer than 6 lease sales required under this paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior shall hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in the area described in subparagraph (A) in each of calendar years 2026 through 2028, and in each of calendar years 2030 through 2032, by March 15 of the applicable calendar year.

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR GULF OF AMERICA SALES.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (a)(1), the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) shall, subject to subparagraph (C), offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and lease stipulations 4 through 9 as contained in the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Gulf of Mexico Outer Continental Shelf Region-Wide Oil and Gas Lease Sale 254” (85 Fed. Reg. 8010 (February 12, 2020));

(B) may update lease stipulations 1 through 3 and 10 described in that final notice of sale to reflect current conditions for lease sales conducted under subsection (a)(1);

(C) shall set the royalty rate at not less than 12½ percent but not greater than 16¾ percent; and

(D) shall, for a lease in water depths of 800 meters or deeper issued as a result of a sale, set the primary term for 10 years.

(2) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR ALASKA REGION SALES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of the Interior shall offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and stipulations as contained in the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Cook Inlet Planning Area Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Lease Sale 244” (82 Fed. Reg. 23291 (May 22, 2017)).

(B) REVENUE SHARING.—Notwithstanding section 8(g) and section 9 of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1337(g), 1338), and beginning in fiscal year 2034, of the bonuses, rents, royalties, and other revenues derived from lease sales conducted under subsection (a)(2)—

(i) 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(ii) 30 percent shall be deposited in the Treasury and credited to miscellaneous receipts.

(3) AREA OFFERED FOR LEASE.—

(A) GULF OF AMERICA REGION.—For each offshore lease sale conducted under subsection (a)(1), the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) offer not fewer than 80,000,000 acres; or

(ii) if there are fewer than 80,000,000 acres that are unleased and available, offer all unleased and available acres.

(B) ALASKA REGION.—For each offshore lease sale conducted under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) offer not fewer than 1,000,000 acres; or

(ii) if there are fewer than 1,000,000 acres that are unleased and available, offer all unleased and available acres.

(c) OFFSHORE COMMINGLING.—The Secretary of the Interior shall approve a request of an operator to commingle oil or gas production from multiple reservoirs within a single wellbore completed on the outer Continental Shelf in the Gulf of America Region unless the Secretary of the Interior determines that conclusive evidence establishes that the commingling—

(1) could not be conducted by the operator in a safe manner; or

(2) would result in an ultimate recovery from the applicable reservoirs to be reduced in comparison to the expected recovery of those reservoirs if they had not been commingled.

(d) OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS ROYALTY RATE.—

(1) REPEAL.—Section 50261 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2056) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that section is restored or revived as if that section had not been enacted into law.

(2) ROYALTY RATE.—Section 8(a)(1) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1337(a)(1)) (as amended by paragraph (1)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16¾ percent,”;

(B) in subparagraph (C), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16¾ percent,”;

(C) in subparagraph (F), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16¾ percent,”; and

(D) in subparagraph (H), by striking “not less than 12 and ½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16¾ percent,”.

(e) LIMITATIONS ON AMOUNT OF DISTRIBUTED QUALIFIED OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF REVENUES.—Section 105(f)(1) of the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act of 2006 (43 U.S.C. 1331 note; Public Law 109–432) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking “2055.” and inserting “2024,”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(D) \$650,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2034; and

“(E) \$500,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2035 through 2055.”.

SEC. 50103. ROYALTIES ON EXTRACTED METHANE.

Section 50263 of Public Law 117–169 (30 U.S.C. 1727) is repealed.

SEC. 50104. ALASKA OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COASTAL PLAIN.—The term “Coastal Plain” has the meaning given the term in section 20001(a) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note).

(2) OIL AND GAS PROGRAM.—The term “oil and gas program” means the oil and gas program established under section 20001(b)(2) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note).

(3) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Bureau of Land Management.

(b) LEASE SALES REQUIRED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (3), in addition to the lease sales required under section 20001(c)(1)(A) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note), the Secretary shall conduct not fewer than 4 lease sales area-wide under the oil and gas program by not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—In conducting lease sales under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer the same terms and conditions as contained in the record of decision described in the notice of availability of the Bureau of Land Management entitled “Notice of Availability of the Record of Decision for the Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Coastal Plain Oil and Gas Leasing Program, Alaska” (85 Fed. Reg. 51754 (August 21, 2020)).

(3) SALE ACREAGES; SCHEDULE.—

(A) ACREAGES.—In conducting the lease sales required under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer for lease under the oil and gas program—

(i) not fewer than 400,000 acres area-wide in each lease sale; and

(ii) those areas that have the highest potential for the discovery of hydrocarbons.

(B) SCHEDULE.—The Secretary shall offer—

(i) the initial lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act;

(ii) a second lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act;

(iii) a third lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(iv) a fourth lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 7 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(4) RIGHTS-OF-WAY.—Section 20001(c)(2) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) shall apply to leases awarded under this subsection.

(5) SURFACE DEVELOPMENT.—Section 20001(c)(3) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) shall apply to leases awarded under this subsection.

(c) RECEIPTS.—Notwithstanding section 35 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 191) and section 20001(b)(5) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note), of the amount of adjusted bonus, rental, and royalty receipts derived from the oil and gas program and operations on the Coastal Plain pursuant to this section—

(1)(A) for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2033, 50 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(B) for fiscal year 2034 and each fiscal year thereafter, 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(2) the balance shall be deposited into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 50105. NATIONAL PETROLEUM RESERVE-ALASKA.

(a) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

(1) **NPR—A FINAL ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT.**—The term “NPR—A final environmental impact statement” means the final environmental impact statement published by the Bureau of Land Management entitled “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Integrated Activity Plan Final Environmental Impact Statement” and dated June 2020, including the errata sheet dated October 6, 2020, and excluding the errata sheet dated September 20, 2022.

(2) **NPR—A RECORD OF DECISION.**—The term “NPR—A record of decision” means the record of decision published by the Bureau of Land Management entitled “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Integrated Activity Plan Record of Decision” and dated December 2020.

(3) **PROGRAM.**—The term “Program” means the competitive oil and gas leasing, exploration, development, and production program established under section 107 of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (42 U.S.C. 6506a).

(4) **SECRETARY.**—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) **RESTORATION OF NPR—A OIL AND GAS LEASING PROGRAM.**—Effective beginning on the date of enactment of this Act—

(1) the Secretary shall expeditiously restore and resume oil and gas lease sales under the Program for domestic energy production and Federal revenue, subject to the requirements of this section; and

(2) the final rule of the Bureau of Land Management entitled “Management and Protection of the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska” (89 Fed. Reg. 38712 (May 7, 2024)) shall have no force or effect until January 1, 2035.

(c) **RESUMPTION OF NPR—A LEASE SALES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Subject to paragraph (2), the Secretary shall conduct not fewer than 5 lease sales under the Program by not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) **SALES ACREAGES; SCHEDULE.**—

(A) **ACREAGES.**—In conducting the lease sales required under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer not fewer than 4,000,000 acres in each lease sale.

(B) **SCHEDULE.**—The Secretary shall offer—

(i) an initial lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(ii) an additional lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than every 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) **TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR NPR—A LEASE SALES.**—In conducting lease sales under subsection (c), the Secretary shall offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and stipulations as described in the NPR—A final environmental impact statement and the NPR—A record of decision.

(e) **RECEIPTS.**—Section 107(1) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (42 U.S.C. 6506a(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “All receipts from” and inserting the following:

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), all receipts from”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) **PERCENT SHARE FOR FISCAL YEAR 2034 AND THEREAFTER.**—Beginning in fiscal year 2034, of the receipts from sales, rentals, bonuses, and royalties on leases issued pursuant to this section after the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide

for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress)—

“(A) 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

“(B) 30 percent shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States.”.

Subtitle B—Mining

SEC. 50201. COAL LEASING.

(a) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

(1) **COAL LEASE.**—The term “coal lease” means a lease entered into by the United States as lessor, through the Bureau of Land Management, and an applicant on Bureau of Land Management Form 3400-012 (or a successor form that contains the terms of a coal lease).

(2) **QUALIFIED APPLICATION.**—The term “qualified application” means an application for a coal lease pending as of the date of enactment of this Act or submitted within 90 days thereafter under the lease by application program administered by the Bureau of Land Management pursuant to the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.) for which any required environmental review has commenced or the Director of the Bureau of Land Management determines can commence within 90 days after receiving the application.

(b) **COAL LEASING ACTIVITIES.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior—

(1) shall—

(A) with respect to each qualified application—

(i) if not previously published for public comment, publish any required environmental review;

(ii) establish the fair market value of the applicable coal tract;

(iii) hold a lease sale with respect to the applicable coal tract; and

(iv) identify the highest bidder at or above the fair market value and take all other intermediate actions necessary to identify the winning bidder and grant the qualified application; and

(2) may—

(A) with respect to a previously issued coal lease, grant any additional approvals of the Department of the Interior required for mining activities to commence; and

(B) after completing the actions required by clauses (i) through (iv) of paragraph (1)(A), grant the qualified application and issue the applicable lease to the person that submitted the qualified application if that person submitted the winning bid in the lease sale held under clause (iii) of paragraph (1)(A).

SEC. 50202. COAL ROYALTY.

(a) **RATE.**—Section 7(a) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 207(a)) is amended, in the fourth sentence, by striking “12½ percent” and inserting “12½ percent, except such amount shall be not more than 7 percent during the period that begins on the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and ends September 30, 2034.”.

(b) **APPLICABILITY TO EXISTING LEASES.**—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to a coal lease—

(1) issued under section 2 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201) before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(2) that has not been terminated.

(c) **ADVANCE ROYALTIES.**—With respect to a lease issued under section 2 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201) for which the lessee has paid advance royalties under section 7(b) of that Act (30 U.S.C. 207(b)), the Secretary of the Interior shall provide to the lessee a credit for the difference between the amount paid by the lessee in advance royal-

ties for the lease before the date of the enactment of this Act and the amount the lessee would have been required to pay if the amendment made by subsection (a) had been made before the lessee paid advance royalties for the lease.

SEC. 50203. LEASES FOR KNOWN RECOVERABLE COAL RESOURCES.

Notwithstanding section 2(a)(3)(A) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201(a)(3)(A)) and section 202(a) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712(a)), not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall make available for lease known recoverable coal resources of not less than 4,000,000 additional acres on Federal land located in the 48 contiguous States and Alaska subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary, but which shall not include any Federal land within—

(1) a National Monument;

(2) a National Recreation Area;

(3) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

(4) a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

(5) a component of the National Trails System;

(6) a National Conservation Area;

(7) a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

(8) a unit of the National Fish Hatchery System; or

(9) a unit of the National Park System.

SEC. 50204. AUTHORIZATION TO MINE FEDERAL COAL.

(a) **AUTHORIZATION.**—In order to provide access to coal reserves in adjacent State or private land that without an authorization could not be mined economically, Federal coal reserves located in Federal land subject to a mining plan previously approved by the Secretary of the Interior as of the date of enactment of this Act and adjacent to coal reserves in adjacent State or private land are authorized to be mined.

(b) **REQUIREMENT.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall, without substantial modification, take such steps as are necessary to authorize the mining of Federal land described in subsection (a).

(c) **NEPA.**—Nothing in this section shall prevent a review under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.).

Subtitle C—Lands

SEC. 50301.

SEC. 50302. TIMBER SALES AND LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE FOREST SERVICE AND THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.

(a) **FOREST SERVICE.**—

(1) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this subsection:

(A) **FOREST PLAN.**—The term “forest plan” means a land and resource management plan prepared by the Secretary for a unit of the National Forest System pursuant to section 6 of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1604).

(B) **NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.**—

(i) **IN GENERAL.**—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary.

(ii) **EXCLUSIONS.**—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(C) **SECRETARY.**—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Agriculture, acting through the Chief of the Forest Service.

(2) **TIMBER SALES ON PUBLIC DOMAIN FOREST RESERVES.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2034, the Secretary shall sell

timber annually on National Forest System land in a total quantity that is not less than 250,000,000 board-feet greater than the quantity of board-feet sold in the previous fiscal year.

(B) LIMITATION.—The timber sales under subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the maximum allowable sale quantity of timber or the projected timber sale quantity under the applicable forest plan in effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE FOREST SERVICE.—

(A) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING.—For the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the Secretary shall enter into not fewer than 40 long-term timber sale contracts with private persons or other public or private entities under subsection (a) of section 14 of the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (16 U.S.C. 472a) for the sale of national forest materials (as defined in subsection (e)(1) of that section) in the National Forest System.

(B) CONTRACT LENGTH.—The period of a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirement under subparagraph (A) shall be not less than 20 years, with options for extensions or renewals, as determined by the Secretary.

(C) RECEIPTS.—Any monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(b) BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

(A) PUBLIC LANDS.—The term “public lands” has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(B) RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLAN.—The term “resource management plan” means a land use plan prepared for public lands under section 202 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712).

(C) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Director of the Bureau of Land Management.

(2) TIMBER SALES ON PUBLIC LANDS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2034, the Secretary shall sell timber annually on public lands in a total quantity that is not less than 20,000,000 board-feet greater than the quantity of board-feet sold in the previous fiscal year.

(B) LIMITATION.—The timber sales under subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the applicable resource management plan in effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.—

(A) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING.—For the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the Secretary shall enter into not fewer than 5 long-term contracts with private persons or other public or private entities under section 1 of the Act of July 31, 1947 (commonly known as the “Materials Act of 1947”) (61 Stat. 681, chapter 406; 30 U.S.C. 601), for the disposal of vegetative materials described in that section on public lands.

(B) CONTRACT LENGTH.—The period of a contract entered into to meet the requirement under subparagraph (A) shall be not less than 20 years, with options for extensions or renewals, as determined by the Secretary.

(C) RECEIPTS.—Any monies derived from a contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 50303. RENEWABLE ENERGY FEES ON FEDERAL LAND.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENT FACTOR.—The term “Annual Adjustment Factor” means 3 percent.

(2) ENCUMBRANCE FACTOR.—The term “Encumbrance Factor” means—

(A) 100 percent for a solar energy generation facility; and

(B) an amount determined by the Secretary, but not less than 10 percent for a wind energy generation facility.

(3) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(4) PER-ACRE RATE.—The term “Per-Acre Rate”, with respect to a right-of-way, means the average of the per-acre pastureland rental rates published in the Cash Rents Survey by the National Agricultural Statistics Service for the State in which the right-of-way is located over the 5 calendar-year period preceding the issuance or renewal of the right-of-way.

(5) PROJECT.—The term “project” means a system described in section 2801.9(a)(4) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(6) PUBLIC LAND.—The term “public land” means—

(A) public lands (as defined in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702)); and

(B) National Forest System land.

(7) RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECT.—The term “renewable energy project” means a project located on public land that uses wind or solar energy to generate energy.

(8) RIGHT-OF-WAY.—The term “right-of-way” has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(9) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means—

(A) the Secretary of the Interior, with respect to land controlled or administered by the Secretary of the Interior; and

(B) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to National Forest System land.

(b) ACREAGE RENT FOR WIND AND SOLAR RIGHTS-OF-WAY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Pursuant to section 504(g) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1764(g)), the Secretary shall, subject to paragraph (3) and not later than January 1 of each calendar year, collect from the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project an acreage rent in an amount determined by the equation described in paragraph (2).

(2) CALCULATION OF ACREAGE RENT RATE.—

(A) EQUATION.—The amount of an acreage rent collected under paragraph (1) shall be determined using the following equation: $\text{Acreage rent} = A \times B \times ((1 + C)^{\text{PK}})$.

(B) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of the equation described in subparagraph (A):

(i) The letter “A” means the Per-Acre Rate.

(ii) The letter “B” means the Encumbrance Factor.

(iii) The letter “C” means the Annual Adjustment Factor.

(iv) The letter “D” means the year in the term of the right-of-way.

(3) PAYMENT UNTIL PRODUCTION.—The holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project shall pay an acreage rent collected under paragraph (1) until the date on which energy generation begins.

(c) CAPACITY FEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall, subject to paragraph (3), annually collect a ca-

capacity fee from the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project based on the amount described in paragraph (2).

(2) CALCULATION OF CAPACITY FEE.—The amount of a capacity fee collected under paragraph (1) shall be equal to the greater of—

(A) an amount equal to the acreage rent described in subsection (b); and

(B) 3.9 percent of the gross proceeds from the sale of electricity produced by the renewable energy project.

(3) MULTIPLE-USE REDUCTION FACTOR.—

(A) APPLICATION.—The holder of a right-of-way for a wind energy generation project may request that the Secretary apply a multiple-use reduction factor of 10-percent to the amount of a capacity fee determined under paragraph (2) by submitting to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require.

(B) APPROVAL.—The Secretary may approve an application submitted under subparagraph (A) only if not less than 25 percent of the land within the area of the right-of-way is authorized for use, occupancy, or development with respect to an activity other than the generation of wind energy for the entirety of the year in which the capacity fee is collected.

(C) LATE DETERMINATION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary approves an application under subparagraph (B) for a wind energy generation project after the date on which the holder of the right-of-way for the project begins paying a capacity fee, the Secretary shall apply the multiple-use reduction factor described in subparagraph (A) to the capacity fee for the first year beginning after the date of approval and each year thereafter for the period during which the right-of-way remains in effect.

(ii) REFUND.—The Secretary may not refund the holder of a right-of-way for the difference in the amount of a capacity fee paid in a previous year.

(d) LATE PAYMENT FEE; TERMINATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may charge the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project a late payment fee if the Secretary does not receive payment for the acreage rent under subsection (b) or the capacity fee under subsection (c) by the date that is 15 days after the date on which the payment was due.

(2) TERMINATION OF RIGHT-OF-WAY.—The Secretary may terminate a right-of-way for a renewable energy project if the Secretary does not receive payment for the acreage rent under subsection (b) or the capacity fee under subsection (c) by the date that is 90 days after the date on which the payment was due.

SEC. 50304. RENEWABLE ENERGY REVENUE SHARING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COUNTY.—The term “county” includes a parish, township, borough, and any other similar, independent unit of local government.

(2) COVERED LAND.—The term “covered land” means land that is—

(A) public land administered by the Secretary; and

(B) not excluded from the development of solar or wind energy under—

(i) a land use plan; or

(ii) other Federal law.

(3) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(4) PUBLIC LAND.—The term “public land” means—

(A) public lands (as defined in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702)); and

(B) National Forest System land.

(5) RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECT.—The term “renewable energy project” means a system described in section 2801.9(a)(4) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act), located on covered land that uses wind or solar energy to generate energy.

(6) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means—

(A) the Secretary of the Interior, with respect to land controlled or administered by the Secretary of the Interior; and

(B) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to National Forest System land.

(b) DISPOSITION OF REVENUE.—

(1) DISPOSITION OF REVENUES.—Beginning on January 1, 2026, the amounts collected from a renewable energy project as bonus bids, rentals, fees, or other payments under a right-of-way, permit, lease, or other authorization shall—

(A) be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(B) without further appropriation or fiscal year limitation, be allocated as follows:

(i) 25 percent shall be paid from amounts in the general fund of the Treasury to the State within the boundaries of which the revenue is derived.

(ii) 25 percent shall be paid from amounts in the general fund of the Treasury to each county in a State within the boundaries of which the revenue is derived, to be allocated among each applicable county based on the percentage of county land from which the revenue is derived.

(2) PAYMENTS TO STATES AND COUNTIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Amounts paid to States and counties under paragraph (1) shall be used in accordance with the requirements of section 35 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 191).

(B) PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF TAXES.—A payment to a county under paragraph (1) shall be in addition to a payment in lieu of taxes received by the county under chapter 69 of title 31, United States Code.

(C) TIMING.—The amounts required to be paid under paragraph (1)(B) for an applicable fiscal year shall be made available in the fiscal year that immediately follows the fiscal year for which the amounts were collected.

SEC. 50305. RESCISSION OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT FUNDS.

There are rescinded the unobligated balances of amounts made available by the following sections of Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 1818):

(1) Section 50221 (136 Stat. 2052).

(2) Section 50222 (136 Stat. 2052).

(3) Section 50223 (136 Stat. 2052).

SEC. 50306. CELEBRATING AMERICA’S 250TH ANNIVERSARY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior (acting through the Director of the National Park Service) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$150,000,000 for events, celebrations, and activities surrounding the observance and commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the United States, to remain available through fiscal year 2028.

Subtitle D—Energy

SEC. 50401. STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE.

(a) ENERGY POLICY AND CONSERVATION ACT DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the terms “related facility”, “storage facility”, and “Strategic Petroleum Reserve” have the meanings given those terms in section 152 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (42 U.S.C. 6232).

(b) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of Energy for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$218,000,000 for maintenance of, including repairs to, storage facilities and related facilities of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve; and

(2) \$171,000,000 to acquire, by purchase, petroleum products for storage in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

(c) REPEAL OF STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE DRAWDOWN AND SALE MANDATE.—Section 20003 of Public Law 115–97 (42 U.S.C. 6241 note) is repealed.

SEC. 50402. REPEALS; RESCISSIONS.

(a) REPEAL AND RESCISSION.—Section 50142 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2044) (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) is repealed and the unobligated balance of amounts made available under that section (as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act) is rescinded.

(b) RESCISSIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The unobligated balances of amounts made available under the sections described in paragraph (2) are rescinded.

(2) SECTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sections referred to in paragraph (1) are the following sections of Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”):

(A) Section 50123 (42 U.S.C. 18795b).

(B) Section 50141 (136 Stat. 2042).

(C) Section 50144 (136 Stat. 2044).

(D) Section 50145 (136 Stat. 2045).

(E) Section 50151 (42 U.S.C. 18715).

(F) Section 50152 (42 U.S.C. 18715a).

(G) Section 50153 (42 U.S.C. 18715b).

(H) Section 50161 (42 U.S.C. 17113b).

SEC. 50403. ENERGY DOMINANCE FINANCING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1706 of the Energy Policy Act of 2005 (42 U.S.C. 16517) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “avoid” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting “increase capacity or output; or”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) support or enable the provision of known or forecastable electric supply at time intervals necessary to maintain or enhance grid reliability or other system adequacy needs.”;

(2) by striking subsection (c);

(3) by redesignating subsections (d) through (f) as subsections (c) through (e), respectively;

(4) in subsection (c) (as so redesignated)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by adding “and” at the end;

(B) by striking paragraph (2); and

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (2);

(5) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated), by striking “for—” in the matter preceding paragraph (1) and all that follows through the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “for enabling the identification, leasing, development, production, processing, transportation, transmission, refining, and

generation needed for energy and critical minerals.”; and

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(f) FUNDING.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2028, to carry out activities under this section.

“(2) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—Of the amount made available under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall use not more than 3 percent for administrative expenses.”.

(b) COMMITMENT AUTHORITY.—Section 50144(b) of Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 2045) is amended by striking “2026” and inserting “2028”.

SEC. 50404. TRANSFORMATIONAL ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODELS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) AMERICAN SCIENCE CLOUD.—The term “American science cloud” means a system of United States government, academic, and private sector programs and infrastructures utilizing cloud computing technologies to facilitate and support scientific research, data sharing, and computational analysis across various disciplines while ensuring compliance with applicable legal, regulatory, and privacy standards.

(2) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term “artificial intelligence” has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

(b) TRANSFORMATIONAL MODELS.—The Secretary of Energy shall—

(1) mobilize National Laboratories to partner with industry sectors within the United States to curate the scientific data of the Department of Energy across the National Laboratory complex so that the data is structured, cleaned, and preprocessed in a way that makes it suitable for use in artificial intelligence and machine learning models; and

(2) initiate seed efforts for self-improving artificial intelligence models for science and engineering powered by the data described in paragraph (1).

(c) USES.—

(1) MICROELECTRONICS.—The curated data described in subsection (b)(1) may be used to rapidly develop next-generation microelectronics that have greater capabilities beyond Moore’s law while requiring lower energy consumption.

(2) NEW ENERGY TECHNOLOGIES.—The artificial intelligence models developed under subsection (b)(2) shall be provided to the scientific community through the American science cloud to accelerate innovation in discovery science and engineering for new energy technologies.

(d) APPROPRIATIONS.—There is appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$150,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2026, to carry out this section.

Subtitle E—Water

SEC. 50501. WATER CONVEYANCE AND SURFACE WATER STORAGE ENHANCEMENT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Reclamation, for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, for construction and associated activities that restore or increase the capacity or use of existing conveyance facilities constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation or for construction and associated activities that increase

the capacity of existing Bureau of Reclamation surface water storage facilities, in a manner as determined by the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Reclamation: *Provided*, That, for the purposes of section 203 of the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 (43 U.S.C. 390cc) or section 3404(a) of the Reclamation Projects Authorization and Adjustment Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-575; 106 Stat. 4708), a contract or agreement entered into pursuant to this section shall not be treated as a new or amended contract: *Provided further*, That none of the funds provided under this section shall be reimbursable or subject to matching or cost-sharing requirements.

TITLE VI—COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

SEC. 60001. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR CLEAN HEAVY-DUTY VEHICLES.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 132 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7432) are rescinded.

SEC. 60002. REPEAL OF GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION FUND.
Section 134 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7434) is repealed and the unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out that section (as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act) are rescinded.

SEC. 60003. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR DIESEL EMISSIONS REDUCTIONS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60104 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2067) are rescinded.

SEC. 60004. RESCISSION OF FUNDING TO ADDRESS AIR POLLUTION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60105 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2067) are rescinded.

SEC. 60005. RESCISSION OF FUNDING TO ADDRESS AIR POLLUTION AT SCHOOLS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60106 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2069) are rescinded.

SEC. 60006. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR THE LOW EMISSIONS ELECTRICITY PROGRAM.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 135 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7435) are rescinded.

SEC. 60007. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR SECTION 211(O) OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60108 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2070) are rescinded.

SEC. 60008. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AMERICAN INNOVATION AND MANUFACTURING ACT.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60109 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2071) are rescinded.

SEC. 60009. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENFORCEMENT TECHNOLOGY AND PUBLIC INFORMATION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60110 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2071) are rescinded.

SEC. 60010. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GREENHOUSE GAS CORPORATE REPORTING.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60111 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2072) are rescinded.

SEC. 60011. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PRODUCT DECLARATION ASSISTANCE.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60112 of Public Law 117-169 (42 U.S.C. 4321 note; 136 Stat. 2072) are rescinded.

SEC. 60012. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR METHANE EMISSIONS AND WASTE REDUCTION INCENTIVE PROGRAM FOR PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS SYSTEMS.

(a) **RESCISSION.**—The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out sub-

sections (a) and (b) of section 136 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7436) are rescinded.

(b) **PERIOD.**—Section 136(g) of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7436(g)) is amended by striking “calendar year 2024” and inserting “calendar year 2034”.

SEC. 60013. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GREENHOUSE GAS AIR POLLUTION PLANS AND IMPLEMENTATION GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 137 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7437) are rescinded.

SEC. 60014. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY EFFICIENT, ACCURATE, AND TIMELY REVIEWS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60115 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2077) are rescinded.

SEC. 60015. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR LOW-EMBODIED CARBON LABELING FOR CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60116 of Public Law 117-169 (42 U.S.C. 4321 note; 136 Stat. 2077) are rescinded.

SEC. 60016. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE JUSTICE BLOCK GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 138 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7438) are rescinded.

SEC. 60017. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ESA RECOVERY PLANS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60301 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2079) are rescinded.

SEC. 60018. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE DATA COLLECTION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60401 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2079) are rescinded.

SEC. 60019. RESCISSION OF NEIGHBORHOOD ACCESS AND EQUITY GRANT PROGRAM.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 177 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60020. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR FEDERAL BUILDING ASSISTANCE.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60502 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60021. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR LOW-CARBON MATERIALS FOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60503 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60022. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GSA EMERGING AND SUSTAINABLE TECHNOLOGIES.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60504 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60023. RESCISSION OF ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION FUNDS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 178 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60024. RESCISSION OF LOW-CARBON TRANSPORTATION MATERIALS GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 179 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60025. JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$256,657,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for necessary expenses for capital repair, restoration, maintenance backlog, and security structures of the building and site of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

(b) **ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.**—Of the amounts made available under subsection (a), not more than 3 percent may be used for administrative costs necessary to carry out this section.

SEC. 60026. PROJECT SPONSOR OPT-IN FEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS.

Title I of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4331 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 112. PROJECT SPONSOR OPT-IN FEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS.

“(a) **PROCESS.**—

“(1) **PROJECT SPONSOR.**—A project sponsor that intends to pay a fee under this section for the preparation, or supervision of the preparation, of an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement for a project shall submit to the Council—

“(A) a description of the project; and

“(B) a declaration of whether the project sponsor intends to prepare the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement under section 107(f).

“(2) **COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.**—Not later than 15 days after the date on which the Council receives information described in paragraph (1) from a project sponsor, the Council shall provide to the project sponsor notice of the amount of the fee to be paid under this section, as determined under subsection (b).

“(3) **PAYMENT OF FEE.**—A project sponsor may pay a fee under this section after receipt of the notice described in paragraph (2).

“(4) **DEADLINE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS FOR WHICH A FEE IS PAID.**—Notwithstanding section 107(g)(1)—

“(A) an environmental assessment for which a fee is paid under this section shall be completed not later than 180 days after the date on which the fee is paid; and

“(B) an environmental impact statement for which a fee is paid under this section shall be completed not later than 1 year after the date of publication of the notice of intent to prepare the environmental impact statement.

“(b) **FEE AMOUNT.**—The amount of a fee under this section shall be—

“(1) 125 percent of the anticipated costs to prepare the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement; and

“(2) in the case of an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement to be prepared in whole or in part by a project sponsor under section 107(f), 125 percent of the anticipated costs to supervise preparation of, and, as applicable, prepare, the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement.”.

TITLE VII—FINANCE

Subtitle A—Tax

SEC. 70001. REFERENCES TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1986, ETC.

(a) **REFERENCES.**—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this title, an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(b) **CERTAIN RULES REGARDING EFFECT OF RATE CHANGES NOT APPLICABLE.**—Section 15 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall not apply to any change in rate of tax by reason of any provision of, or amendment made by, this title.

CHAPTER 1—PROVIDING PERMANENT TAX RELIEF FOR MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES AND WORKERS

SEC. 70101. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF REDUCED RATES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1(j) is amended—
(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1(j)(3)(B)(i) is amended by inserting “solely for purposes of determining the dollar amounts at which any rate bracket higher than 12 percent ends and at which any rate bracket higher than 22 percent begins,” before “subsection (f)(3)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70102. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 63(c)(7) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026” in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) ADDITIONAL INCREASE IN STANDARD DEDUCTION.—Paragraph (7) of section 63(c) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$18,000” both places it appears in subparagraphs (A)(i) and (B)(ii) and inserting “\$23,625”;

(2) by striking “\$12,000” both places it appears in subparagraphs (A)(ii) and (B)(ii) and inserting “\$15,750”;

(3) by striking “2018” in subparagraph (B)(ii) and inserting “2025”;

(4) by striking “2017” in subparagraph (B)(ii)(II) and inserting “2024”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70103. TERMINATION OF DEDUCTION FOR PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS OTHER THAN TEMPORARY SENIOR DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 151(d)(5) is amended—

(1) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”;

(2) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) DEDUCTION FOR SENIORS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning before January 1, 2029, there shall be allowed a deduction in an amount equal to \$6,000 for each qualified individual with respect to the taxpayer.

“(ii) QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘qualified individual’ means—

“(I) the taxpayer, if the taxpayer has attained age 65 before the close of the taxable year, and

“(II) in the case of a joint return, the taxpayer’s spouse, if such spouse has attained age 65 before the close of the taxable year.

“(iii) LIMITATION BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxpayer for any taxable year, the \$6,000 amount in clause (i) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by 6 percent of so much of the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income as exceeds \$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(II) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(iv) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Clause (i) shall not apply with respect to a qualified individual unless the taxpayer includes such qualified individual’s social security number on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(II) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of subclause (I), the term ‘social security number’ has the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(v) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this subparagraph shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.”.

(b) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (U), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (V) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (V) the following new subparagraph:

“(W) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 151(d)(5)(C) (relating to deduction for seniors).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70104. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED CHILD TAX CREDIT.

(a) EXTENSION AND INCREASE OF EXPANDED CHILD TAX CREDIT.—Section 24(h) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”;

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$2,000” and inserting “\$2,200”;

(3) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—Section 24(h)(7) is amended to read as follows:

“(7) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be allowed under this section to a taxpayer with respect to any qualifying child unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(i) the taxpayer’s social security number (or, in the case of a joint return, the social security number of at least 1 spouse), and

“(ii) the social security number of such qualifying child.

“(B) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘social security number’ means a social security number issued to an individual by the Social Security Administration, but only if the social security number is issued—

“(i) to a citizen of the United States or pursuant to subclause (I) (or that portion of subclause (III) that relates to subclause (I)) of section 205(c)(2)(B)(i) of the Social Security Act, and

“(ii) before the due date for such return.”.

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 24(i) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

“(1) MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2024, the \$1,400 amount in subsection (h)(5) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2017’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR ADJUSTMENT OF CREDIT AMOUNT.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2025, the \$2,200 amount in subsection (h)(2) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(3) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subsection is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$100.”.

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 24(h)(5) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—The amount determined under subsection (d)(1)(A) with respect to any qualifying child shall not exceed \$1,400, and such subsection shall be applied without regard to paragraph (4) of this subsection.”.

(e) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2)(I) is amended by striking “section 24(e)” and inserting “section 24”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70105. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.

(a) INCREASE IN TAXABLE INCOME LIMITATION PHASE-IN AMOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (B) of section 199A(b)(3) is amended by striking “\$50,000 (\$100,000 in the case of a joint return)” each place it appears and inserting “\$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return)”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (3) of section 199A(d) is amended by striking “\$50,000 (\$100,000 in the case of a joint return)” each place it appears and inserting “\$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return)”.

(b) MINIMUM DEDUCTION FOR ACTIVE QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (i) of section 199A is amended to read as follows:

“(i) MINIMUM DEDUCTION FOR ACTIVE QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable taxpayer for any taxable year, the deduction allowed under subsection (a) for the taxable year shall be equal to the greater of—

“(A) the amount of such deduction determined without regard to this subsection, or

“(B) \$400.

“(2) APPLICABLE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable taxpayer’ means, with respect to any taxable year, a taxpayer whose aggregate qualified business income with respect to all active qualified trades or businesses of the taxpayer for such taxable year is at least \$1,000.

“(B) ACTIVE QUALIFIED TRADE OR BUSINESS.—The term ‘active qualified trade or business’ means, with respect to any taxpayer for any taxable year, any qualified trade or business of the taxpayer in which the taxpayer materially participates (within the meaning of section 469(h)).

“(3) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$400 amount in paragraph (1)(B) and the \$1,000 amount in paragraph (2)(A) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this paragraph is not a multiple of \$5, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$5.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 199A(a) is amended by inserting “except as provided in subsection (i),” before “there”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70106. INCREASED AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED ESTATE AND GIFT TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2010(c)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking “\$5,000,000” and inserting “\$15,000,000”,

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2011” and inserting “2026”, and

(B) in clause (ii), by striking “calendar year 2010” and inserting “calendar year 2025”, and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to estates of decedents dying and gifts made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70107. EXTENSION OF INCREASED ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS AND MODIFICATION OF PHASEOUT THRESHOLDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 55(d)(4) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “AND BEFORE 2026” in the heading.

(b) MODIFICATION OF INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 55(d)(4)(B) is amended—

(1) by striking “2018” and inserting “2018 (2026, in the case of the \$1,000,000 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(I))”, and

(2) by striking “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.” and inserting “determined by substituting for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof—

“(1) ‘calendar year 2017’, in the case of the \$109,400 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(I) and the \$70,300 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(II), and

“(2) ‘calendar year 2025’, in the case of the \$1,000,000 amount in subparagraph (A)(ii)(I).”.

(c) MODIFICATION OF PHASEOUT AMOUNT.—Section 55(d)(4)(A)(ii) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subclause (II), and by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(IV) by substituting ‘50 percent’ for ‘25 percent’, and”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70108. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED RESIDENCE INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(h)(3)(F) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”,

(B) by redesignating subclauses (III) and (IV) as subclauses (IV) and (V), respectively,

(C) by striking “subclause (III)” in subclause (V), as so redesignated, and inserting “subclause (IV)”, and

(D) by inserting after subclause (II) the following new subclause:

“(III) MORTGAGE INSURANCE PREMIUMS TREATED AS INTEREST.—Clause (iv) of subparagraph (E) shall not apply.”.

(2) by striking clause (ii) and redesignating clauses (iii) and (iv) as clauses (ii) and (iii), respectively, and

(3) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70109. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON CASUALTY LOSS DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 165(h)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) EXTENSION TO STATE DECLARED DISASTERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 165(h)(5), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended by striking “(i)(5)” and inserting “(i)(5) or a State declared disaster”.

(2) EXCEPTION RELATED TO PERSONAL CASUALTY GAINS.—Clause (i) of section 165(h)(5)(B) is amended by striking “(as so defined)” and inserting “(as so defined) or a State declared disaster”.

(3) STATE DECLARED DISASTER.—Paragraph (5) of section 165(h) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) STATE DECLARED DISASTER.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘State declared disaster’ means, with respect to any State, any natural catastrophe (including any hurricane, tornado, storm, high water, wind-driven water, tidal wave, tsunami, earthquake, volcanic eruption, landslide, mudslide, snowstorm, or drought), or, regardless of cause, any fire, flood, or explosion, in any part of the State, which in the determination of the Governor of such State (or the Mayor, in the case of the District of Columbia) and the Secretary causes damage of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant the application of the rules of this section.

“(ii) STATE.—The term ‘State’ includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70110. TERMINATION OF MISCELLANEOUS ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS OTHER THAN EDUCATOR EXPENSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 67(g) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) DEDUCTION FOR EDUCATOR EXPENSES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 67(b) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (11), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (12) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) the deductions allowed by section 162 for educator expenses (as defined in subsection (g)).”.

(2) INCLUSION OF COACHES AND CERTAIN NON-ATHLETIC INSTRUCTIONAL EQUIPMENT.—Section 67 is amended by redesignating subsection (g), as amended by this section, as subsection (h), and by inserting after subsection (f) the following new section:

“(g) EDUCATOR EXPENSES.—For purposes of subsection (b)(13), the term ‘educator expenses’ means expenses of a type which would be described in section 62(a)(2)(D) if—

“(1) such section were applied—

“(A) without regard to the dollar limitation,

“(B) without regard to ‘(other than non-athletic supplies for courses of instruction in health or physical education)’ in clause (ii) thereof, and

“(C) by substituting ‘as part of instructional activity’ for ‘in the classroom’ in clause (ii) thereof, and

“(2) section 62(d)(1)(A) were applied by inserting ‘, interscholastic sports administrator or coach,’ after ‘counselor.’”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70111. LIMITATION ON TAX BENEFIT OF ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 68 is amended to read as follows:

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, the amount of the itemized deductions otherwise allowable for the taxable year (determined without regard to this section) shall be reduced by $\frac{2}{3}$ of the lesser of—

“(1) such amount of itemized deductions,

or

“(2) so much of the taxable income of the taxpayer for the taxable year (determined without regard to this section and increased by such amount of itemized deductions) as exceeds the dollar amount at which the 37 percent rate bracket under section 1 begins with respect to the taxpayer.

“(b) COORDINATION WITH OTHER LIMITATIONS.—This section shall be applied after the application of any other limitation on the allowance of any itemized deduction.”.

(b) LIMITATION NOT APPLICABLE TO DETERMINATION OF DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 199A(e)(1) is amended by inserting “without regard to section 68 and” after “shall be computed”.

(2) PATRONS OF SPECIFIED AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL COOPERATIVES.—Section 199A(g)(2)(B) is amended by inserting “section 68 or” after “without regard to”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70112. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF QUALIFIED TRANSPORTATION FRINGE BENEFITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 132(f) is amended—

(1) by striking subparagraph (D) of paragraph (1),

(2) in paragraph (2), by inserting “and” at the end of subparagraph (A), by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting a period, and by striking subparagraph (C),

(3) by striking “(other than a qualified bicycle commuting reimbursement)” in paragraph (4),

(4) by striking subparagraph (F) of paragraph (5), and

(5) by striking paragraph (8).

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Clause (ii) of section 132(f)(6)(A) is amended by striking “1998” in clause (ii) and inserting “1997”.

(c) COORDINATION WITH DISALLOWANCE OF CERTAIN EXPENSES.—Subsection (1) of section 274 is amended—

(1) by striking “BENEFITS.—” and all that follows through “No deduction” and inserting “BENEFITS.—No deduction”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (2).

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70113. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION AND EXCLUSION FOR MOVING EXPENSES.

(a) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION.—Section 217(k) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—Section 217(k), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended—

(1) by striking “2017.—Except in the case” and inserting “2017.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except in the case”, and

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

“(2) MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—An employee or new appointee of the intelligence community (as defined in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50

U.S.C. 3003) (other than a member of the Armed Forces of the United States) who moves pursuant to a change in assignment which requires relocation shall be treated for purposes of this section in the same manner as an individual to whom subsection (g) applies.”

(c) **EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON EXCLUSION.**—Section 132(g)(2) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(d) **ALLOWANCE OF EXCLUSION FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.**—Section 132(g)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting “, or an employee or new appointee of the intelligence community (as defined in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003)) (other than a member of the Armed Forces of the United States) who moves pursuant to a change in assignment that requires relocation” after “change of station”.

(e) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70114. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON WAGERING LOSSES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 165 is amended by striking subsection (d) and inserting the following:

“(d) **WAGERING LOSSES.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—For purposes of losses from wagering transactions, the amount allowed as a deduction for any taxable year—

“(A) shall be equal to 90 percent of the amount of such losses during such taxable year, and

“(B) shall be allowed only to the extent of the gains from such transactions during such taxable year.

“(2) **SPECIAL RULE.**—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘losses from wagering transactions’ includes any deduction otherwise allowable under this chapter incurred in carrying on any wagering transaction.”

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70115. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO ABLE ACCOUNTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 529A(b)(2)(B) is amended—

(1) in clause (i), by inserting “(determined by substituting ‘1996’ for ‘1997’ in paragraph (2)(B) thereof)” after “section 2503(b)”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “before January 1, 2026”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to contributions made after December 31, 2025.

(2) **MODIFIED INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.**—The amendment made by subsection (a)(1) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70116. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF SAVERS CREDIT ALLOWED FOR ABLE CONTRIBUTIONS.

(a) **EXTENSION.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 25B(d)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The term ‘qualified retirement savings contributions’ means, with respect to any taxable year, the sum of—

“(A) the amount of contributions made by the eligible individual during such taxable year to the ABLE account (within the meaning of section 529A) of which such individual is the designated beneficiary, and

“(B) in the case of any taxable year beginning before January 1, 2027—

“(i) the amount of the qualified retirement contributions (as defined in section 219(e)) made by the eligible individual,

“(ii) the amount of—

“(I) any elective deferrals (as defined in section 402(g)(3)) of such individual, and

“(II) any elective deferral of compensation by such individual under an eligible deferred compensation plan (as defined in section 457(b)) of an eligible employer described in section 457(e)(1)(A), and

“(iii) the amount of voluntary employee contributions by such individual to any qualified retirement plan (as defined in section 4974(c)).”

(2) **COORDINATION WITH SECURE 2.0 ACT OF 2022 AMENDMENT.**—Paragraph (1) of section 103(e) of the SECURE 2.0 Act of 2022 is repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied and administered as though such paragraph were never enacted.

(3) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments and repeal made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2025.

(b) **INCREASE OF CREDIT AMOUNT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 25B(a) is amended by striking “\$2,000” and inserting “\$2,100”.

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 70117. EXTENSION OF ROLLOVERS FROM QUALIFIED TUITION PROGRAMS TO ABLE ACCOUNTS PERMITTED.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 529(c)(3)(C)(i)(III) is amended by striking “before January 1, 2026”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70118. EXTENSION OF TREATMENT OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS PERFORMING SERVICES IN THE SINAI PENINSULA AND ENHANCEMENT TO INCLUDE ADDITIONAL AREAS.

(a) **TREATMENT MADE PERMANENT.**—Section 11026(a) of Public Law 115–97 is amended by striking “, with respect to the applicable period”.

(b) **KENYA, MALI, BURKINA FASO, AND CHAD INCLUDED AS HAZARDOUS DUTY AREAS.**—Section 11026(b) of Public Law 115–97 is amended to read as follows:

“(b) **QUALIFIED HAZARDOUS DUTY AREA.**—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified hazardous duty area’ means each of the following locations, but only during the period for which any member of the Armed Forces of the United States is entitled to special pay under section 310 of title 37, United States Code (relating to special pay; duty subject to hostile fire or imminent danger), for services performed in such location:

“(1) the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt.

“(2) Kenya.

“(3) Mali.

“(4) Burkina Faso.

“(5) Chad.”

(c) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 11026 of Public Law 115–97 is amended by striking subsections (c) and (d).

(d) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on January 1, 2026.

SEC. 70119. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME OF STUDENT LOANS DISCHARGED ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OR DISABILITY.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 108(f)(5) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) **DISCHARGES ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OR DISABILITY.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of an individual, gross income does not include any amount which (but for this subsection) would be includible in gross income for such taxable year by reason of the discharge (in whole or in part) of any loan described in subparagraph (B), if such discharge was—

“(i) pursuant to subsection (a) or (d) of section 437 of the Higher Education Act of 1965

or the parallel benefit under part D of title IV of such Act (relating to the repayment of loan liability),

“(ii) pursuant to section 464(c)(1)(F) of such Act, or

“(iii) otherwise discharged on account of death or total and permanent disability of the student.

“(B) **LOANS DISCHARGED.**—A loan is described in this subparagraph if such loan is—

“(i) a student loan (as defined in paragraph (2)), or

“(ii) a private education loan (as defined in section 140(a) of the Consumer Credit Protection Act (15 U.S.C. 1650(a)).

“(C) **SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT.**—

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to any discharge during any taxable year unless the taxpayer includes the taxpayer’s social security number on the return of tax for such taxable year.

“(ii) **SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.**—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘social security number’ has the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).”

(b) **OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.**—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by this Act, is further amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (V), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (W) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (W) the following new subparagraph:

“(X) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 108(f)(5)(C) (relating to discharges on account of death or disability).”

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to discharges after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70120. LIMITATION ON INDIVIDUAL DEDUCTIONS FOR CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES, ETC.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 164(b)(6) is amended—

(1) by striking “and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “\$10,000 (\$5,000 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return)” and inserting “the applicable limitation amount (half the applicable limitation amount in the case of a married individual filing a separate return)”.

(b) **APPLICABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.**—Section 164(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) **APPLICABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—For purposes of paragraph (6), the term ‘applicable limitation amount’ means—

“(i) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2025, \$40,000,

“(ii) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2026, \$40,400,

“(iii) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2026 and before 2030, 101 percent of the dollar amount in effect under this subparagraph for taxable years beginning in the preceding calendar year, and

“(iv) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2029, \$10,000.

“(B) **PHASEDOWN BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.**—

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in clause (iii), in the case of any taxable year beginning before January 1, 2030, the applicable limitation amount shall be reduced by 30 percent of the excess (if any) of the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income over the threshold amount (half the threshold amount in the case of a married individual filing a separate return).

“(ii) **THRESHOLD AMOUNT.**—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘threshold amount’ means—

“(I) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2025, \$500,000,

“(II) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2026, \$505,000, and

“(III) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2026, 101 percent of the dollar amount in effect under this subparagraph for taxable years beginning in the preceding calendar year.

“(iii) LIMITATION ON REDUCTION.—The reduction under clause (i) shall not result in the applicable limitation amount being less than \$10,000.

“(iv) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means adjusted gross income increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

CHAPTER 2—DELIVERING ON PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES TO PROVIDE NEW MIDDLE-CLASS TAX RELIEF

SEC. 70201. NO TAX ON TIPS.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating section 224 as section 225 and by inserting after section 223 the following new section:

“SEC. 224. QUALIFIED TIPS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to the qualified tips received during the taxable year that are included on statements furnished to the individual pursuant to section 6041(d)(3), 6041A(e)(3), 6050W(f)(2), or 6051(a)(18), or reported by the taxpayer on Form 4137 (or successor).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowed as a deduction under this section for any taxable year shall not exceed \$25,000.

“(2) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) (after application of paragraph (1)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$100 for each \$1,000 by which the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income exceeds \$150,000 (\$300,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(B) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(c) TIPS RECEIVED IN COURSE OF TRADE OR BUSINESS.—In the case of qualified tips received by an individual during any taxable year in the course of a trade or business (other than the trade or business of performing services as an employee) of such individual, such qualified tips shall be taken into account under subsection (a) only to the extent that the gross income for the taxpayer from such trade or business for such taxable year (including such qualified tips) exceeds the sum of the deductions (other than the deduction allowed under this section) allocable to the trade or business in which such qualified tips are received by the individual for such taxable year.

“(d) QUALIFIED TIPS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified tips’ means cash tips received by an individual in an occupation which customarily and regularly received tips on or before December 31, 2024, as provided by the Secretary.

“(2) EXCLUSIONS.—Such term shall not include any amount received by an individual unless—

“(A) such amount is paid voluntarily without any consequence in the event of non-

payment, is not the subject of negotiation, and is determined by the payor,

“(B) the trade or business in the course of which the individual receives such amount is not a specified service trade or business (as defined in section 199A(d)(2)), and

“(C) such other requirements as may be established by the Secretary in regulations or other guidance are satisfied.

For purposes of subparagraph (B), in the case of an individual receiving tips in the trade or business of performing services as an employee, such individual shall be treated as receiving tips in the course of a trade or business which is a specified service trade or business if the trade or business of the employer is a specified service trade or business.

“(3) CASH TIPS.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘cash tips’ includes tips received from customers that are paid in cash or charged and, in the case of an employee, tips received under any tip-sharing arrangement.

“(e) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year such individual’s social security number.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(f) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this section shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.

“(g) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to prevent reclassification of income as qualified tips, including regulations or other guidance to prevent abuse of the deduction allowed by this section.

“(h) TERMINATION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2028.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (3), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) the deduction provided in section 224.”

(c) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (W), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (X) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (X) the following new subparagraph:

“(Y) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 224(e) (relating to deduction for qualified tips).”

(d) EXCLUSION FROM QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—Section 199A(c)(4) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) any amount with respect to which a deduction is allowable to the taxpayer under section 224(a) for the taxable year.”

(e) EXTENSION OF TIP CREDIT TO BEAUTY SERVICE BUSINESS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45B(b)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) APPLICATION ONLY TO CERTAIN LINES OF BUSINESS.—In applying paragraph (1) there shall be taken into account only tips received from customers or clients in connection with the following services:

“(A) The providing, delivering, or serving of food or beverages for consumption, if the

tip of employees delivering or serving food or beverages by customers is customary.

“(B) The providing of any of the following services to a customer or client if the tipping of employees providing such services is customary:

“(i) Barbering and hair care.

“(ii) Nail care.

“(iii) Esthetics.

“(iv) Body and spa treatments.”

(2) CREDIT DETERMINED WITH RESPECT TO MINIMUM WAGE IN EFFECT.—Section 45B(b)(1)(B) is amended—

(A) by striking “as in effect on January 1, 2007, and”, and

(B) by inserting “, and in the case of food or beverage establishments, as in effect on January 1, 2007” after “without regard to section 3(m) of such Act”.

(f) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) RETURNS FOR PAYMENTS MADE IN THE COURSE OF A TRADE OR BUSINESS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041(a) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “such gains, profits, and income”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041(d) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of compensation to non-employees, the portion of payments that have been reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(2) RETURNS FOR PAYMENTS MADE FOR SERVICES AND DIRECT SALES.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041A(a) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “amount of such payments”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041A(e) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of subsection (a), the portion of payments that have been reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(3) RETURNS RELATING TO THIRD PARTY SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6050W(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of a third party settlement organization, the portion of reportable payment transactions that have been reasonably designated by payors as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6050W(f)(2) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts that have been reasonably designated by payors as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “reportable payment transactions”.

(4) RETURNS RELATED TO WAGES.—Section 6051(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (16), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (17) and inserting “,

and”, and by inserting after paragraph (17) the following new paragraph:

“(18) the total amount of cash tips reported by the employee under section 6053(a) and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) such person.”.

(g) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 224 as relating to section 225 and by inserting after the item relating to section 223 the following new item:

“Sec. 224. Qualified tips.”.

(h) PUBLISHED LIST OF OCCUPATIONS TRADITIONALLY RECEIVING TIPS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall publish a list of occupations which customarily and regularly received tips on or before December 31, 2024, for purposes of section 224(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by subsection (a)).

(i) WITHHOLDING.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall modify the procedures prescribed under section 3402(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025, to take into account the deduction allowed under section 224 of such Code (as added by this Act).

(j) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(k) TRANSITION RULE.—In the case of any cash tips required to be reported for periods before January 1, 2026, persons required to file returns or statements under section 6041(a), 6041(d)(3), 6041A(a), 6041A(e)(3), 6050W(a), or 6050W(f)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) may approximate a separate accounting of amounts designated as cash tips by any reasonable method specified by the Secretary.

SEC. 70202. NO TAX ON OVERTIME.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by redesignating section 225 as section 226 and by inserting after section 224 the following new section:

“SEC. 225. QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to the qualified overtime compensation received during the taxable year and included on statements furnished to the individual pursuant to section 6041(d)(4) or 6051(a)(19).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowed as a deduction under this section for any taxable year shall not exceed \$12,500 (\$25,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(2) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) (after application of paragraph (1)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$100 for each \$1,000 by which the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income exceeds \$150,000 (\$300,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(B) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(c) QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified overtime compensation’ means overtime compensation paid to an individual required under section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 that is in

excess of the regular rate (as used in such section) at which such individual is employed.

“(2) EXCLUSIONS.—Such term shall not include any qualified tip (as defined in section 224(d)).

“(d) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—“(1) IN GENERAL.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year such individual’s social security number.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(e) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this section shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.

“(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent abuse of the deduction allowed by this section.

“(g) TERMINATION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2028.”.

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (4), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (5) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) the deduction provided in section 225.”.

(c) REPORTING.—

(1) REQUIREMENT TO INCLUDE OVERTIME COMPENSATION ON W-2.—Section 6051(a), as amended by the preceding provision of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (17), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (18) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (18) the following new paragraph:

“(19) the total amount of qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c)).”.

(2) PAYMENTS TO PERSONS NOT TREATED AS EMPLOYEES UNDER TAX LAWS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041(a), as amended by section 70201(e)(1)(A), is amended by inserting “and a separate accounting of any amount of qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c))” after “occupation of the person receiving such tips”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041(d), as amended by section 70201(e)(1)(B), is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) the portion of payments that are qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c)).”.

(d) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (X), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (Y) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (Y) the following new subparagraph:

“(Z) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 225(d) (relating to deduction for qualified overtime).”.

(e) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 225 as an item relat-

ing to section 226 and by inserting after the item relating to section 224 the following new item:

“Sec. 225. Qualified overtime compensation.”.

(f) WITHHOLDING.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall modify the procedures prescribed under section 3402(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025, to take into account the deduction allowed under section 225 of such Code (as added by this Act).

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(h) TRANSITION RULE.—In the case of qualified overtime compensation required to be reported for periods before January 1, 2026, persons required to file returns or statements under section 6051(a)(19), 6041(a), or 6041(d)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) may approximate a separate accounting of amounts designated as qualified overtime compensation by any reasonable method specified by the Secretary.

SEC. 70203. NO TAX ON CAR LOAN INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(h) is amended by redesignating paragraph (4) as paragraph (5) and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) SPECIAL RULES FOR TAXABLE YEARS 2025 THROUGH 2028 RELATING TO QUALIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and before January 1, 2029, for purposes of this subsection the term ‘personal interest’ shall not include qualified passenger vehicle loan interest.

“(B) QUALIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST DEFINED.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘qualified passenger vehicle loan interest’ means any interest which is paid or accrued during the taxable year on indebtedness incurred by the taxpayer after December 31, 2024, for the purchase of, and that is secured by a first lien on, an applicable passenger vehicle for personal use.

“(ii) EXCEPTIONS.—Such term shall not include any amount paid or incurred on any of the following:

“(I) A loan to finance fleet sales.

“(II) A loan incurred for the purchase of a commercial vehicle that is not used for personal purposes.

“(III) Any lease financing.

“(IV) A loan to finance the purchase of a vehicle with a salvage title.

“(V) A loan to finance the purchase of a vehicle intended to be used for scrap or parts.

“(iii) VIN REQUIREMENT.—Interest shall not be treated as qualified passenger vehicle loan interest under this paragraph unless the taxpayer includes the vehicle identification number of the applicable passenger vehicle described in clause (i) on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(C) LIMITATIONS.—

“(i) DOLLAR LIMIT.—The amount of interest taken into account by a taxpayer under subparagraph (B) for any taxable year shall not exceed \$10,000.

“(ii) LIMITATION BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The amount which is otherwise allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) as qualified passenger vehicle loan interest (determined without regard to this clause and after the application of clause (i)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$200 for each \$1,000 (or portion thereof) by which the modified adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year exceeds \$100,000 (\$200,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(II) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(D) APPLICABLE PASSENGER VEHICLE.—The term ‘applicable passenger vehicle’ means any vehicle—

“(i) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

“(ii) which is manufactured primarily for use on public streets, roads, and highways (not including a vehicle operated exclusively on a rail or rails),

“(iii) which has at least 2 wheels,

“(iv) which is a car, minivan, van, sport utility vehicle, pickup truck, or motorcycle,

“(v) which is treated as a motor vehicle for purposes of title II of the Clean Air Act, and

“(vi) which has a gross vehicle weight rating of less than 14,000 pounds. Such term shall not include any vehicle the final assembly of which did not occur within the United States.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) FINAL ASSEMBLY.—For purposes of subparagraph (D), the term ‘final assembly’ means the process by which a manufacturer produces a vehicle at, or through the use of, a plant, factory, or other place from which the vehicle is delivered to a dealer with all component parts necessary for the mechanical operation of the vehicle included with the vehicle, whether or not the component parts are permanently installed in or on the vehicle.

“(ii) TREATMENT OF REFINANCING.—Indebtedness described in subparagraph (B) shall include indebtedness that results from refinancing any indebtedness described in such subparagraph, and that is secured by a first lien on the applicable passenger vehicle with respect to which the refinanced indebtedness was incurred, but only to the extent the amount of such resulting indebtedness does not exceed the amount of such refinanced indebtedness.

“(iii) RELATED PARTIES.—Indebtedness described in subparagraph (B) shall not include any indebtedness owed to a person who is related (within the meaning of section 267(b) or 707(b)(1)) to the taxpayer.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (6) and inserting “and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) so much of the deduction allowed by section 163(a) as is attributable to the exception under section 163(h)(4)(A).”

(c) REPORTING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart B of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by adding at the end the following new section: “SEC. 6050AA. RETURNS RELATING TO APPLICABLE PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST RECEIVED IN TRADE OR BUSINESS FROM INDIVIDUALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Any person—

“(1) who is engaged in a trade or business, and

“(2) who, in the course of such trade or business, receives from any individual interest aggregating \$600 or more for any calendar year on a specified passenger vehicle loan, shall make the return described in subsection (b) with respect to each individual from whom such interest was received at such time as the Secretary may provide.

“(b) FORM AND MANNER OF RETURNS.—A return is described in this subsection if such return—

“(1) is in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, and

“(2) contains—

“(A) the name and address of the individual from whom the interest described in subsection (a)(2) was received,

“(B) the amount of such interest received for the calendar year,

“(C) the amount of outstanding principal on the specified passenger vehicle loan as of the beginning of such calendar year,

“(D) the date of the origination of such loan,

“(E) the year, make, model, and vehicle identification number of the applicable passenger vehicle which secures such loan (or such other description of such vehicle as the Secretary may prescribe), and

“(F) such other information as the Secretary may prescribe.

“(c) STATEMENTS TO BE FURNISHED TO INDIVIDUALS WITH RESPECT TO WHOM INFORMATION IS REQUIRED.—Every person required to make a return under subsection (a) shall furnish to each individual whose name is required to be set forth in such return a written statement showing—

“(1) the name, address, and phone number of the information contact of the person required to make such return, and

“(2) the information described in subparagraphs (B), (C), (D), and (E) of subsection (b)(2) with respect to such individual (and such information as is described in subsection (b)(2)(F) with respect to such individual as the Secretary may provide for purposes of this subsection).

The written statement required under the preceding sentence shall be furnished on or before January 31 of the year following the calendar year for which the return under subsection (a) was required to be made.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Terms used in this section which are also used in paragraph (4) of section 163(h) shall have the same meaning as when used in such paragraph.

“(2) SPECIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN.—The term ‘specified passenger vehicle loan’ means the indebtedness described in section 163(h)(4)(B) with respect to any applicable passenger vehicle.

“(e) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent the duplicate reporting of information under this section.

“(f) APPLICABILITY.—No return shall be required under this section for any period to which section 163(h)(4) does not apply.”

(2) PENALTIES.—Section 6724(d) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking “or” at the end of clause (xxvii), by striking “and” at the end of clause (xxviii) and inserting “or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xxix) section 6050AA(a) (relating to returns relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals),” and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (KK), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (LL) and inserting “, or”, and by inserting after subparagraph (LL) the following new subparagraph:

“(MM) section 6050AA(c) (relating to statements relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals).”

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 56(e)(1)(B) is amended by striking “section 163(h)(4)” and inserting “section 163(h)(5)”.

(2) The table of sections for subpart B of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is

amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6050AA. Returns relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals.”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to indebtedness incurred after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70204. TRUMP ACCOUNTS AND CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.

(a) TRUMP ACCOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter F of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new part:

“PART IX—TRUMP ACCOUNTS

“Sec. 530A. Trump accounts.

“SEC. 530A. TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) GENERAL RULE.—Except as provided in this section or under regulations or guidance established by the Secretary, a Trump account shall be treated for purposes of this title in the same manner as an individual retirement account under section 408(a).

“(b) TRUMP ACCOUNT.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Trump account’ means an individual retirement account (as defined in section 408(a)) which is not designated as a Roth IRA and which meets the following requirements:

“(A) The account—

“(i) is created or organized by the Secretary for the exclusive benefit of an eligible individual or such eligible individual’s beneficiaries, or

“(ii) is—

“(I) created or organized in the United States for the exclusive benefit of an individual who has not attained the age of 18 before the end of the calendar year, or such individual’s beneficiaries, and

“(II) funded by a qualified rollover contribution.

“(B) The account is designated (in such manner as the Secretary shall prescribe) at the time of the establishment of the account as a Trump account.

“(C) The written governing instrument creating the account meets the following requirements:

“(i) No contribution will be accepted—

“(I) before the date that is 12 months after the date of the enactment of this section, or

“(II) in the case of a contribution made in any calendar year before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, if such contribution would result in aggregate contributions (other than exempt contributions) for such calendar year in excess of the contribution limit specified in subsection (c)(2)(A).

“(ii) Except as provided in subsection (d), no distribution will be allowed before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(iii) No part of the account funds will be invested in any asset other than an eligible investment during any period before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—The term ‘eligible individual’ means any individual—

“(A) who has not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the election under subparagraph (C) is made,

“(B) for whom a social security number (within the meaning of section 24(h)(7)) has been issued before the date on which an election under subsection (C) is made, and

“(C) for whom—

“(i) an election is made under this subparagraph by the Secretary if the Secretary determines (based on information available to the Secretary from tax returns or otherwise) that such individual meets the requirements of subparagraphs (A) and (B) and no prior

election has been made for such individual under clause (ii), or

“(ii) an election is made under this subparagraph by a person other than the Secretary (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) for the establishment of a Trump account if no prior election has been made for such individual under clause (i).

“(3) ELIGIBLE INVESTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘eligible investment’ means any mutual fund or exchange traded fund which—

“(i) tracks the returns of a qualified index,

“(ii) does not use leverage,

“(iii) does not have annual fees and expenses of more than 0.1 percent of the balance of the investment in the fund, and

“(iv) meets such other criteria as the Secretary determines appropriate for purposes of this section.

“(B) QUALIFIED INDEX.—The term ‘qualified index’ means—

“(i) the Standard and Poor’s 500 stock market index, or

“(ii) any other index—

“(I) which is comprised of equity investments in United States companies, and

“(II) for which regulated futures contracts (as defined in section 1256(g)(1)) are traded on a qualified board or exchange (as defined in section 1256(g)(7)).

Such term shall not include any industry or sector-specific index, but may include an index based on market capitalization.

“(4) ACCOUNT BENEFICIARY.—The term ‘account beneficiary’ means the individual on whose behalf the Trump account was established.

“(c) TREATMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) NO DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—No deduction shall be allowed under section 219 for any contribution which is made before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) CONTRIBUTION LIMIT.—In the case of any contribution made before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The aggregate amount of contributions (other than exempt contributions) for such calendar year shall not exceed \$5,000.

“(B) EXEMPT CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘exempt contribution’ means—

“(i) a qualified rollover contribution,

“(ii) any qualified general contribution, or

“(iii) any contribution provided under section 6434.

“(C) COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any calendar year after 2027, the \$5,000 amount under subparagraph (A) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(I) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(II) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2026’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(ii) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subparagraph is not a multiple of \$100, such amount shall be rounded to the next lower multiple of \$100.

“(3) TIMING OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 219(f)(3) shall not apply to any contribution made to a Trump account for any taxable year ending before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(d) DISTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, no distribution shall be allowed before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) TAX TREATMENT OF ALLOWABLE DISTRIBUTIONS.—For purposes of applying sec-

tion 72 to any amount distributed from a Trump account, the investment in the contract shall not include—

“(A) any qualified general contribution,

“(B) any contribution provided under section 6434, and

“(C) the amount of any contribution which is excluded from gross income under section 128.

“(3) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any distribution which is a qualified rollover contribution and the amount of such distribution shall not be included in the gross income of the beneficiary.

“(4) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any distribution which is a qualified ABLE rollover contribution and the amount of such distribution shall not be included in the gross income of the beneficiary.

“(B) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified ABLE rollover contribution’ means an amount which is paid during the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 17 in a direct trustee-to-trustee transfer from a Trump account maintained for the benefit of the account beneficiary to an ABLE account (as defined in section 529A(e)(6)) for the benefit of the such account beneficiary, but only if the amount of such payment is equal to the entire balance of the Trump account from which the payment is made.

“(5) DISTRIBUTIONS OF EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of any contribution which is made before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18 and which is in excess of the limitation in effect under subsection (c)(2)(A) for the calendar year—

“(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply to the distribution of such excess,

“(B) the amount of such distribution shall not be included in gross income of the account beneficiary, and

“(C) the tax imposed by this chapter on the distributee for the taxable year in which the distribution is made shall be increased by 100 percent of the amount of net income attributable to such excess (determined without regard to subparagraph (B)).

“(6) TREATMENT OF DEATH OF ACCOUNT BENEFICIARY.—If, by reason of the death of the account beneficiary before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, any person acquires the account beneficiary’s interest in the Trump account—

“(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply,

“(B) such account shall cease to be a Trump account as of the date of death, and

“(C) an amount equal to the fair market value of the assets (reduced by the investment in the contract) in such account on such date shall—

“(i) if such person is not the estate of such beneficiary, be includible in such person’s gross income for the taxable year which includes such date, or

“(ii) if such person is the estate of such beneficiary, be includible in such beneficiary’s gross income for the last taxable year of such beneficiary.

“(e) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified rollover contribution’ means an amount which is paid in a direct trustee-to-trustee transfer from a Trump account maintained for the benefit of the account beneficiary to a Trump account maintained for such beneficiary, but only if the amount of such payment is equal to the entire balance of the Trump account from which the payment is made.

“(f) QUALIFIED GENERAL CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified general contribution’ means any contribution which—

“(A) is made by the Secretary pursuant to a general funding contribution,

“(B) is made to the Trump account of an account beneficiary in the qualified class of account beneficiaries specified in the general funding contribution, and

“(C) is in an amount which is equal to the ratio of—

“(i) the amount of such general funding contribution, to

“(ii) the number of account beneficiaries in such qualified class.

“(2) GENERAL FUNDING CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘general funding contribution’ means a contribution which—

“(A) is made by—

“(i) an entity described in section 170(c)(1) (other than a possession of the United States or a political subdivision thereof) or an Indian tribal government, or

“(ii) an organization described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), and

“(B) which specifies a qualified class of account beneficiaries to whom such contribution is to be distributed.

“(3) QUALIFIED CLASS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified class’ means any of the following:

“(i) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made.

“(ii) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made and who reside in one or more States or other qualified geographic areas specified by the terms of the general funding contribution.

“(iii) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made and who were born in one or more calendar years specified by the terms of the general funding contribution.

“(B) QUALIFIED GEOGRAPHIC AREA.—The term ‘qualified geographic area’ means any geographic area in which not less than 5,000 account beneficiaries reside and which is designated by the Secretary as a qualified geographic area under this subparagraph.

“(g) TRUSTEE SELECTION.—In the case of any Trump account created or organized by the Secretary, the Secretary shall take into account the following criteria in selecting the trustee:

“(1) The history of reliability and regulatory compliance of the trustee.

“(2) The customer service experience of the trustee.

“(3) The costs imposed by the trustee on the account or the account beneficiary.

“(h) OTHER SPECIAL RULES AND COORDINATION WITH INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT RULES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The rules of subsections (k) and (p) of section 408 shall not apply to a Trump account, and the rules of subsections (d) and (i) of section 408 shall not apply to a Trump account for any taxable year beginning before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) CUSTODIAL ACCOUNTS.—In the case of a Trump account, section 408(h) shall be applied by substituting ‘a Trump account described in section 530A(b)(1)’ for ‘an individual retirement account described in subsection (a)’.

“(3) CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of any taxable year beginning before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, a contribution to a

Trump account shall not be taken into account in applying any contribution limit to any individual retirement plan other than a Trump account.

“(4) DISTRIBUTIONS.—Section 408(d)(2) shall be applied separately with respect to Trump Accounts and other individual retirement plans.

“(5) EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—For purposes of applying section 4973(b) to a Trump account for any taxable year beginning before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, the term ‘excess contributions’ means the sum of—

“(A) the amount by which the amount contributed to the account for the calendar year in which taxable year begins exceeds the amount permitted to be contributed to the account under subsection (c)(2), and

“(B) the amount determined under this paragraph for the preceding taxable year. For purposes of this paragraph, the excess contributions for a taxable year are reduced by the distributions to which subsection (d)(5) applies that are made during the taxable year or by the date prescribed by law (including extensions of time) for filing the account beneficiary’s return for the taxable year.

“(i) REPORTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The trustee of a Trump account shall make such reports regarding such account to the Secretary and to the beneficiary of the account at such time and in such manner as may be required by the Secretary. Such reports shall include information with respect to—

“(A) contributions (including the amount and source of any contribution in excess of \$25 made from a person other than the Secretary, the account beneficiary, or the parent or legal guardian of the account beneficiary),

“(B) distributions (including distributions which are qualified rollover contributions),

“(C) the fair market value of the account,

“(D) the investment in the contract with respect to such account, and

“(E) such other matters as the Secretary may require.

“(2) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Not later than 30 days after the date of any qualified rollover contribution, the trustee of the Trump account to which the contribution was made shall make a report to the Secretary. Such report shall include—

“(A) the name, address, and social security number of the account beneficiary,

“(B) the name and address of such trustee,

“(C) the account number,

“(D) the routing number of the trustee, and

“(E) such other information as the Secretary may require.

“(3) PERIOD OF REPORTING.—This subsection shall not apply to any period after the calendar year in which the beneficiary attains age 17.”

(2) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS EXEMPT FROM ABLE CONTRIBUTION LIMITATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 529A(b)(2)(B) is amended by inserting “or received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” after “except as provided in the case of contributions under subsection (c)(1)(C)”.

(B) PROHIBITION ON EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—The second sentence of section 529A(b)(6) is amended by inserting “but do not include any contributions received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” before the period at the end.

(C) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 4973(h)(1) is amended by inserting “or contributions received in a qualified ABLE roll-

over contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” after “other than contributions under section 529A(c)(1)(C)”.

(3) FAILURE TO PROVIDE REPORTS ON TRUMP ACCOUNTS.—Section 6693(a)(2) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (F) the following new subparagraph:

“(G) section 530A(i) (relating to Trump accounts).”

(4) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—

(A) The table of parts for subchapter F of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“PART IX—TRUMP ACCOUNTS”.

(b) EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 127 the following new section:

“SEC. 128. EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income of an employee does not include amounts paid by the employer as a contribution to the Trump account of such employee or of any dependent of such employee if the amounts are paid or incurred pursuant to a program which is described in subsection (c).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount which may be excluded under subsection (a) with respect to any employee shall not exceed \$2,500.

“(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2027, the \$2,500 amount in paragraph (1) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for such calendar year by substituting ‘calendar year 2026’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(B) ROUNDING.—If any increase determined under subparagraph (A) is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.

“(c) TRUMP ACCOUNT CONTRIBUTION PROGRAM.—For purposes of this section, a Trump account contribution program is a separate written plan of an employer for the exclusive benefit of his employees to provide contributions to the Trump accounts of such employees or dependents of such employees which meets requirements similar to the requirements of paragraphs (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) of section 129(d).”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 127 the following new item:

“Sec. 128. Employer contributions to Trump accounts.”

(c) CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS EXCLUDED FROM GROSS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before section 140 the following new section:

“SEC. 139J. CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income of an account beneficiary shall not include any qualified general contribution to a Trump account of the account beneficiary.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is used in section 530A shall have the meaning given such term under section 530A.”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 140 the following new item:

“Sec. 139J. Certain contributions to Trump accounts.”

(d) TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 65 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 643A. TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual who makes an election under this section with respect to an eligible child of the individual, such eligible child shall be treated as making a payment against the tax imposed by subtitle A (for the taxable year for which the election was made) in an amount equal to \$1,000.

“(b) REFUND OF PAYMENT.—The amount treated as a payment under subsection (a) shall be paid by the Secretary to the Trump account with respect to which such eligible child is the account beneficiary.

“(c) ELIGIBLE CHILD.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘eligible child’ means a qualifying child (as defined in section 152(c))—

“(1) who is born after December 31, 2024, and before January 1, 2029,

“(2) with respect to whom no prior election has been made under this section by such individual or any other individual,

“(3) who is a United States citizen, and

“(4) at least one parent of whom was a United States citizen at the time of such qualifying child’s birth.

“(d) ELECTION.—An election under this section shall be made at such time and in such manner as the Secretary shall provide.

“(e) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply to any taxpayer unless such individual includes with the election made under this section—

“(A) such individual’s social security number, and

“(B) the social security number of the eligible child with respect to whom the election is made.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7), determined by substituting ‘before the date of the election made under section 643A’ for ‘before the due date of such return’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.

“(f) EXCEPTION FROM REDUCTION OR OFFSET.—Any payment made to any individual under this section shall not be—

“(1) subject to reduction or offset pursuant to subsection (c), (d), (e), or (f) of section 6402 or any similar authority permitting offset, or

“(2) reduced or offset by other assessed Federal taxes that would otherwise be subject to levy or collection.

“(g) SPECIAL RULE REGARDING INTEREST.—The period determined under section 6611(a) with respect to any payment under this section shall not begin before January 1, 2028.

“(h) MIRROR CODE POSSESSIONS.—In the case of any possession of the United States with a mirror code tax system (as defined in section 24(k)), this section shall not be treated as part of the income tax laws of the United States for purposes of determining the income tax law of such possession unless such possession elects to have this section be so treated.

“(i) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section, the terms ‘Trump account’ and ‘account beneficiary’ have the meaning given such terms in section 530A(b).”

(2) PENALTY FOR NEGLIGENT CLAIM OR FRAUDULENT CLAIM.—Part I of subchapter A of chapter 68 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6659. IMPROPER CLAIM FOR TRUMP ACCOUNT CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM CREDIT.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any individual who makes an election under section 6434 with respect to an individual who is not an eligible child of the taxpayer—

“(1) if such election was made due to negligence or disregard of the rules or regulations, there shall be imposed a penalty of \$500, or

“(2) if such election was made due to fraud, there shall be imposed a penalty of \$1,000.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—

“(1) ELIGIBLE CHILD.—The term ‘eligible child’ has the meaning given such term under section 6434.

“(2) NEGLIGENCE; DISREGARD.—The terms ‘negligence’ and ‘disregard’ have the same meaning as when such terms are used in section 6662.”

(3) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (Y), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (Z) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (Z) the following new subparagraph:

“(AA) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 6434(e)(1) (relating to the Trump accounts contribution pilot program).”

(4) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6434. Trump accounts contribution pilot program.”

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter A of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6658 the following new item:

“Sec. 6659. Improper claim for Trump account contribution pilot program credit.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(f) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of the Treasury, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$410,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2034, to carry out the amendments made by this section.

CHAPTER 3—ESTABLISHING CERTAINTY AND COMPETITIVENESS FOR AMERICAN JOB CREATORS**Subchapter A—Permanent U.S. Business Tax Reform and Boosting Domestic Investment****SEC. 70301. FULL EXPENSING FOR CERTAIN BUSINESS PROPERTY.**

(a) MADE PERMANENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 168(k)(2)(A) is amended by adding “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking “, and” at the end of clause (ii) and inserting a period, and by striking clause (iii).

(2) PROPERTY WITH LONGER PRODUCTION PERIODS.—Section 168(k)(2)(B) is amended—

(A) in clause (i), by striking subclauses (II) and (III) and redesignating subclauses (IV), (V), and (VI), as subclauses (II), (III), and (IV), respectively, and

(B) by striking clause (ii) and redesignating clauses (iii) and (iv) as clauses (ii) and (iii), respectively.

(3) SELF-CONSTRUCTED PROPERTY.—Section 168(k)(2)(E) is amended by striking clause (i) and redesignating clauses (ii) and (iii) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively.

(4) CERTAIN PLANTS.—Section 168(k)(5)(A) is amended by striking “planted before January 1, 2027, or is grafted before such date to a plant that has already been planted,” in

the matter preceding clause (i) and inserting “(planted or grafted)”.

(5) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 168(k)(2)(A)(ii) is amended by striking “clause (ii) of subparagraph (E)” and inserting “clause (i) of subparagraph (E)”.

(B) Section 168(k)(2)(C)(i) is amended by striking “and subclauses (II) and (III) of subparagraph (B)(i)”.

(C) Section 168(k)(2)(C)(ii) is amended by striking “subparagraph (B)(iii)” and inserting “subparagraph (B)(ii)”.

(D) Section 460(c)(6)(B) is amended by striking “which” and all that follows through the period and inserting “which has a recovery period of 7 years or less.”

(b) 100 PERCENT EXPENSING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 168(k) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking “the applicable percentage” and inserting “100 percent”, and

(B) by striking paragraphs (6) and (8).

(2) CERTAIN PLANTS.—Section 168(k)(5)(A)(i) is amended by striking “the applicable percentage” and inserting “100 percent”.

(3) TRANSITIONAL ELECTION OF REDUCED PERCENTAGE.—Section 168(k)(10) is amended by striking subparagraph (A), by redesignating subparagraph (B) as subparagraph (C), and by inserting before subparagraph (C) (as so redesignated) the following new subparagraphs:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of qualified property placed in service by the taxpayer during the first taxable year ending after January 19, 2025, if the taxpayer elects to have this paragraph apply for such taxable year, paragraph (1)(A) shall be applied—

“(i) in the case of property which is not described in clause (ii), by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘100 percent’, or

“(ii) in the case of property which is described in subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (2), by substituting ‘60 percent’ for ‘100 percent’.

“(B) SPECIFIED PLANTS.—In the case of any specified plant planted or grafted by the taxpayer during the first taxable year ending after January 19, 2025, if the taxpayer elects to have this paragraph apply for such taxable year, paragraph (5)(A)(i) shall be applied by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘100 percent’.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to property acquired after January 19, 2025.

(2) SPECIFIED PLANTS.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in the case of any specified plant (as defined in section 168(k)(5)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as amended by this section), the amendments made by this section shall apply to such plants which are planted or grafted after January 19, 2025.

(3) TRANSITIONAL ELECTION OF REDUCED PERCENTAGE.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(3) shall apply to taxable years ending after January 19, 2025.

(4) ACQUISITION DATE DETERMINATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), property shall not be treated as acquired after the date on which a written binding contract is entered into for such acquisition.

SEC. 70302. FULL EXPENSING OF DOMESTIC RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 174 the following new section:

“SEC. 174A. DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.

“(a) TREATMENT AS EXPENSES.—Notwithstanding section 263, there shall be allowed as a deduction any domestic research or experimental expenditures which are paid or

incurred by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(b) DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘domestic research or experimental expenditures’ means research or experimental expenditures paid or incurred by the taxpayer in connection with the taxpayer’s trade or business other than such expenditures which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F)).

“(c) AMORTIZATION OF CERTAIN DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—At the election of the taxpayer, made in accordance with regulations or other guidance provided by the Secretary, in the case of domestic research or experimental expenditures which would (but for subsection (a)) be chargeable to capital account but not chargeable to property of a character which is subject to the allowance under section 167 (relating to allowance for depreciation, etc.) or section 611 (relating to allowance for depletion), subsection (a) shall not apply and the taxpayer shall—

“(A) charge such expenditures to capital account, and

“(B) be allowed an amortization deduction of such expenditures ratably over such period of not less than 60 months as may be selected by the taxpayer (beginning with the month in which the taxpayer first realizes benefits from such expenditures).

“(2) TIME FOR AND SCOPE OF ELECTION.—The election provided by paragraph (1) may be made for any taxable year, but only if made not later than the time prescribed by law for filing the return for such taxable year (including extensions thereof). The method so elected, and the period selected by the taxpayer, shall be adhered to in computing taxable income for the taxable year for which the election is made and for all subsequent taxable years unless, with the approval of the Secretary, a change to a different method (or to a different period) is authorized with respect to part or all of such expenditures. The election shall not apply to any expenditure paid or incurred during any taxable year before the taxable year for which the taxpayer makes the election.

“(d) SPECIAL RULES.—

“(1) LAND AND OTHER PROPERTY.—This section shall not apply to any expenditure for the acquisition or improvement of land, or for the acquisition or improvement of property to be used in connection with the research or experimentation and of a character which is subject to the allowance under section 167 (relating to allowance for depreciation, etc.) or section 611 (relating to allowance for depletion); but for purposes of this section allowances under section 167, and allowances under section 611, shall be considered as expenditures.

“(2) EXPLORATION EXPENDITURES.—This section shall not apply to any expenditure paid or incurred for the purpose of ascertaining the existence, location, extent, or quality of any deposit of ore or other mineral (including oil and gas).

“(3) SOFTWARE DEVELOPMENT.—For purposes of this section, any amount paid or incurred in connection with the development of any software shall be treated as a research or experimental expenditure.”

(b) COORDINATION WITH CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

(1) FOREIGN RESEARCH EXPENSES.—Section 174 is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) by striking “a taxpayer’s specified research or experimental expenditures” and inserting “a taxpayer’s foreign research or experimental expenditures”, and

(ii) by striking “over the 5-year period (15-year period in the case of any specified research or experimental expenditures which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F)))” in paragraph (2)(B) and inserting “over the 15-year period”;

(B) in subsection (b)—

(i) by striking “specified research” and inserting “foreign research”;

(ii) by inserting “and which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F))” before the period at the end, and

(iii) by striking “SPECIFIED” in the heading thereof and inserting “FOREIGN”, and

(C) in subsection (d)—

(i) by striking “specified research or experimental expenditures” and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures”, and

(ii) by inserting “or reduction to amount realized” after “no deduction”.

(2) RESEARCH CREDIT.—

(A) Section 41(d)(1)(A) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) with respect to which expenditures are treated as domestic research or experimental expenditures under section 174A.”.

(B) Section 280C(c)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The domestic research or experimental expenditures otherwise taken into account under section 174A shall be reduced by the amount of the credit allowed under section 41(a).”.

(3) AMT ADJUSTMENT.—Section 56(b)(2) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “or 174(a)” in the matter preceding clause (i) and inserting “, 174(a), or 174A(a)”, and

(ii) by striking “research and experimental expenditures described in section 174(a)” in clause (ii) thereof and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures described in section 174(a) and domestic research or experimental expenditures in section 174A(a)”, and

(B) in subparagraph (C), by inserting “or 174A(a)” after “174(a)”.

(4) OPTIONAL 10-YEAR WRITEOFF.—Section 59(e)(2)(B) is amended by striking “section 174(a) (relating to research and experimental expenditures)” and inserting “section 174A(a) (relating to domestic research or experimental expenditures)”.

(5) QUALIFIED SMALL ISSUE BONDS.—Section 144(a)(4)(C)(iv) is amended by striking “174(a)” and inserting “174A(a)”.

(6) START-UP EXPENDITURES.—Section 195(c)(1) is amended by striking “or 174” in the last sentence and inserting “174, or 174A”.

(7) CAPITAL EXPENDITURES.—

(A) Section 263(a)(1)(B) is amended by inserting “or 174A” after “174”.

(B) Section 263A(c)(2) is amended by inserting “or 174A” after “174”.

(8) ACTIVE BUSINESS COMPUTER SOFTWARE ROYALTIES.—Section 543(d)(4)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “174A,” after “174”.

(9) SOURCE RULES.—Section 864(g)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking “research and experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174” in the first sentence and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174 or domestic research or experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174A”, and

(B) in the last sentence—

(i) by striking “treated as deferred expenses under subsection (b) of section 174” and inserting “allowed as an amortization deduction under section 174(a) or section 174A(c).”, and

(ii) by striking “such subsection” and inserting “such section (as the case may be)”.

(10) BASIS ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1016(a)(14) is amended by striking “deductions as deferred expenses under section 174(b)(1) (relating to research and experimental expenditures)” and inserting “deductions under section 174 or 174A(c)”.

(11) SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.—Section 1202(e)(2)(B) is amended by striking “which may be treated as research and experimental expenditures under section 174” and inserting “which are treated as foreign research or experimental expenditures under section 174 or domestic research or experimental expenditures under section 174A”.

(C) CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall be treated as a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and—

(A) such change shall be treated as initiated by the taxpayer,

(B) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(C) such change shall be applied only on a cut-off basis for any domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A(b) of such Code (as added by this section) and determined by applying the rules of section 174A(d) of such Code) paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and no adjustments under section 481(a) shall be made.

(2) SPECIAL RULES.—In the case of a taxable year which begins after December 31, 2024, and ends before the date of the enactment of this Act—

(A) paragraph (1)(C) shall not apply, and

(B) the change in method of accounting under paragraph (1) shall be applied on a modified cut-off basis, taking into account for purposes of section 481(a) of such Code only the domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A(b) of such Code (as added by this section) and determined by applying the rules of section 174A(d) of such Code) paid or incurred in such taxable year but not allowed as a deduction in such taxable year.

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 174 the following new item:

“Sec. 174A. Domestic research or experimental expenditures.”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection or subsection (f)(1), the amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(2) TREATMENT OF FOREIGN RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES UPON DISPOSITION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The amendment by subsection (b)(1)(C)(ii) shall apply to property disposed, retired, or abandoned after May 12, 2025.

(B) NO INFERENCE.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(1)(C)(ii) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of section 174(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before May 13, 2025.

(3) COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(2)(B) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(4) NO INFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT FOR PRIOR PERIODS.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(2)(B) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper applica-

tion of section 280C(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before January 1, 2025.

(f) TRANSITION RULES.—

(1) ELECTION FOR RETROACTIVE APPLICATION BY CERTAIN SMALL BUSINESSES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—At the election of an eligible taxpayer, paragraphs (1) and (3) of subsection (e) shall each be applied by substituting “December 31, 2021” for “December 31, 2024”. An election made under this subparagraph shall be made in such manner as the Secretary may provide and not later than the date that is 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act. The taxpayer shall file an amended return for each taxable year affected by such election.

(B) ELIGIBLE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term “eligible taxpayer” means any taxpayer (other than a tax shelter prohibited from using the cash receipts and disbursements method of accounting under section 448(a)(3)) which meets the gross receipts test of section 448(c) for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024.

(C) ELECTION TREATED AS CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.—In the case of any taxpayer which elects the application of subparagraph (A)—

(i) such election may be treated as a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of such Code for the taxpayer's first taxable year affected by such election,

(ii) such change shall be treated as initiated by the taxpayer for such taxable year,

(iii) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(iv) subsection (c) shall not apply to such taxpayer.

(D) ELECTION REGARDING COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT.—An election under section 280C(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (or revocation of such election) for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2021, by an eligible taxpayer making an election under subparagraph (A) shall not fail to be treated as timely made (or as made on the return) if made during the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act on an amended return for such taxable year.

(2) ELECTION TO DEDUCT CERTAIN UNAMORTIZED AMOUNTS PAID OR INCURRED IN TAXABLE YEARS BEGINNING BEFORE JANUARY 1, 2025.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A, as added by subsection (a)) which are paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2021, and before January 1, 2025, and which was charged to capital account, a taxpayer may elect—

(i) to deduct any remaining unamortized amount with respect to such expenditures in the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024, or

(ii) to deduct such remaining unamortized amount with respect to such expenditures ratably over the 2-taxable year period beginning with the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024.

(B) CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.—In the case of a taxpayer who makes an election under this paragraph—

(i) such taxpayer shall be treated as initiating a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the expenditures to which the election applies,

(ii) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(iii) such change shall be applied only on a cut-off basis for such expenditures and no adjustments under section 481(a) shall be made.

(C) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary's delegate) shall

publish such guidance or regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this paragraph, including regulations or guidance allowing for the deduction allowed under subparagraph (A) in the case of taxpayers with taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and ending before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70303. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON BUSINESS INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(j)(8)(A)(v) is amended by striking “in the case of taxable years beginning before January 1, 2022,”.

(b) FLOOR PLAN FINANCING APPLICABLE TO CERTAIN TRAILERS AND CAMPER.—Section 163(j)(9)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new flush sentence:

“Such term shall also include any trailer or camper which is designed to provide temporary living quarters for recreational, camping, or seasonal use and is designed to be towed by, or affixed to, a motor vehicle.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE AND SPECIAL RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) may prescribe such rules as are necessary or appropriate to provide for the application of the amendments made by this section in the case of any taxable year of less than 12 months that begins after December 31, 2024, and ends before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70304. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF PAID FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 45S is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking paragraph (1) and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 38, in the case of an eligible employer, the paid family and medical leave credit is an amount equal to either of the following (as elected by such employer):

“(A) The applicable percentage of the amount of wages paid to qualifying employees with respect to any period in which such employees are on family and medical leave.

“(B) If such employer has an insurance policy with regards to the provision of paid family and medical leave which is in force during the taxable year, the applicable percentage of the total amount of premiums paid or incurred by such employer during such taxable year with respect to such insurance policy.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) RATE OF PAYMENT DETERMINED WITHOUT REGARD TO WHETHER LEAVE IS TAKEN.—For purposes of determining the applicable percentage with respect to paragraph (1)(B), the rate of payment under the insurance policy shall be determined without regard to whether any qualifying employees were on family and medical leave during the taxable year.”.

(2) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “credit allowed” and inserting “wages taken into account”.

(3) in subsection (c), by striking paragraphs (3) and (4) and inserting the following:

“(3) AGGREGATION RULE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), all persons which are treated as a single employer under subsections (b) and (c) of section 414 shall be treated as a single employer.

“(B) EXCEPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to any person who establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that such person has a substantial and legitimate business reason for failing to provide a written policy described in paragraph (1) or (2).

“(ii) SUBSTANTIAL AND LEGITIMATE BUSINESS REASON.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘substantial and legitimate business reason’ shall not include the operation of a separate line of business, the rate of wages or category of jobs for employees (or any similar basis), or the application of State or local laws relating to family and medical leave, but may include the grouping of employees of a common law employer.

“(4) TREATMENT OF BENEFITS MANDATED OR PAID FOR BY STATE OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.—For purposes of this section, any leave which is paid by a State or local government or required by State or local law—

“(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), shall be taken into account in determining the amount of paid family and medical leave provided by the employer, and

“(B) shall not be taken into account in determining the amount of the paid family and medical leave credit under subsection (a).”.

(4) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, at the election of the employer, for not less than 6 months)” after “1 year or more”.

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) by inserting “, as determined on an annualized basis (pro-rata for part-time employees),” after “compensation”, and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) is customarily employed for not less than 20 hours per week.”, and

(5) by striking subsection (i).

(b) NO DOUBLE BENEFIT.—Section 280C(a) is amended—

(1) by striking “45S(a)” and inserting “45S(a)(1)(A)”, and

(2) by inserting after the first sentence the following: “No deduction shall be allowed for that portion of the premiums paid or incurred for the taxable year which is equal to that portion of the paid family and medical leave credit which is determined for the taxable year under section 45S(a)(1)(B).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70305. EXCEPTIONS FROM LIMITATIONS ON DEDUCTION FOR BUSINESS MEALS.

(a) EXCEPTION TO DENIAL OF DEDUCTION FOR BUSINESS MEALS.—Section 274(o), as added by section 13304 of Public Law 115-97, is amended by striking “No deduction” and inserting “Except in the case of an expense described in subsection (e)(8) or (n)(2)(C), no deduction”.

(b) MEALS PROVIDED ON CERTAIN FISHING BOATS AND AT CERTAIN FISH PROCESSING FACILITIES NOT SUBJECT TO 50 PERCENT LIMITATION.—Section 274(n)(2)(C) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (iii) and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(v) provided—

“(I) on a fishing vessel, fish processing vessel, or fish tender vessel (as such terms are defined in section 2101 of title 46, United States Code), or

“(II) at a facility for the processing of fish for commercial use or consumption which—

“(aa) is located in the United States north of 50 degrees north latitude, and

“(bb) is not located in a metropolitan statistical area (within the meaning of section 143(k)(2)(B)), or”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70306. INCREASED DOLLAR LIMITATIONS FOR EXPENSING OF CERTAIN DEPRECIABLE BUSINESS ASSETS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 179(b) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “\$1,000,000” and inserting “\$2,500,000”, and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$2,500,000” and inserting “\$4,000,000”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 179(b)(6)(A) is amended—

(1) by inserting “(2025 in the case of the dollar amounts in paragraphs (1) and (2))” after “In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2018”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.” and inserting “determined by substituting in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof—

“(I) in the case of amounts in paragraphs (1) and (2), ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’, and

“(II) in the case of the amount in paragraph (5)(A), ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70307. SPECIAL DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCE FOR QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 168 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(n) SPECIAL ALLOWANCE FOR QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any qualified production property of a taxpayer making an election under this subsection—

“(A) the depreciation deduction provided by section 167(a) for the taxable year in which such property is placed in service shall include an allowance equal to 100 percent of the adjusted basis of the qualified production property, and

“(B) the adjusted basis of the qualified production property shall be reduced by the amount of such deduction before computing the amount otherwise allowable as a depreciation deduction under this chapter for such taxable year and any subsequent taxable year.

“(2) QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified production property’ means that portion of any nonresidential real property—

“(i) to which this section applies,

“(ii) which is used by the taxpayer as an integral part of a qualified production activity,

“(iii) which is placed in service in the United States or any possession of the United States,

“(iv) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

“(v) the construction of which begins after January 19, 2025, and before January 1, 2029,

“(vi) which is designated by the taxpayer in the election made under this subsection, and

“(vii) which is placed in service before January 1, 2031.

For purposes of clause (ii), in the case of property with respect to which the taxpayer is a lessor, property used by a lessee shall not be considered to be used by the taxpayer as part of a qualified production activity.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN PROPERTY NOT PREVIOUSLY USED IN QUALIFIED PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of property acquired by the taxpayer during the period described in subparagraph (A)(v), the requirements of clauses (iv) and (v) of subparagraph (A) shall be treated as satisfied if—

“(I) such property was not used in a qualified production activity (determined without regard to the second sentence of subparagraph (D)) by any person at any time during the period beginning on January 1, 2021, and ending on May 12, 2025,

“(II) such property was not used by the taxpayer at any time prior to such acquisition, and

“(III) the acquisition of such property meets the requirements of paragraphs (2)(A), (2)(B), (2)(C), and (3) of section 179(d).

“(ii) WRITTEN BINDING CONTRACTS.—For purposes of determining under clause (i)—

“(I) whether such property is acquired before the period described in subparagraph (A)(v), such property shall be treated as acquired not later than the date on which the taxpayer enters into a written binding contract for such acquisition, and

“(II) whether such property is acquired after such period, such property shall be treated as acquired not earlier than such date.

“(C) EXCLUSION OF OFFICE SPACE, ETC.—The term ‘qualified production property’ shall not include that portion of any nonresidential real property which is used for offices, administrative services, lodging, parking, sales activities, research activities, software development or engineering activities, or other functions unrelated to the manufacturing, production, or refining of tangible personal property.

“(D) QUALIFIED PRODUCTION ACTIVITY.—The term ‘qualified production activity’ means the manufacturing, production, or refining of a qualified product. The activities of any taxpayer do not constitute manufacturing, production, or refining of a qualified product unless the activities of such taxpayer result in a substantial transformation of the property comprising the product.

“(E) PRODUCTION.—The term ‘production’ shall not include activities other than agricultural production and chemical production.

“(F) QUALIFIED PRODUCT.—The term ‘qualified product’ means any tangible personal property if such property is not a food or beverage prepared in the same building as a retail establishment in which such property is sold.

“(G) SYNDICATION.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(iv), rules similar to the rules of subsection (k)(2)(E)(iii) shall apply.

“(H) EXTENSION OF PLACED IN SERVICE DATE UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.—The Secretary may extend the date under subparagraph (A)(vii) with respect to any property that meets the requirements of clauses (i) through (vi) of subparagraph (A) if the Secretary determines that an act of God (as defined in section 101(1) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980) prevents the taxpayer from placing such property in service before such date.

“(3) DEDUCTION ALLOWED IN COMPUTING MINIMUM TAX.—For purposes of determining alternative minimum taxable income under section 55, the deduction under section 167 for qualified production property shall be determined under this section without regard to any adjustment under section 56.

“(4) COORDINATION WITH CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

“(A) OTHER SPECIAL DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES.—For purposes of subsections (k)(7), (l)(3)(D), and (m)(2)(B)(iii)—

“(i) qualified production property shall be treated as a separate class of property, and

“(ii) the taxpayer shall be treated as having made an election under such subsections with respect to such class.

“(B) ALTERNATIVE DEPRECIATION PROPERTY.—The term ‘qualified production property’ shall not include any property to which the alternative depreciation system under subsection (g) applies. For purposes of subsection (g)(7)(A), qualified production property to which this subsection applies shall be treated as separate nonresidential real property.

“(5) RECAPTURE.—If, at any time during the 10-year period beginning on the date that any qualified production property is placed in service by the taxpayer, such property ceases to be used as described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii) and is used by the taxpayer in a productive use not described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii)—

“(A) section 1245 shall be applied—

“(i) by treating such property as having been disposed of by the taxpayer as of the first time such property is so used in a productive use not described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii), and

“(ii) by treating the amount described in subparagraph (B) of section 1245(a)(1) with respect to such disposition as being not less than the amount described in subparagraph (A) of such section, and

“(B) the basis of the taxpayer in such property, and the taxpayer’s allowance for depreciation with respect to such property, shall be appropriately adjusted to take into account amounts recognized by reason of subparagraph (A).

“(6) ELECTION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—An election under this subsection for any taxable year shall—

“(i) specify the nonresidential real property subject to the election and the portion of such property designated under paragraph (2)(A)(vi), and

“(ii) except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, be made on the taxpayer’s return of the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year.

Such election shall be made in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe by regulations or other guidance.

“(B) ELECTION.—Any election made under this subsection, and any specification contained in any such election, may not be revoked except with the consent of the Secretary (and the Secretary shall provide such consent only in extraordinary circumstances).

“(7) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance—

“(A) providing rules for regarding what constitutes substantial transformation of property which are consistent with guidance provided under section 954(d), and

“(B) providing for the application of paragraph (5) with respect to a change in use described in such paragraph by a transferee following a fully or partially tax free transfer of qualified production property.”

(b) TREATMENT OF QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY AS SECTION 1245 PROPERTY.—Section 1245(a)(3) is amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(G) any qualified production property (as defined in section 168(n)(2)).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70308. ENHANCEMENT OF ADVANCED MANUFACTURING INVESTMENT CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 48D(a) is amended by striking “25 percent” and inserting “35 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70309. SPACEPORTS ARE TREATED LIKE AIRPORTS UNDER EXEMPT FACILITY BOND RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 142(a)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) airports and spaceports.”

(b) TREATMENT OF GROUND LEASES.—Section 142(b)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR SPACEPORT GROUND LEASES.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), spaceport property located on land leased by a governmental unit from the United States shall not fail to be treated as owned by a governmental unit if the requirements of this paragraph are met by the lease and any subleases of the property.”

(c) DEFINITION OF SPACEPORT.—Section 142 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(p) SPACEPORT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(1), the term ‘spaceport’ means any facility located at or in close proximity to a launch site or reentry site used for—

“(A) manufacturing, assembling, or repairing spacecraft, space cargo, other facilities described in this paragraph, or any component of the foregoing,

“(B) flight control operations,

“(C) providing launch services and reentry services, or

“(D) transferring crew, spaceflight participants, or space cargo to or from spacecraft.

“(2) ADDITIONAL TERMS.—For purposes of paragraph (1)—

“(A) SPACE CARGO.—The term ‘space cargo’ includes satellites, scientific experiments, other property transported into space, and any other type of payload, whether or not such property returns from space.

“(B) SPACECRAFT.—The term ‘spacecraft’ means a launch vehicle or a reentry vehicle.

“(C) OTHER TERMS.—The terms ‘launch site’, ‘crew’, ‘space flight participant’, ‘launch services’, ‘launch vehicle’, ‘payload’, ‘reentry services’, ‘reentry site’, a ‘reentry vehicle’ shall have the respective meanings given to such terms by section 50902 of title 51, United States Code (as in effect on the date of enactment of this subsection).

“(3) PUBLIC USE REQUIREMENT.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a facility shall not be required to be available for use by the general public to be treated as a spaceport for purposes of this section.

“(4) MANUFACTURING FACILITIES AND INDUSTRIAL PARKS ALLOWED.—With respect to spaceports, subsection (e)(2)(E) shall not apply to spaceport property described in paragraph (1)(A).”

(d) EXCEPTION FROM FEDERALLY GUARANTEED BOND PROHIBITION.—Section 149(b)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) EXCEPTION FOR SPACEPORTS.—A bond shall not be treated as federally guaranteed merely because of the payment of rent, user fees, or other charges by the United States (or any agency or instrumentality thereof) in exchange for the use of the spaceport by the United States (or any agency or instrumentality thereof).”

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The heading for section 142(c) is amended by inserting “SPACEPORTS,” after “AIRPORTS.”

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to obligations issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Subchapter B—Permanent America-first International Tax Reforms

PART I—FOREIGN TAX CREDIT

SEC. 70311. MODIFICATIONS RELATED TO FOREIGN TAX CREDIT LIMITATION.

(a) RULES FOR ALLOCATION OF CERTAIN DEDUCTIONS TO FOREIGN SOURCE NET CFC TESTED INCOME FOR PURPOSES OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT LIMITATION.—Section 904(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) DEDUCTIONS TREATED AS ALLOCABLE TO FOREIGN SOURCE NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—

Solely for purposes of the application of subsection (a) with respect to amounts described in subsection (d)(1)(A), the taxpayer's taxable income from sources without the United States shall be determined by allocating and apportioning—

“(A) any deduction allowed under section 250(a)(1)(B) (and any deduction allowed under section 164(a)(3) for taxes imposed on amounts described in section 250(a)(1)(B)) to such income,

“(B) no amount of interest expense or research and experimental expenditures to such income, and

“(C) any other deduction to such income only if such deduction is directly allocable to such income.

Any amount or deduction which would (but for subparagraphs (B) and (C)) have been allocated or apportioned to such income shall only be allocated or apportioned to income which is from sources within the United States.”.

(b) OTHER MODIFICATIONS.—

(1) Section 904(d)(2)(H)(i) is amended by striking “paragraph (1)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(D)”.

(2) Section 904(d)(4)(C)(ii) is amended by striking “paragraph (1)(A)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(C)”.

(3) Section 951A(f)(1)(A) is amended by striking “904(h)(1)” and inserting “904(h)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70312. MODIFICATIONS TO DETERMINATION OF DEEMED PAID CREDIT FOR TAXES PROPERLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO TESTED INCOME.

(a) INCREASE IN DEEMED PAID CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 960(d)(1) is amended by striking “80 percent” and inserting “90 percent”.

(2) GROSS UP FOR DEEMED PAID FOREIGN TAX CREDIT.—Section 78 is amended—

(A) by striking “subsections (a), (b), and (d)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (d)”, and

(B) by striking “80 percent” and inserting “90 percent”.

(b) DISALLOWANCE OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUSLY TAXED NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—Section 960(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) DISALLOWANCE OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUSLY TAXED NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—No credit shall be allowed under section 901 for 10 percent of any foreign income taxes paid or accrued (or deemed paid under subsection (b)(1)) with respect to any amount excluded from gross income under section 959(a) by reason of an inclusion in gross income under section 951A(a).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(2) DISALLOWANCE.—The amendment made by subsection (b) shall apply to amounts distributed after June 28, 2025.

SEC. 70313. SOURCING CERTAIN INCOME FROM THE SALE OF INVENTORY PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 904(b), as amended by section 70311, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) SOURCE RULES FOR CERTAIN INVENTORY PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOLD THROUGH FOREIGN BRANCHES.—For purposes of this section, if a United States person maintains an office or other fixed place of business in a foreign country (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 864(c)(5)), the portion of income which—

“(A) is from the sale or exchange outside the United States of inventory property (within the meaning of section 865(i)(1))—

“(i) which is produced in the United States,

“(ii) which is for use outside the United States, and

“(iii) to which the third sentence of section 863(b) applies, and

“(B) is attributable (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 864(c)(5)) to such office or other fixed place of business,

shall be treated as from sources without the United States, except that the amount so treated shall not exceed 50 percent of the income from the sale or exchange of such inventory property.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART II—FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME

SEC. 70321. MODIFICATION OF DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(a) is amended—

(1) by striking “37.5 percent” in paragraph (1)(A) and inserting “33.34 percent”,

(2) by striking “50 percent” in paragraph (1)(B) and inserting “40 percent”, and

(3) by striking paragraph (3).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70322. DETERMINATION OF DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME.

(a) SALES OR OTHER DISPOSITIONS OF CERTAIN PROPERTY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(b)(3)(A)(i) is amended—

(A) by striking “and” at the end of subclause (V),

(B) by striking “over” at the end of subclause (VI) and inserting “and”, and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(VII) except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, any income and gain from the sale or other disposition (including pursuant to a transaction subject to section 367(d)) of—

“(aa) intangible property (as defined in section 367(d)(4)), and

“(bb) any other property of a type that is subject to depreciation, amortization, or depletion by the seller, over”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 250(b)(5)(E) is amended by inserting “(other than paragraph (3)(A)(i)(VII))” after “For purposes of this subsection”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to sales or other dispositions (including pursuant to a transaction subject to section 367(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) occurring after June 16, 2025.

(b) EXPENSE APPORTIONMENT LIMITED TO PROPERLY ALLOCABLE EXPENSES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(b)(3)(A)(ii) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) expenses and deductions (including taxes), other than interest expense and research or experimental expenditures, properly allocable to such gross income.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70323. RULES RELATED TO DEEMED INTANGIBLE INCOME.

(a) TAXATION OF NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 951A(a) is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(2) REPEAL OF TAX-FREE DEEMED RETURN ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS.—Section 951A, as

amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking subsections (b) and (d) and by redesignating subsections (c), (e), and (f) as subsections (b), (c), and (d), respectively.

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A)(i) Section 250 is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” each place it appears in subsections (a)(1)(B)(i), (a)(2), and (b)(3)(A)(i)(II) and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(ii) The heading for section 250 of such Code is amended by striking “GLOBAL INTANGIBLE LOW-TAXED INCOME” and inserting “NET CFC TESTED INCOME”.

(iii) The item relating to section 250 in the table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(B) Section 951A(c)(1), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended by striking “subsections (b), (c)(1)(A), and (c)(1)(B)” and inserting “subsections (b)(1)(A) and (b)(1)(B)”.

(C) Section 951A(d), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended—

(i) by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” each place it appears and inserting “net CFC tested income”, and

(ii) by striking “subsection (c)(1)(A)” in paragraph (2)(B)(ii) and inserting “subsection (b)(1)(A)”.

(D) Section 960(d)(2) is amended—

(i) by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” in subparagraph (A) and inserting “net CFC tested income”, and

(ii) by striking “section 951A(c)(1)(A)” in subparagraph (B) and inserting “section 951A(b)(1)(A)”.

(E)(i) The heading for section 951A is amended by striking “GLOBAL INTANGIBLE LOW-TAXED INCOME” and inserting “NET CFC TESTED INCOME”.

(ii) The item relating to section 951A in the table of sections for subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by striking “Global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “Net CFC tested income”.

(b) DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(a)(1)(A) is amended by striking “foreign-derived intangible income” and inserting “foreign-derived deduction eligible income”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 250(a)(2) is amended by striking “foreign-derived intangible income” each place it appears and inserting “foreign-derived deduction eligible income”.

(B) Section 250(b), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(i) by striking paragraphs (1) and (2),

(ii) by redesignating paragraphs (4) and (5) as paragraphs (1) and (2), respectively, and by moving such paragraphs before paragraph (3),

(iii) in paragraph (2)(B)(ii), as so redesignated, by striking “paragraph (4)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(B)”, and

(iv) by striking “INTANGIBLE” in the heading thereof and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(C)(i) The heading for section 250 is amended by striking “INTANGIBLE” in the heading thereof and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(ii) The heading for section 172(d)(9) is amended by striking “INTANGIBLE” and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(iii) The item relating to section 250 in the table of sections for part VIII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking “intangible” and inserting “deduction eligible”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART III—BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX
SEC. 70331. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF
BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX
AMOUNT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 59A(b) is amended—

(1) by striking “10 percent” in paragraph (1) and inserting “10.5 percent”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (2) and by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (2) and (3), respectively.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 59A(b)(1) is amended by striking “Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3)” and inserting “Except as provided in paragraph (2)”.

(2) Section 59A(b)(2), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2), is amended by striking “the percentage otherwise in effect under paragraphs (1)(A) and (2)(A) shall each be increased” and inserting “the percentages otherwise in effect under paragraph (1)(A) shall be increased”.

(3) Section 59A(e)(1)(C) is amended by striking “in the case of a taxpayer described in subsection (b)(3)(B)” and inserting “in the case of a taxpayer described in subsection (b)(2)(B)”.

(c) OTHER MODIFICATIONS.—

(1) Section 59A(b)(2)(B)(ii), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2), is amended by striking “registered securities dealer” and inserting “securities dealer registered”.

(2) Section 59A(h)(2)(B) is amended by striking “section 6038B(b)(2)” and inserting “section 6038A(b)(2)”.

(3) Section 59A(i)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking “subsection (g)” and inserting “subsection (h)”, and

(B) by striking “subsection (g)(3)” and inserting “subsection (h)(3)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART IV—BUSINESS INTEREST
LIMITATION

SEC. 70341. COORDINATION OF BUSINESS INTEREST
LIMITATION WITH INTEREST
CAPITALIZATION PROVISIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(j) is amended by redesignating paragraphs (10) and (11) as paragraphs (11) and (12) and by inserting after paragraph (9) the following:

“(10) COORDINATION WITH INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In applying this subsection—

“(i) the limitation under paragraph (1) shall apply to business interest without regard to whether the taxpayer would otherwise deduct such business interest or capitalize such business interest under an interest capitalization provision, and

“(ii) any reference in this subsection to a deduction for business interest shall be treated as including a reference to the capitalization of business interest.

“(B) AMOUNT ALLOWED APPLIED FIRST TO CAPITALIZED INTEREST.—The amount allowed after taking into account the limitation described in paragraph (1)—

“(i) shall be applied first to the aggregate amount of business interest which would otherwise be capitalized, and

“(ii) the remainder (if any) shall be applied to the aggregate amount of business interest which would be deducted.

“(C) TREATMENT OF DISALLOWED INTEREST CARRIED FORWARD.—No portion of any business interest carried forward under paragraph (2) from any taxable year to any succeeding taxable year shall, for purposes of this title (including any interest capitalization provision which previously applied to such portion) be treated as interest to which an interest capitalization provision applies.

“(D) INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘inter-

est capitalization provision’ means any provision of this subtitle under which interest—

“(i) is required to be charged to capital account, or

“(ii) may be deducted or charged to capital account.”.

(b) CERTAIN CAPITALIZED INTEREST NOT TREATED AS BUSINESS INTEREST.—Section 163(j)(5) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: “Such term shall not include any interest which is capitalized under section 263(g) or 263A(f).”.

(c) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—Section 163(j), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by redesignating paragraphs (11) and (12) as paragraphs (12) and (13) and by inserting after paragraph (10) the following:

“(11) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or guidance to determine which business interest is taken into account under this subsection and section 59A(c)(3).”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70342. DEFINITION OF ADJUSTED TAXABLE
INCOME FOR BUSINESS INTEREST
LIMITATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 163(j)(8) is amended—

(1) by striking “and” at the end of clause (iv), and

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

“(vi) the amounts included in gross income under sections 951(a), 951A(a), and 78 (and the portion of the deductions allowed under sections 245A(a) (by reason of section 964(e)(4)) and 250(a)(1)(B) by reason of such inclusions), and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART V—OTHER INTERNATIONAL TAX
REFORMS

SEC. 70351. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF LOOK-
THRU RULE FOR RELATED CON-
TROLLED FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 954(c)(6)(C) is amended by striking “and before January 1, 2026”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70352. REPEAL OF ELECTION FOR 1-MONTH
DEFERRAL IN DETERMINATION OF
TAXABLE YEAR OF SPECIFIED FOR-
EIGN CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 898(c) is amended by striking paragraph (2) and redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (2).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of specified foreign corporations beginning after November 30, 2025.

(c) TRANSITION RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a corporation that is a specified foreign corporation as of November 30, 2025, such corporation’s first taxable year beginning after such date shall end at the same time as the first required year (within the meaning of section 898(c)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) ending after such date. If any specified foreign corporation is required by the amendments made by this section to change its taxable year for its first taxable year beginning after November 30, 2025—

(A) such change shall be treated as initiated by such corporation,

(B) such change shall be treated as having been made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(C) the Secretary shall issue regulations or other guidance for allocating foreign taxes that are paid or accrued in such first taxable year and the succeeding taxable year among such taxable years in the manner the Secretary determines appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section.

(2) SECRETARY.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary’s delegate.

SEC. 70353. RESTORATION OF LIMITATION ON
DOWNWARD ATTRIBUTION OF
STOCK OWNERSHIP IN APPLYING
CONSTRUCTIVE OWNERSHIP RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 958(b) is amended—

(1) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following:

“(4) Subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of section 318(a)(3) shall not be applied so as to consider a United States person as owning stock which is owned by a person who is not a United States person.”, and

(2) by striking “Paragraph (1)” in the last sentence and inserting “Paragraphs (1) and (4)”.

(b) FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDERS.—Subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 951A the following new section:

“SEC. 951B. AMOUNTS INCLUDED IN GROSS IN-
COME OF FOREIGN CONTROLLED
UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDERS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any foreign controlled United States shareholder of a foreign controlled foreign corporation—

“(1) this subpart (other than sections 951A, 951(b), and 957) shall be applied with respect to such shareholder (separately from, and in addition to, the application of this subpart without regard to this section)—

“(A) by substituting ‘foreign controlled United States shareholder’ for ‘United States shareholder’ each place it appears therein, and

“(B) by substituting ‘foreign controlled foreign corporation’ for ‘controlled foreign corporation’ each place it appears therein, and

“(2) section 951A (and such other provisions of this subpart as provided by the Secretary) shall be applied with respect to such shareholder—

“(A) by treating each reference to ‘United States shareholder’ in such section as including a reference to such shareholder, and

“(B) by treating each reference to ‘controlled foreign corporation’ in such section as including a reference to such foreign controlled foreign corporation.

“(b) FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDER.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘foreign controlled United States shareholder’ means, with respect to any foreign corporation, any United States person which would be a United States shareholder with respect to such foreign corporation if—

“(1) section 951(b) were applied by substituting ‘more than 50 percent’ for ‘10 percent or more’, and

“(2) section 958(b) were applied without regard to paragraph (4) thereof.

“(c) FOREIGN CONTROLLED FOREIGN CORPORATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘foreign controlled foreign corporation’ means a foreign corporation, other than a controlled foreign corporation, which would be a controlled foreign corporation if section 957(a) were applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘foreign controlled United States shareholders’ for ‘United States shareholders’, and

“(2) by substituting ‘section 958(b) (other than paragraph (4) thereof)’ for ‘section 958(b)’.

“(d) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance

as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance—

“(1) to treat a foreign controlled United States shareholder or a foreign controlled foreign corporation as a United States shareholder or as a controlled foreign corporation, respectively, for purposes of provisions of this title other than this subpart (including any reporting requirement), and

“(2) with respect to the treatment of foreign controlled foreign corporations that are passive foreign investment companies (as defined in section 1297).”

(c) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 951A the following new item:

“Sec. 951B. Amounts included in gross income of foreign controlled United States shareholders.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

(e) SPECIAL RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except to the extent provided by the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate), the effective date of any amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied by treating references to United States shareholders as references to foreign controlled United States shareholders, and by treating references to controlled foreign corporations as references to foreign controlled foreign corporations.

(2) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in paragraph (1) which is used in subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) shall have the meaning given such term in such subpart.

(f) NO INFERENCE.—The amendments made by this section shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of any provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before the taxable years to which such amendments apply.

SEC. 70354. MODIFICATIONS TO PRO RATA SHARE RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 951 is amended to read as follows:

“(a) AMOUNTS INCLUDED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If a foreign corporation is a controlled foreign corporation at any time during a taxable year of the foreign corporation (in this subsection referred to as the ‘CFC year’)—

“(A) each United States shareholder which owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in such corporation on any day during the CFC year shall include in gross income such shareholder’s pro rata share (determined under paragraph (2)) of the corporation’s subpart F income for the CFC year, and

“(B) each United States shareholder which owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in such corporation on the last day, in the CFC year, on which such corporation is a controlled foreign corporation shall include in gross income the amount determined under section 956 with respect to such shareholder for the CFC year (but only to the extent not excluded from gross income under section 959(a)(2)).

“(2) PRO RATA SHARE OF SUBPART F INCOME.—A United States shareholder’s pro rata share of a controlled foreign corporation’s subpart F income for a CFC year shall be the portion of such income which is attributable to—

“(A) the stock of such corporation owned (within the meaning of section 958(a)) by such shareholder, and

“(B) any period of the CFC year during which—

“(i) such shareholder owned (within the meaning of section 958(a)) such stock,

“(ii) such shareholder was a United States shareholder of such corporation, and

“(iii) such corporation was a controlled foreign corporation.

“(3) TAXABLE YEAR OF INCLUSION.—Any amount required to be included in gross income by a United States shareholder under paragraph (1) with respect to a CFC year shall be included in gross income for the shareholder’s taxable year which includes the last day on which the shareholder owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in the controlled foreign corporation during such CFC year.

“(4) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance allowing taxpayers to elect, or requiring taxpayers, to close the taxable year of a controlled foreign corporation upon a direct or indirect disposition of stock of such corporation.”

(b) COORDINATION WITH SECTION 951A.—Section 951A(c), as redesignated by section 70323(a)(2), is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “in which or with which the taxable year of the controlled foreign corporation ends” and inserting “determined under section 951(a)(3)”, and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “the last day in the taxable year of such foreign corporation on which such foreign corporation is a controlled foreign corporation” and inserting “any day in such taxable year”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

(2) TRANSITION RULE FOR DIVIDENDS.—A dividend paid (or deemed paid) by a controlled foreign corporation shall not be treated as a dividend for purposes of applying section 951(a)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as in effect before the amendments made by this section) if—

(A) such dividend—

(i) was paid (or deemed paid) on or before June 28, 2025, during the taxable year of such controlled foreign corporation which includes such date and the United States shareholder described in section 951(a)(1) of such Code (as so in effect) did not own (within the meaning of section 958(a) of such Code) the stock of such controlled foreign corporation during the portion of such taxable year on or before June 28, 2025, or

(ii) was paid (or deemed paid) after June 28, 2025, and before such controlled foreign corporation’s first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, and

(B) such dividend does not increase the taxable income of a United States person (including by reason of a dividends received deduction, an exclusion from gross income, or an exclusion from subpart F income).

CHAPTER 4—INVESTING IN AMERICAN FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, AND SMALL BUSINESSES

Subchapter A—Permanent Investments in Families and Children

SEC. 70401. ENHANCEMENT OF EMPLOYER-PROVIDED CHILD CARE CREDIT.

(a) INCREASE OF AMOUNT OF QUALIFIED CHILD CARE EXPENDITURES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—Section 45F(a)(1) is amended by striking “25 percent” and inserting “40 percent (50 percent in the case of an eligible small business)”.

(b) INCREASE OF MAXIMUM CREDIT AMOUNT.—Subsection (b) of section 45F is amended to read as follows:

“(b) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The credit allowable under subsection (a) for any taxable year shall not exceed \$500,000 (\$600,000 in the case of an eligible small business).

“(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$500,000 and \$600,000 amounts in paragraph (1) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.”

(c) ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESS.—Section 45F(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESS.—The term ‘eligible small business’ means a business that meets the gross receipts test of section 448(c), determined—

“(A) by substituting ‘5-taxable-year’ for ‘3-taxable-year’ in paragraph (1) thereof, and

“(B) by substituting ‘5-year’ for ‘3-year’ in paragraph (3)(A) thereof.”

(d) CREDIT ALLOWED FOR THIRD-PARTY INTERMEDIARIES.—Section 45F(c)(1)(A)(iii) is amended by inserting “, or under a contract with an intermediate entity that contracts with one or more qualified child care facilities to provide such child care services” before the period at the end.

(e) TREATMENT OF JOINTLY OWNED OR OPERATED CHILD CARE FACILITY.—Section 45F(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) TREATMENT OF JOINTLY OWNED OR OPERATED CHILD CARE FACILITY.—A facility shall not fail to be treated as a qualified child care facility of the taxpayer merely because such facility is jointly owned or operated by the taxpayer and other persons.”

(f) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—Section 45F is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including guidance to carry out the purposes of paragraphs (1)(A)(iii) and (2)(C) of subsection (c).”

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70402. ENHANCEMENT OF ADOPTION CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 23(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) PORTION OF CREDIT REFUNDABLE.—So much of the credit allowed under paragraph (1) as does not exceed \$5,000 shall be treated as a credit allowed under subpart C and not as a credit allowed under this subpart.”

(b) ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—Section 23(h) is amended to read as follows:

“(h) ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 2002, each of the dollar amounts in paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (a) and paragraphs (1) and (2)(A)(i) of subsection (b) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2001’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any amount as increased under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$10, such amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10.

“(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR REFUNDABLE PORTION.—In the case of the dollar amount in

subsection (a)(4), paragraph (1) shall be applied—

“(A) by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘2002’ in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), and

“(B) by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2001’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.”.

(c) EXCLUSION OF REFUNDABLE PORTION OF CREDIT FROM CARRYFORWARD.—Section 23(c)(1) is amended by striking “credit allowable under subsection (a)” and inserting “portion of the credit allowable under subsection (a) which is allowed under this subpart”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70403. RECOGNIZING INDIAN TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS FOR PURPOSES OF DETERMINING WHETHER A CHILD HAS SPECIAL NEEDS FOR PURPOSES OF THE ADOPTION CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 23(d)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “or Indian tribal government” after “a State”, and

(2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “or Indian tribal government” after “such State”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70404. ENHANCEMENT OF THE DEPENDENT CARE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 129(a)(2)(A) is amended by striking “\$5,000 (\$2,500)” and inserting “\$7,500 (\$3,750)”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70405. ENHANCEMENT OF CHILD AND DEPENDENT CARE TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (2) of section 21(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘applicable percentage’ means 50 percent—

“(A) reduced (but not below 35 percent) by 1 percentage point for each \$2,000 or fraction thereof by which the taxpayer’s adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds \$15,000, and

“(B) further reduced (but not below 20 percent) by 1 percentage point for each \$2,000 (\$4,000 in the case of a joint return) or fraction thereof by which the taxpayer’s adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds \$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter B—Permanent Investments in Students and Reforms to Tax-exempt Institutions

SEC. 70411. TAX CREDIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 25E the following new section:

“SEC. 25F. QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIPS.

“(a) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT.—In the case of an individual who is a citizen or resident of the United States (within the meaning of section 7701(a)(9)), there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year an amount equal to the aggregate amount of qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(b) LIMITATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The credit allowed under subsection (a) to any taxpayer for any taxable year shall not exceed an amount equal to the greater of—

“(A) 10 percent of the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$5,000.

“(2) ALLOCATION OF VOLUME CAP.—The credit allowed under subsection (a) to any taxpayer for any taxable year shall not exceed the amount of the volume cap allocated by the Secretary to such taxpayer under subsection (h) with respect to qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(3) REDUCTION BASED ON STATE CREDIT.—The amount allowed as a credit under subsection (a) for a taxable year shall be reduced by the amount allowed as a credit on any State tax return of the taxpayer for qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(c) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) ELIGIBLE STUDENT.—The term ‘eligible student’ means an individual who—

“(A) is a member of a household with an income which, for the calendar year prior to the date of the application for a scholarship, is not greater than 300 percent of the area median gross income (as such term is used in section 42), and

“(B) is eligible to enroll in a public elementary or secondary school.

“(2) QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘qualified contribution’ means a charitable contribution (as defined by section 170(c)) to a scholarship granting organization in the form of cash or publicly traded securities (as defined in section 6050L(a)(2)(B)).

“(3) QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSE.—The term ‘qualified elementary or secondary education expense’ means the following expenses in connection with enrollment or attendance at, or for students enrolled at or attending, an elementary or secondary public, private, or religious school:

“(A) Tuition.

“(B) Curriculum and curricular materials.

“(C) Books or other instructional materials.

“(D) Online educational materials.

“(E) Tuition for tutoring or educational classes outside of the home, including at a tutoring facility, but only if the tutor or instructor does not bear a relationship to the student which is described in section 152(d)(2) and—

“(i) is licensed as a teacher in any State,

“(ii) has taught at—

“(I) a public or private elementary or secondary school, or

“(II) an institution of higher education (as defined in section 101(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001(a))), or

“(iii) is a subject matter expert in the relevant subject.

“(F) Fees for a nationally standardized norm-referenced achievement test, an advanced placement examination, or any examinations related to college or university admission.

“(G) Fees for dual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

“(H) Educational therapies for students with disabilities provided by a licensed or accredited practitioner or provider, including occupational, behavioral, physical, and speech-language therapies, but only if the practitioner or provider does not bear a relationship to the student which is described in section 152(d)(2).

“(4) SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATION.—The term ‘scholarship granting organization’ means any organization—

“(A) which—

“(i) is described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), and

“(ii) is not a private foundation,

“(B) substantially all of the activities of which are providing scholarships for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of eligible students,

“(C) which prevents the co-mingling of qualified contributions with other amounts by maintaining one or more separate accounts exclusively for qualified contributions,

“(D) is approved to operate in the State in which such organization grants scholarships, and

“(E) which satisfies the requirements of subsection (d).

“(d) REQUIREMENTS FOR SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—An organization meets the requirements of this subsection if—

“(A) such organization provides scholarships to 10 or more students who do not all attend the same school,

“(B) such organization spends not less than 90 percent of revenues on scholarships for eligible students,

“(C) such organization does not provide scholarships for any expenses other than qualified elementary or secondary education expenses,

“(D) such organization provides a scholarship to eligible students with a priority for—

“(i) students awarded a scholarship the previous school year, and

“(ii) after application of clause (i), any eligible students who have a sibling who was awarded a scholarship from such organization,

“(E) such organization does not earmark or set aside contributions for scholarships on behalf of any particular student,

“(F) such organization—

“(i) verifies the annual household income and family size of eligible students who apply for scholarships in a manner which complies with the requirement described in paragraph (2), and

“(ii) limits the awarding of scholarships to eligible students who are a member of a household for which the income does not exceed the amount established under subsection (c)(1)(A),

“(G) such organization—

“(i) obtains from an independent certified public accountant annual financial and compliance audits, and

“(ii) certifies to the Secretary (at such time, and in such form and manner, as the Secretary may prescribe) that the audit described in clause (i) has been completed, and

“(H) no officer or board member of such organization has been convicted of a felony.

“(2) INCOME VERIFICATION.—The requirement described in this paragraph is that the organization review all of the following documents which are applicable with respect to members of the household of the applicant for the calendar year prior to application for a scholarship:

“(A) Federal and State income tax returns or tax return transcripts with applicable schedules.

“(B) Income reporting statements for tax purposes or wage and income transcripts from the Internal Revenue Service.

“(C) Notarized income verification letter from employers.

“(D) Unemployment or workers compensation statements.

“(E) Benefit verification letters regarding public assistance payments and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program payments, including a list of household members.

“(3) INDEPENDENT CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(F),

the term ‘independent certified public accountant’ means, with respect to an organization, a certified public accountant who is not a person described in section 465(b)(3)(A) with respect to such organization or any employee of such organization.

“(4) PROHIBITION ON SELF-DEALING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—A scholarship granting organization may not award a scholarship to—

“(i) any disqualified person, or
“(ii) an eligible student if, during the taxable year or the period of the 3 taxable years preceding such taxable year, such scholarship granting organization has received a qualified contribution from an individual who bears a relationship to such student which is described in section 152(d)(2).

“(B) DISQUALIFIED PERSON.—For purposes of this paragraph, a disqualified person shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules of section 4946.

“(e) DENIAL OF DOUBLE BENEFIT.—Any qualified contribution for which a credit is allowed under this section shall not be taken into account as a charitable contribution for purposes of section 170.

“(f) CARRYFORWARD OF UNUSED CREDIT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If the credit allowable under subsection (a) for any taxable year exceeds the limitation imposed by section 26(a) for such taxable year reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under this subpart (other than this section, section 23, and section 25D), such excess shall be carried to the succeeding taxable year and added to the credit allowable under subsection (a) for such taxable year.

“(2) LIMITATION.—No credit may be carried forward under this subsection to any taxable year following the fifth taxable year after the taxable year in which the credit arose. For purposes of the preceding sentence, credits shall be treated as used on a first-in first-out basis.

“(g) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit, allow, encourage, or authorize any Federal control over any aspect of any private or religious school.

“(h) VOLUME CAP.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The volume cap applicable under this section shall be \$4,000,000,000 for calendar year 2027 and each calendar year thereafter. Such amount shall be allocated by the Secretary as provided in paragraph (2) to taxpayers with respect to qualified contributions made by such taxpayers, except that 10 percent of such amount shall be divided evenly among the States, and shall be available with respect to individuals residing in such States.

“(2) FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVED.—For purposes of applying the volume cap under this section, such volume cap for any calendar year shall be allocated by the Secretary on a first-come, first-served basis, as determined based on the time (during such calendar year) at which the taxpayer made the qualified contribution with respect to which the allocation is made. The Secretary shall not make any allocation of the volume cap for any calendar year after December 31 of such calendar year.

“(3) REAL-TIME INFORMATION.—For purposes of this section, the Secretary shall develop a system to track the amount of qualified contributions made during the calendar year for which a credit may be claimed under this section, with such information to be updated in real time.

“(4) STATE.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘State’ means only the States and the District of Columbia.

“(i) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of this sec-

tion, including regulations or other guidance—

“(1) providing for enforcement of the requirements under subsection (d)(4), and

“(2) with respect to recordkeeping or information reporting for purposes of administering the requirements of this section.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 25(e)(1)(C) is amended by striking “and 25D” and inserting “25D, and 25F”.

(B) The table of sections for subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 25E the following new item:

“Sec. 25F. Qualified elementary and secondary education scholarships.”.

(b) EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME FOR SCHOLARSHIPS FOR QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSES OF ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before section 140 the following new section:

“SEC. 139K. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSES OF ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, gross income shall not include any amounts provided to such individual or any dependent of such individual pursuant to a scholarship for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of an eligible student which is provided by a scholarship granting organization.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the terms ‘qualified elementary or secondary education expense’, ‘eligible student’, and ‘scholarship granting organization’ have the same meaning given such terms under section 25F(c).”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 140 the following new item:

“Sec. 139K. Scholarships for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of eligible students.”.

(c) FAILURE OF SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS TO MAKE DISTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 42 is amended by adding at the end the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter I—Scholarship Granting Organizations

“Sec. 4969. Failure to distribute receipts.

“SEC. 4969. FAILURE TO DISTRIBUTE RECEIPTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any scholarship granting organization (as defined in section 25F) which has been determined by the Secretary to have failed to satisfy the requirement under subsection (b) for any taxable year, any contribution made to such organization during the first taxable year beginning after the date of such determination shall not be treated as a qualified contribution (as defined in section 25F(c)(2)) for purposes of section 25F.

“(b) REQUIREMENT.—The requirement described in this subsection is that the amount of receipts of the scholarship granting organization for the taxable year which are distributed before the distribution deadline with respect to such receipts shall not be less than the required distribution amount with respect to such taxable year.

“(c) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) REQUIRED DISTRIBUTION AMOUNT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The required distribution amount with respect to a taxable year is the amount equal to 100 percent of the total receipts of the scholarship granting organization for such taxable year—

“(i) reduced by the sum of such receipts that are retained for reasonable administrative expenses for the taxable year or are carried to the succeeding taxable year under subparagraph (C), and

“(ii) increased by the amount of the carryover under subparagraph (C) from the preceding taxable year.

“(B) SAFE HARBOR FOR REASONABLE ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), if the percentage of total receipts of a scholarship granting organization for a taxable year which are used for administrative expenses is equal to or less than 10 percent, such expenses shall be deemed to be reasonable for purposes of such subparagraph.

“(C) CARRYOVER.—With respect to the amount of the total receipts of a scholarship granting organization with respect to any taxable year, an amount not greater than 15 percent of such amount may, at the election of such organization, be carried to the succeeding taxable year.

“(2) DISTRIBUTIONS.—The term ‘distribution’ includes amounts which are formally committed but not distributed. A formal commitment described in the preceding sentence may include contributions set aside for eligible students for more than one year.

“(3) DISTRIBUTION DEADLINE.—The distribution deadline with respect to receipts for a taxable year is the first day of the third taxable year following the taxable year in which such receipts are received by the scholarship granting organization.

“(d) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance which provides for requirements for recordkeeping or information reporting for purposes of administering the requirements of this section.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 42 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER I—SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2026.

(2) EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to amounts received after December 31, 2026, in taxable years ending after such date.

SEC. 70412. EXCLUSION FOR EMPLOYER PAYMENTS OF STUDENT LOANS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 127(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “in the case of payments made before January 1, 2026”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 127 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

“(d) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, both of the \$5,250 amounts in subsection (a)(2) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any increase under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$50, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$50.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to payments made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70413. ADDITIONAL EXPENSES TREATED AS QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES FOR PURPOSES OF 529 ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(c)(7) is amended to read as follows:

“(7) TREATMENT OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY TUITION.—Any reference in this section to the term ‘qualified higher education expense’ shall include a reference to the following expenses in connection with enrollment at or attendance at, or for students enrolled at or attending, an elementary or secondary public, private, or religious school:

“(A) Tuition.

“(B) Curriculum and curricular materials.

“(C) Books or other instructional materials.

“(D) Online educational materials.

“(E) Tuition for tutoring or educational classes outside of the home, including at a tutoring facility, but only if the tutor or instructor is not related to the student and—

“(i) is licensed as a teacher in any State,

“(ii) has taught at an eligible educational institution, or

“(iii) is a subject matter expert in the relevant subject.

“(F) Fees for a nationally standardized norm-referenced achievement test, an advanced placement examination, or any examinations related to college or university admission.

“(G) Fees for dual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

“(H) Educational therapies for students with disabilities provided by a licensed or accredited practitioner or provider, including occupational, behavioral, physical, and speech-language therapies.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to distributions made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) INCREASE IN LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The last sentence of section 529(e)(3) is amended by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$20,000”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70414. CERTAIN POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES TREATED AS QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES FOR PURPOSES OF 529 ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(e)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) CERTAIN POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—The term ‘qualified higher education expenses’ includes qualified postsecondary credentialing expenses (as defined in subsection (f)).”.

(b) QUALIFIED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—Section 529 is amended by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (g) and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) QUALIFIED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified postsecondary credentialing expenses’ means—

“(A) tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment required for the enrollment or attendance of a designated beneficiary in a recognized postsecondary credential program, or any other expense incurred in connection with enrollment in or attendance at a recognized postsecondary credential program if such expense would, if incurred in connection with enrollment or attendance at an eligible educational institution, be covered under subsection (e)(3)(A),

“(B) fees for testing if such testing is required to obtain or maintain a recognized postsecondary credential, and

“(C) fees for continuing education if such education is required to maintain a recognized postsecondary credential.

“(2) RECOGNIZED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIAL PROGRAM.—The term ‘recognized postsecondary credential program’ means any program to obtain a recognized postsecondary credential if—

“(A) such program is included on a State list prepared under section 122(d) of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (29 U.S.C. 3152(d)),

“(B) such program is listed in the public directory of the Web Enabled Approval Management System (WEAMS) of the Veterans Benefits Administration, or successor directory such program,

“(C) an examination (developed or administered by an organization widely recognized as providing reputable credentials in the occupation) is required to obtain or maintain such credential and such organization recognizes such program as providing training or education which prepares individuals to take such examination, or

“(D) such program is identified by the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Labor, as being a reputable program for obtaining a recognized postsecondary credential for purposes of this subparagraph.

“(3) RECOGNIZED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIAL.—The term ‘recognized postsecondary credential’ means—

“(A) any postsecondary employment credential that is industry recognized and is—

“(i) any postsecondary employment credential issued by a program that is accredited by the Institute for Credentialing Excellence, the National Commission on Certifying Agencies, or the American National Standards Institute,

“(ii) any postsecondary employment credential that is included in the Credentialing Opportunities On-Line (COOL) directory of credentialing programs (or successor directory) maintained by the Department of Defense or by any branch of the Armed Forces, or

“(iii) any postsecondary employment credential identified for purposes of this clause by the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Labor, as being industry recognized,

“(B) any certificate of completion of an apprenticeship that is registered and certified with the Secretary of Labor under the Act of August 16, 1937 (commonly known as the ‘National Apprenticeship Act’; 50 Stat. 664, chapter 663; 29 U.S.C. 50 et seq.),

“(C) any occupational or professional license issued or recognized by a State or the Federal Government (and any certification that satisfies a condition for obtaining such a license), and

“(D) any recognized postsecondary credential as defined in section 3(52) of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (29 U.S.C. 3102(52)), provided through a program described in paragraph (2)(A).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to distributions made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70415. MODIFICATION OF EXCISE TAX ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF CERTAIN PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4968 is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 4968. EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

“(a) TAX IMPOSED.—There is hereby imposed on each applicable educational institution for the taxable year a tax equal to the

applicable percentage of the net investment income of such institution for the taxable year.

“(b) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable percentage’ means—

“(1) 1.4 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment of at least \$500,000, and not in excess of \$750,000,

“(2) 4 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment in excess of \$750,000, and not in excess of \$2,000,000, and

“(3) 8 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment in excess of \$2,000,000.

“(c) APPLICABLE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.—For purposes of this subchapter, the term ‘applicable educational institution’ means an eligible educational institution (as defined in section 25A(f)(2))—

“(1) which had at least 3,000 tuition-paying students during the preceding taxable year,

“(2) more than 50 percent of the tuition-paying students of which are located in the United States,

“(3) the student adjusted endowment of which is at least \$500,000, and

“(4) which is not described in the first sentence of section 511(a)(2)(B) (relating to State colleges and universities).

“(d) STUDENT ADJUSTED ENDOWMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘student adjusted endowment’ means, with respect to any institution for any taxable year—

“(1) the aggregate fair market value of the assets of such institution (determined as of the end of the preceding taxable year), other than those assets which are used directly in carrying out the institution’s exempt purpose, divided by

“(2) the number of students of such institution.

“(e) DETERMINATION OF NUMBER OF STUDENTS.—For purposes of subsections (c) and (d), the number of students of an institution (including for purposes of determining the number of students at a particular location) shall be based on the daily average number of full-time students attending such institution (with part-time students taken into account on a full-time student equivalent basis).

“(f) NET INVESTMENT INCOME.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Net investment income shall be determined under rules similar to the rules of section 4940(c).

“(2) OVERRIDE OF CERTAIN REGULATORY EXCEPTIONS.—

“(A) STUDENT LOAN INTEREST.—Net investment income shall be determined by taking into account any interest income from a student loan made by the applicable educational institution (or any related organization) as gross investment income.

“(B) FEDERALLY-SUBSIDIZED ROYALTY INCOME.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Net investment income shall be determined by taking into account any Federally-subsidized royalty income as gross investment income.

“(ii) FEDERALLY-SUBSIDIZED ROYALTY INCOME.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Federally-subsidized royalty income’ means any otherwise-regulatory-exempt royalty income if any Federal funds were used in the research, development, or creation of the patent, copyright, or other intellectual or intangible property from which such royalty income is derived.

“(II) OTHERWISE-REGULATORY-EXEMPT ROYALTY INCOME.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘otherwise-regulatory-exempt royalty income’ means royalty income which (but for this subparagraph) would not be taken into account as gross investment

income by reason of being derived from patents, copyrights, or other intellectual or intangible property which resulted from the work of students or faculty members in their capacities as such with the applicable educational institution.

“(III) FEDERAL FUNDS.—The term ‘Federal funds’ includes any grant made by, and any payment made under any contract with, any Federal agency to the applicable educational institution, any related organization, or any student or faculty member referred to in subclause (II).

“(g) ASSETS AND NET INVESTMENT INCOME OF RELATED ORGANIZATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsections (d) and (f), assets and net investment income of any related organization with respect to an educational institution shall be treated as assets and net investment income, respectively, of the educational institution, except that—

“(A) no such amount shall be taken into account with respect to more than 1 educational institution, and

“(B) unless such organization is controlled by such institution or is described in section 509(a)(3) with respect to such institution for the taxable year, assets and net investment income which are not intended or available for the use or benefit of the educational institution shall not be taken into account.

“(2) RELATED ORGANIZATION.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘related organization’ means, with respect to an educational institution, any organization which—

“(A) controls, or is controlled by, such institution,

“(B) is controlled by 1 or more persons which also control such institution, or

“(C) is a supported organization (as defined in section 509(f)(3)), or an organization described in section 509(a)(3), during the taxable year with respect to such institution.

“(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to prevent avoidance of the tax under this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent avoidance of such tax through the restructuring of endowment funds or other arrangements designed to reduce or eliminate the value of net investment income or assets subject to the tax imposed by this section.”

(b) REQUIREMENT TO REPORT CERTAIN INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO APPLICATION OF EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—Section 6033 is amended by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p) and by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) REQUIREMENT TO REPORT CERTAIN INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—Each applicable educational institution described in section 4968(c) which is subject to the requirements of subsection (a) shall include on the return required under subsection (a)—

“(1) the number of tuition-paying students taken into account under section 4968(c), and

“(2) the number of students of such institution (determined under the rules of section 4968(e)).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70416. EXPANDING APPLICATION OF TAX ON EXCESS COMPENSATION WITHIN TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4960(c)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) COVERED EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘covered employee’ means any employee of an applicable tax-exempt organization (or any predecessor of

such an organization) and any former employee of such an organization (or predecessor) who was such an employee during any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2016.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter C—Permanent Investments in Community Development

SEC. 70421. PERMANENT RENEWAL AND ENHANCEMENT OF OPPORTUNITY ZONES.

(a) DECENNIAL DESIGNATIONS.—

(1) DETERMINATION PERIOD.—Section 1400Z-1(c)(2)(B) is amended by striking “beginning on the date of the enactment of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act” and inserting “beginning on the decennial determination date”.

(2) DECENNIAL DETERMINATION DATE.—Section 1400Z-1(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) DECENNIAL DETERMINATION DATE.—The term ‘decennial determination date’ means—

“(i) July 1, 2026, and

“(ii) each July 1 of the year that is 10 years after the preceding decennial determination date under this subparagraph.”

(3) REPEAL OF SPECIAL RULE FOR PUERTO RICO.—Section 1400Z-1(b) is amended by striking paragraph (3).

(4) LIMITATION ON NUMBER OF DESIGNATIONS.—Section 1400Z-1(d)(1) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “and subsection (b)(3)”, and

(ii) by inserting “during any period” after “the number of population census tracts in a State that may be designated as qualified opportunity zones under this section”, and

(B) in paragraph (2), by inserting “during any period” before the period at the end.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) PUERTO RICO.—The amendment made by paragraph (3) shall take effect on December 31, 2026.

(b) QUALIFICATION FOR DESIGNATIONS.—

(1) DETERMINATION OF LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.—Section 1400Z-1(c) is amended by striking all that precedes paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(c) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.—The term ‘low-income community’ means any population census tract if—

“(A) such population census tract has a median family income that—

“(i) in the case of a population census tract not located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 70 percent of the statewide median family income, or

“(ii) in the case of a population census tract located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 70 percent of the metropolitan area median family income, or

“(B) such population census tract—

“(i) has a poverty rate of at least 20 percent, and

“(ii) has a median family income that—

“(I) in the case of a population census tract not located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 125 percent of the statewide median family income, or

“(II) in the case of a population census tract located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 125 percent of the metropolitan area median family income.”

(2) REPEAL OF RULE FOR CONTIGUOUS CENSUS TRACTS.—Section 1400Z-1 is amended by striking subsection (e) and by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (e).

(3) PERIOD FOR WHICH DESIGNATION IS IN EFFECT.—Section 1400Z-1(e), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended to read as follows:

“(e) PERIOD FOR WHICH DESIGNATION IS IN EFFECT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—A designation as a qualified opportunity zone shall remain in effect for the period beginning on the applicable start date and ending on the day before the date that is 10 years after the applicable start date.

“(2) APPLICABLE START DATE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable start date’ means, with respect to any qualified opportunity zone designated under this section, the January 1 following the date on which such qualified opportunity zone was certified and designated by the Secretary under subsection (b)(1)(B).”

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to areas designated under section 1400Z-1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) APPLICATION OF SPECIAL RULES FOR CAPITAL GAINS.—

(1) REPEAL OF SUNSET ON ELECTION.—Section 1400Z-2(a)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) ELECTION.—No election may be made under paragraph (1) with respect to a sale or exchange if an election previously made with respect to such sale or exchange is in effect.”

(2) MODIFICATION OF RULES FOR DEFERRAL OF GAIN.—Section 1400Z-2(b) is amended to read as follows:

“(b) DEFERRAL OF GAIN INVESTED IN OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—

“(1) YEAR OF INCLUSION.—Gain to which subsection (a)(1)(B) applies shall be included in gross income in the taxable year which includes the earlier of—

“(A) the date on which such investment is sold or exchanged, or

“(B) the date which is 5 years after the date the investment in the qualified opportunity fund was made.

“(2) AMOUNT INCLUDIBLE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount of gain included in gross income under subsection (a)(1)(B) shall be the excess of—

“(i) the lesser of the amount of gain excluded under subsection (a)(1)(A) or the fair market value of the investment as determined as of the date described in paragraph (1), over

“(ii) the taxpayer’s basis in the investment.

“(B) DETERMINATION OF BASIS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subparagraph or subsection (c), the taxpayer’s basis in the investment shall be zero.

“(ii) INCREASE FOR GAIN RECOGNIZED UNDER SUBSECTION (a)(1)(B).—The basis in the investment shall be increased by the amount of gain recognized by reason of subsection (a)(1)(B) with respect to such investment.

“(iii) INVESTMENTS HELD FOR 5 YEARS.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any investment held for at least 5 years, the basis of such investment shall be increased by an amount equal to 10 percent (30 percent in the case of any investment in a qualified rural opportunity fund) of the amount of gain deferred by reason of subsection (a)(1)(A).

“(II) APPLICATION OF INCREASE.—For purposes of this subsection, any increase in basis under this clause shall be treated as occurring before the date described in paragraph (1)(B).

“(C) QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUND.—For purposes of subparagraph (B)(iii)—

“(i) QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUND.—The term ‘qualified rural opportunity fund’ means a qualified opportunity fund that holds at least 90 percent of its assets in qualified opportunity zone property which—

“(I) is qualified opportunity zone business property substantially all of the use of

which, during substantially all of the fund's holding period for such property, was in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area, or

“(II) is qualified opportunity zone stock, or a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest, in a qualified opportunity zone business in which substantially all of the tangible property owned or leased is qualified opportunity zone business property described in subsection (d)(3)(A)(i) and substantially all the use of which is in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area.

For purposes of the preceding sentence, property held in the fund shall be measured under rules similar to the rules of subsection (d)(1).

“(ii) RURAL AREA.—The term ‘rural area’ means any area other than—

“(I) a city or town that has a population of greater than 50,000 inhabitants, and

“(II) any urbanized area contiguous and adjacent to a city or town described in subclause (I).”

(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR INVESTMENTS HELD AT LEAST 10 YEARS.—Section 1400Z-2(c) is amended by striking “makes an election under this clause” and all that follows and inserting “makes an election under this subsection, the basis of such investment shall be equal to—

“(A) in the case of an investment sold before the date that is 30 years after the date of the investment, the fair market value of such investment on the date such investment is sold or exchanged, or

“(B) in any other case, the fair market value of such investment on the date that is 30 years after the date of the investment.”

(4) DETERMINATION OF QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—

(A) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESS PROPERTY.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2)(D)(i)(I) is amended by striking “December 31, 2017” and inserting “the applicable start date (as defined in section 1400Z-1(e)(2)) with respect to the qualified opportunity zone described in subclause (III)”.

(B) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE STOCK AND PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2) is amended—

(i) by striking “December 31, 2017,” each place it appears in subparagraphs (B)(i)(I) and (C)(i) and inserting “the applicable date”, and

(ii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) APPLICABLE DATE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘applicable date’ means, with respect to any corporation or partnership which is a qualified opportunity zone business, the earliest date described in subparagraph (D)(i)(I) with respect to the qualified opportunity zone business property held by such qualified opportunity zone business.”

(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING STRUCTURES IN RURAL AREAS.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2)(D)(ii) is amended by inserting “(50 percent of such adjusted basis in the case of property in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area (as defined in subsection (b)(2)(C)(ii))” after “the adjusted basis of such property”.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this paragraph, the amendments made by this subsection shall apply to amounts invested in qualified opportunity funds after December 31, 2026.

(B) ACQUISITION OF QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (4) shall apply to property acquired after December 31, 2026.

(C) SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT.—The amendment made by paragraph (4)(C) shall

take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) INFORMATION REPORTING ON QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—

(1) FILING REQUIREMENTS FOR FUNDS AND INVESTORS.—Subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 6I is amended by inserting after section 6039J the following new sections:

“SEC. 6039K. RETURNS WITH RESPECT TO QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Every qualified opportunity fund shall file an annual return (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) containing the information described in subsection (b).

“(b) INFORMATION FROM QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—The information described in this subsection is—

“(1) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the qualified opportunity fund,

“(2) whether the qualified opportunity fund is organized as a corporation or a partnership,

“(3) the value of the total assets held by the qualified opportunity fund as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1),

“(4) the value of all qualified opportunity zone property held by the qualified opportunity fund on each such date,

“(5) with respect to each investment held by the qualified opportunity fund in qualified opportunity zone stock or a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest—

“(A) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the corporation in which such stock is held or the partnership in which such interest is held, as the case may be,

“(B) each North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code that applies to the trades or businesses conducted by such corporation or partnership,

“(C) the population census tract or population census tracts in which the qualified opportunity zone business property of such corporation or partnership is located,

“(D) the amount of the investment in such stock or partnership interest as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1),

“(E) the value of tangible property held by such corporation or partnership on each such date which is owned by such corporation or partnership,

“(F) the value of tangible property held by such corporation or partnership on each such date which is leased by such corporation or partnership,

“(G) the approximate number of residential units (if any) for any real property held by such corporation or partnership, and

“(H) the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees of such corporation or partnership for the year (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such corporation or partnership as determined appropriate by the Secretary,

“(6) with respect to the items of qualified opportunity zone business property held by the qualified opportunity fund—

“(A) the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code that applies to the trades or businesses in which such property is held,

“(B) the population census tract in which the property is located,

“(C) whether the property is owned or leased,

“(D) the aggregate value of the items of qualified opportunity zone property held by the qualified opportunity fund as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1), and

“(E) in the case of real property, the number of residential units (if any),

“(7) the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees for the year of the trades or businesses of the qualified opportunity fund in which qualified opportunity zone business property is held (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such trades or businesses as determined appropriate by the Secretary,

“(8) with respect to each person who disposed of an investment in the qualified opportunity fund during the year—

“(A) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of such person,

“(B) the date or dates on which the investment disposed was acquired, and

“(C) the date or dates on which any such investment was disposed and the amount of the investment disposed, and

“(9) such other information as the Secretary may require.

“(c) STATEMENT REQUIRED TO BE FURNISHED TO INVESTORS.—Every person required to make a return under subsection (a) shall furnish to each person whose name is required to be set forth in such return by reason of subsection (b)(8) (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) a written statement showing—

“(1) the name, address, and phone number of the information contact of the person required to make such return, and

“(2) the information required to be shown on such return by reason of subsection (b)(8) with respect to the person whose name is required to be so set forth.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any term used in this section which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

“(2) FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT EMPLOYEES.—The term ‘full-time equivalent employees’ means, with respect to any month, the sum of—

“(A) the number of full-time employees (as defined in section 4980H(c)(4)) for the month, plus

“(B) the number of employees determined (under rules similar to the rules of section 4980H(c)(2)(E)) by dividing the aggregate number of hours of service of employees who are not full-time employees for the month by 120.

“(e) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—Every qualified rural opportunity fund (as defined in section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)) shall file the annual return required under subsection (a), and the statements required under subsection (c), applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘qualified rural opportunity’ for ‘qualified opportunity’ each place it appears,

“(2) by substituting ‘section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)’ for ‘section 1400Z-2(d)(1)’ each place it appears, and

“(3) by treating any reference (after the application of paragraph (1)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, a qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, a qualified rural opportunity zone business, or qualified opportunity zone business property as stock, an interest, a business, or property, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i).

“SEC. 6039L. INFORMATION REQUIRED FROM QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESSES AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESSES.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Every applicable qualified opportunity zone business shall furnish to the qualified opportunity fund described

in subsection (b) a written statement at such time, in such manner, and setting forth such information as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe for purposes of enabling such qualified opportunity fund to meet the requirements of section 6039K(b)(5).

“(b) APPLICABLE QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESS.—For purposes of subsection (a), the term ‘applicable qualified opportunity zone business’ means any qualified opportunity zone business—

“(1) which is a trade or business of a qualified opportunity fund,

“(2) in which a qualified opportunity fund holds qualified opportunity zone stock, or

“(3) in which a qualified opportunity fund holds a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest.

“(c) OTHER TERMS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

“(d) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY BUSINESSES.—Every applicable qualified rural opportunity zone business (as defined in subsection (b) determined after application of the substitutions described in this sentence) shall furnish the written statement required under subsection (a), applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘qualified rural opportunity’ for ‘qualified opportunity’ each place it appears, and

“(2) by treating any reference (after the application of paragraph (1)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, a qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, or a qualified rural opportunity zone business as stock, an interest, or a business, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i).”

(2) PENALTIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Part II of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6725 the following new section:

“SEC. 6726. FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH INFORMATION REPORTING REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—If any person required to file a return under section 6039K fails to file a complete and correct return under such section in the time and in the manner prescribed therefor, such person shall pay a penalty of \$500 for each day during which such failure continues.

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The maximum penalty under this section on failures with respect to any 1 return shall not exceed \$10,000.

“(2) LARGE QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—In the case of any failure described in subsection (a) with respect to a fund the gross assets of which (determined on the last day of the taxable year) are in excess of \$10,000,000, paragraph (1) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$50,000’ for ‘\$10,000’.

“(c) PENALTY IN CASES OF INTENTIONAL DISREGARD.—If a failure described in subsection (a) is due to intentional disregard, then—

“(1) subsection (a) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$2,500’ for ‘\$500’,

“(2) subsection (b)(1) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$50,000’ for ‘\$10,000’, and

“(3) subsection (b)(2) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$250,000’ for ‘\$50,000’.

“(d) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any failure relating to a return required to be filed in a calendar year beginning after 2025, each of the dollar amounts in subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar

year determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(i) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the \$500 dollar amount in subsection (a) and (c)(1) or the \$2,500 amount in subsection (c)(1), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$10, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

“(B) ASSET THRESHOLD.—If the \$10,000,000 dollar amount in subsection (b)(2), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$10,000, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10,000.

“(C) OTHER DOLLAR AMOUNTS.—If any dollar amount in subsection (b) or (c) (other than any amount to which subparagraph (A) or (B) applies), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$1,000, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$1,000.”

(B) INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE SENT TO OTHER TAXPAYERS.—Section 6724(d)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended—

(i) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (LL),

(ii) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (MM) and inserting a comma, and

(iii) by inserting after subparagraph (MM) the following new subparagraphs:

“(NN) section 6039K(c) (relating to disposition of qualified opportunity fund investments), or

“(OO) section 6039L (relating to information required from certain qualified opportunity zone businesses and qualified rural opportunity zone businesses).”

(3) ELECTRONIC FILING.—Section 6011(e) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—Notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2), any return filed by a qualified opportunity fund or qualified rural opportunity fund under section 6039K shall be filed on magnetic media or other machine-readable form.”

(4) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6039J the following new items:

“Sec. 6039K. Returns with respect to qualified opportunity funds and qualified rural opportunity funds.

“Sec. 6039L. Information required from qualified opportunity zone businesses and qualified rural opportunity zone businesses.”

(B) The table of sections for part II of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6725 the following new item:

“Sec. 6726. Failure to comply with information reporting requirements relating to qualified opportunity funds and qualified rural opportunity funds.”

(5) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(e) SECRETARY REPORTING OF DATA ON OPPORTUNITY ZONE AND RURAL OPPORTUNITY ZONE TAX INCENTIVES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$15,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for necessary expenses of the Internal Revenue Service to make the reports described in paragraph (2).

(2) REPORTS.—As soon as practical after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of the Treasury, or the Secretary’s delegate (referred to in this section as the “Secretary”) shall make publicly available a report on qualified opportunity funds.

(3) INFORMATION INCLUDED.—The report required under paragraph (2) shall include, to the extent available, the following information:

(A) The number of qualified opportunity funds.

(B) The aggregate dollar amount of assets held in qualified opportunity funds.

(C) The aggregate dollar amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in qualified opportunity fund property, stated separately for each North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code.

(D) The percentage of population census tracts designated as qualified opportunity zones that have received qualified opportunity fund investments.

(E) For each population census tract designated as a qualified opportunity zone, the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees of the qualified opportunity zone businesses in such qualified opportunity zone for the preceding 12-month period (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such qualified opportunity fund businesses as determined appropriate by the Secretary.

(F) The percentage of the total amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in—

(i) qualified opportunity zone property which is real property; and

(ii) other qualified opportunity zone property.

(G) For each population census tract, the aggregate approximate number of residential units resulting from investments made by qualified opportunity funds in real property.

(H) The aggregate dollar amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in each population census tract.

(4) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning with the report submitted under paragraph (2) for the 6th year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall include in such report the impacts and outcomes of a designation of a population census tract as a qualified opportunity zone as measured by economic indicators, such as job creation, poverty reduction, new business starts, and other metrics as determined by the Secretary.

(B) SEMI-DECENNIAL INFORMATION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any report submitted under paragraph (2) in the 6th year or the 11th year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall include the following information:

(I) For population census tracts designated as a qualified opportunity zone, a comparison (based on aggregate information) of the factors listed in clause (iii) between the 5-year period ending on the date of the enactment of Public Law 115-97 and the most recent 5-year period for which data is available.

(II) For population census tracts designated as a qualified opportunity zone, a comparison (based on aggregate information) of the factors listed in clause (iii) for the most recent 5-year period for which data is available between such population census tracts and similar population census tracts that were not designated as a qualified opportunity zone.

(i) CONTROL GROUPS.—For purposes of clause (i), the Secretary may combine population census tracts into such groups as the

Secretary determines appropriate for purposes of making comparisons.

(iii) **FACTORS LISTED.**—The factors listed in this clause are the following:

(I) The unemployment rate.
(II) The number of persons working in the population census tract, including the percentage of such persons who were not residents in the population census tract in the preceding year.

(III) Individual, family, and household poverty rates.

(IV) Median family income of residents of the population census tract.

(V) Demographic information on residents of the population census tract, including age, income, education, race, and employment.

(VI) The average percentage of income of residents of the population census tract spent on rent annually.

(VII) The number of residences in the population census tract.

(VIII) The rate of home ownership in the population census tract.

(IX) The average value of residential property in the population census tract.

(X) The number of affordable housing units in the population census tract.

(XI) The number of new business starts in the population census tract.

(XII) The distribution of employees in the population census tract by North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code.

(5) **PROTECTION OF IDENTIFIABLE RETURN INFORMATION.**—In making reports required under this subsection, the Secretary—

(A) shall establish appropriate procedures to ensure that any amounts reported do not disclose taxpayer return information that can be associated with any particular taxpayer or competitive or proprietary information, and

(B) if necessary to protect taxpayer return information, may combine information required with respect to individual population census tracts into larger geographic areas.

(6) **DEFINITIONS.**—Any term used in this subsection which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

(7) **REPORTS ON QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.**—The Secretary shall make publicly available, with respect to qualified rural opportunity funds, separate reports as required under this subsection, applied—

(A) by substituting “qualified rural opportunity” for “qualified opportunity” each place it appears,

(B) by substituting a reference to this Act for “Public Law 115-97”, and

(C) by treating any reference (after the application of subparagraph (A)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, qualified rural opportunity zone business, or qualified opportunity zone business property as stock, interest, business, or property, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

SEC. 70422. PERMANENT ENHANCEMENT OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT.

(a) **PERMANENT STATE HOUSING CREDIT CEILING INCREASE FOR LOW-INCOME HOUSING CREDIT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 42(h)(3)(I) is amended—

(A) by striking “2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021,” and inserting “beginning after December 31, 2025,”,

(B) by striking “1.125” and inserting “1.12”, and

(C) by striking “2018, 2019, 2020, AND 2021” in the heading and inserting “CALENDAR YEARS AFTER 2025”.

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(b) **TAX-EXEMPT BOND FINANCING REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 42(h)(4) is amended by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) **SPECIAL RULE WHERE MINIMUM PERCENT OF BUILDINGS IS FINANCED WITH TAX-EXEMPT BONDS SUBJECT TO VOLUME CAP.**—For purposes of subparagraph (A), paragraph (1) shall not apply to any portion of the credit allowable under subsection (a) with respect to a building if—

“(i) 50 percent or more of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located is financed by 1 or more obligations described in subparagraph (A), or

“(ii) (I) 25 percent or more of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located is financed by 1 or more obligations described in subparagraph (A), and

“(II) 1 or more of such obligations—

“(aa) are part of an issue the issue date of which is after December 31, 2025, and

“(bb) provide the financing for not less than 5 percent of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located.”.

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to buildings placed in service in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(B) **REHABILITATION EXPENDITURES TREATED AS SEPARATE NEW BUILDING.**—In the case of any building with respect to which any expenditures are treated as a separate new building under section 42(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, for purposes of subparagraph (A), both the existing building and the separate new building shall be treated as having been placed in service on the date such expenditures are treated as placed in service under section 42(e)(4) of such Code.

SEC. 70423. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF NEW MARKETS TAX CREDIT.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 45D(f)(1)(H) is amended by striking “for each of calendar years 2020 through 2025” and inserting “for each calendar year after 2019”.

(b) **CARRYOVER OF UNUSED LIMITATION.**—Section 45D(f)(3) is amended—

(1) by striking “If the” and inserting the following:

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—If the”, and

(2) by striking the second sentence and inserting the following:

“(B) **LIMITATION.**—No amount may be carried under subparagraph (A) to any calendar year after the fifth calendar year after the calendar year in which the excess described in such subparagraph occurred. For purposes of this subparagraph, any excess described in subparagraph (A) with respect to any calendar year before 2026 shall be treated as occurring in calendar year 2025.”.

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70424. PERMANENT AND EXPANDED REINSTATEMENT OF PARTIAL DEDUCTION FOR CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO DO NOT ELECT TO ITEMIZE.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 170(p) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$300 (\$600)” and inserting “\$1,000 (\$2,000)”, and

(2) by striking “beginning in 2021”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70425. 0.5 PERCENT FLOOR ON DEDUCTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY INDIVIDUALS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Paragraph (1) of section 170(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(I) **0.5-PERCENT FLOOR.**—Any charitable contribution otherwise allowable (without regard to this subparagraph) as a deduction under this section shall be allowed only to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions exceeds 0.5 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base for the taxable year. The preceding sentence shall be applied—

“(i) first, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (D) applies to the extent thereof,

“(ii) second, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (C) applies to the extent thereof,

“(iii) third, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (B) applies to the extent thereof,

“(iv) fourth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (E) applies to the extent thereof,

“(v) fifth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (A) applies to the extent thereof, and

“(vi) sixth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (G) applies to the extent thereof.”.

(2) **APPLICATION OF CARRYFORWARD.**—Paragraph (1) of section 170(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) **CONTRIBUTIONS DISALLOWED BY 0.5-PERCENT FLOOR CARRIED FORWARD ONLY FROM YEARS IN WHICH LIMITATION IS EXCEEDED.**—

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any taxable year from which an excess is carried forward (determined without regard to this subparagraph) under any carryover rule, the applicable carryover rule shall be applied by increasing the excess determined under such applicable carryover rule for the contribution year (before the application of subparagraph (B)) by the amount attributable to the charitable contributions to which such rule applies which is not allowed as a deduction for the contribution year by reason of subsection (b)(1)(I).

“(ii) **CARRYOVER RULE.**—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘carryover rule’ means—

“(I) subparagraph (A) of this paragraph,

“(II) subparagraphs (C)(ii), (D)(ii), (E)(ii), and (G)(ii) of subsection (b)(1), and

“(III) the second sentence of subsection (b)(1)(B).

“(iii) **APPLICABLE CARRYOVER RULE.**—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘applicable carryover rule’ means any carryover rule applicable to charitable contributions which were (in whole or in part) not allowed as a deduction for the contribution year by reason of subsection (b)(1)(I).”.

(3) **COORDINATION WITH DEDUCTION FOR NON-ITEMIZERS.**—Section 170(p), as amended by this Act, is further amended by inserting “, (b)(1)(I),” after “subsections (b)(1)(G)(ii)”.

(b) **MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION FOR CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Clause (i) of section 170(b)(1)(G) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—For taxable years beginning after December 31, 2017, any contribution of cash to an organization described in subparagraph (A) shall be allowed as a deduction under subsection (a) to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions does not exceed the excess of—

“(I) 60 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base for the taxable year, over

“(II) the aggregate amount of contributions taken into account under subparagraph (A) for such taxable year.”.

(2) COORDINATION WITH OTHER LIMITATIONS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Clause (iii) of section 170(b)(1)(G) is amended—

(i) by striking “SUBPARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B)” in the heading and inserting “SUBPARAGRAPH (A)”, and

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “, and subparagraph (B)” and all that follows through “this subparagraph”.

(B) OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Subparagraph (B) of section 170(b)(1) is amended—

(i) by striking “to which subparagraph (A)” both places it appears and inserting “to which subparagraph (A) or (G)”, and

(ii) in clause (ii), by striking “over the amount” and all that follows through “subparagraph (C).” and inserting “over—

“(I) the amount of charitable contributions allowable under subparagraph (A) (determined without regard to subparagraph (C)) and subparagraph (G), reduced by

“(II) so much of the contributions taken into account under subparagraph (G) as does not exceed 10 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70426. 1-PERCENT FLOOR ON DEDUCTION OF CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(b)(2)(A) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any charitable contribution otherwise allowable (without regard to this subparagraph) as a deduction under this section for any taxable year, other than any contribution to which subparagraph (B) or (C) applies, shall be allowed only to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions—

“(i) exceeds 1 percent of the taxpayer’s taxable income for the taxable year, and

“(ii) does not exceed 10 percent of the taxpayer’s taxable income for the taxable year.”.

(b) APPLICATION OF CARRYFORWARD.—Section 170(d)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) CORPORATIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any charitable contribution taken into account under subsection (b)(2)(A) for any taxable year which is not allowed as a deduction by reason of clause (ii) thereof shall be taken into account as a charitable contribution for the succeeding taxable year, except that, for purposes of determining under this subparagraph whether such contribution is allowed in such succeeding taxable year, contributions in such succeeding taxable year (determined without regard to this paragraph) shall be taken into account under subsection (b)(2)(A) before any contribution taken into account by reason of this paragraph.

“(B) 5-YEAR CARRYFORWARD.—No charitable contribution may be carried forward under subparagraph (A) to any taxable year following the fifth taxable year after the taxable year in which the charitable contribution was first taken into account. For purposes of the preceding sentence, contributions shall be treated as allowed on a first-in first-out basis.

“(C) CONTRIBUTIONS DISALLOWED BY 1-PERCENT FLOOR CARRIED FORWARD ONLY FROM YEARS IN WHICH 10 PERCENT LIMITATION IS EXCEEDED.—In the case of any taxable year from which a charitable contribution is carried forward under subparagraph (A) (determined without regard to this subparagraph), subparagraph (A) shall be applied by substituting ‘clause (i) or (ii)’ for ‘clause (ii)’.

“(D) SPECIAL RULE FOR NET OPERATING LOSS CARRYOVERS.—The amount of charitable con-

tributions carried forward under subparagraph (A) shall be reduced to the extent that such carryforward would (but for this subparagraph) reduce taxable income (as computed for purposes of the second sentence of section 172(b)(2)) and increase a net operating loss carryover under section 172 to a succeeding taxable year.”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Subparagraphs (B)(ii) and (C)(ii) of section 170(b)(2) are each amended by inserting “other than subparagraph (C) thereof” after “subsection (d)(2)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70427. PERMANENT INCREASE IN LIMITATION ON COVER OVER OF TAX ON DISTILLED SPIRITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 7652(f) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) \$13.25, or”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to distilled spirits brought into the United States after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70428. NONPROFIT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN REMOTE NATIVE VILLAGES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subchapter F of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any activity substantially related to participation or investment in fisheries in the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands statistical and reporting areas (as described in Figure 1 of section 679 of title 50, Code of Federal Regulations) carried on by an entity identified in section 305(i)(1)(D) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)(D)) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this section) shall be considered substantially related to the exercise or performance of the purpose constituting the basis of such entity’s exemption under section 501(a) of such Code if the conduct of such activity is in furtherance of 1 or more of the purposes specified in section 305(i)(1)(A) of such Act (as so in effect). For purposes of this paragraph, activities substantially related to participation or investment in fisheries include the harvesting, processing, transportation, sales, and marketing of fish and fish products of the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands statistical and reporting areas.

(b) APPLICATION TO CERTAIN WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARIES.—If the assets of a trade or business relating to an activity described in subsection (a) of any subsidiary wholly owned by an entity identified in section 305(i)(1)(D) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)(D)) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this section) are transferred to such entity (including in liquidation of such subsidiary) not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this Act—

(1) no gain or income resulting from such transfer shall be recognized to either such subsidiary or such entity under such Code, and

(2) all income derived from such subsidiary from such transferred trade or business shall be exempt from taxation under such Code.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act and shall remain effective during the existence of the western Alaska community development quota program established by Section 305(i)(1) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)), as amended.

SEC. 70429. ADJUSTMENT OF CHARITABLE DEDUCTION FOR CERTAIN EXPENSES INCURRED IN SUPPORT OF NATIVE ALASKAN SUSTINENCE WHALING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(n)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$50,000”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70430. EXCEPTION TO PERCENTAGE OF COMPLETION METHOD OF ACCOUNTING FOR CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 460(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) by striking “home construction contract” both places it appears and inserting “residential construction contract”, and

(B) by inserting “(determined by substituting ‘3-year’ for ‘2-year’ in subparagraph (B)(i) for any residential construction contract which is not a home construction contract)” after “the requirements of clauses (i) and (ii) of subparagraph (B)”,

(2) by striking paragraph (4) and redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (4), and

(3) in subparagraph (A) of paragraph (4), as so redesignated, by striking “paragraph (4)” and inserting “paragraph (3)”.

(b) APPLICATION OF EXCEPTION FOR PURPOSES OF ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX.—Section 56(a)(3) is amended by striking “any home construction contract (as defined in section 460(e)(6))” and inserting “any residential construction contract (as defined in section 460(e)(4))”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to contracts entered into after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Subchapter D—Permanent Investments in Small Business and Rural America

SEC. 70431. EXPANSION OF QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK GAIN EXCLUSION.

(a) PHASED INCREASE IN EXCLUSION FOR GAIN FROM QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1202(a)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.— In the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation, gross income shall not include—

“(A) except as provided in paragraphs (3) and (4), 50 percent of any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock acquired on or before the applicable date and held for more than 5 years, and

“(B) the applicable percentage of any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock acquired after the applicable date and held for at least 3 years.”.

(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—Section 1202(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—The applicable percentage under paragraph (1) shall be determined under the following table:

Years stock held:	Applicable percentage:
3 years	50%
4 years	75%
5 years or more	100%

(3) APPLICABLE DATE; ACQUISITION DATE.—Section 1202(a), as amended by paragraph (2), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) APPLICABLE DATE; ACQUISITION DATE.— For purposes of this section—

“(A) APPLICABLE DATE.—The term ‘applicable date’ means the date of the enactment of this paragraph.

“(B) ACQUISITION DATE.—In the case of any stock which would (but for this paragraph) be treated as having been acquired before, on, or after the applicable date, whichever is applicable, the acquisition date for purposes of this section shall be the first day on which such stock was held by the taxpayer determined after the application of section 1223.”.

(4) CONTINUED TREATMENT AS NOT ITEM OF TAX PREFERENCE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 57(a)(7) is amended by striking “An amount” and inserting

“In the case of stock acquired on or before the date of the enactment of the Creating Small Business Jobs Act of 2010, an amount”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1202(a)(4) is amended—

(i) by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting a period, and

(ii) by striking subparagraph (C).

(5) OTHER CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Paragraphs (3)(A) and (4)(A) of section 1202(a) are each amended by striking “paragraph (1)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(A)”.

(B) Paragraph (4)(A) of section 1202(a) is amended by inserting “and on or before the applicable date” after “2010”.

(C) Sections 1202(b)(2), 1202(g)(2)(A), and 1202(j)(1)(A) are each amended by striking “more than 5 years” and inserting “at least 3 years (more than 5 years in the case of stock acquired on or before the applicable date)”.

(6) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) CONTINUED TREATMENT AS NOT ITEM OF TAX PREFERENCE.—The amendments made by paragraph (4) shall take effect as if included in the enactment of section 2011 of the Creating Small Business Jobs Act of 2010.

(b) INCREASE IN PER ISSUER LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 1202(b)(1) is amended to read as follows: “(A) the applicable dollar limit for the taxable year, or”.

(2) APPLICABLE DOLLAR LIMIT.—Section 1202(b) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) APPLICABLE DOLLAR LIMIT.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), the applicable dollar limit for any taxable year with respect to eligible gain from 1 or more dispositions by a taxpayer of qualified business stock of a corporation is—

“(A) if such stock was acquired by the taxpayer on or before the applicable date, \$10,000,000, reduced by the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for prior taxable years and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer before, on, or after the applicable date, and

“(B) if such stock was acquired by the taxpayer after the applicable date, \$15,000,000, reduced by the sum of—

“(i) the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for prior taxable years and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer before, on, or after the applicable date, plus

“(ii) the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for the taxable year and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer on or before the applicable date.

“(5) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$15,000,000 amount in paragraph (4)(B) shall be increased by an amount equal to —

“(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this subparagraph is not a multiple of \$10,000, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10,000.

“(B) NO INCREASE ONCE LIMIT REACHED.—If, for any taxable year, the eligible gain attrib-

utable to dispositions of stock issued by a corporation and acquired by the taxpayer after the applicable date exceeds the applicable dollar limit, then notwithstanding any increase under subparagraph (A) for any subsequent taxable year, the applicable dollar limit for such subsequent taxable year shall be zero.”.

(3) SEPARATE RETURNS.—Subparagraph (A) of section 1202(b)(3) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) SEPARATE RETURNS.—In the case of a separate return by a married individual for any taxable year—

“(i) paragraph (4)(A) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$5,000,000’ for ‘\$10,000,000’, and

“(ii) paragraph (4)(B) shall be applied by substituting one-half of the dollar amount in effect under such paragraph for the taxable year for the amount so in effect.”.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) INCREASE IN LIMIT IN AGGREGATE GROSS ASSETS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 1202(d)(1) are each amended by striking “\$50,000,000” and inserting “\$75,000,000”.

(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1202(b) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$75,000,000 amounts in paragraphs (1)(A) and (1)(B) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this paragraph is not a multiple of \$10,000, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10,000.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to stock issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70432. REPEAL OF REVISION TO DE MINIMIS RULES FOR THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS.

(a) REINSTATEMENT OF EXCEPTION FOR DE MINIMIS PAYMENTS AS IN EFFECT PRIOR TO ENACTMENT OF AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN ACT OF 2021.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6050W(e) is amended to read as follows:

“(e) EXCEPTION FOR DE MINIMIS PAYMENTS BY THIRD PARTY SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.—A third party settlement organization shall be required to report any information under subsection (a) with respect to third party network transactions of any participating payee only if—

“(1) the amount which would otherwise be reported under subsection (a)(2) with respect to such transactions exceeds \$20,000, and

“(2) the aggregate number of such transactions exceeds 200.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall take effect as if included in section 9674 of the American Rescue Plan Act.

(b) APPLICATION OF DE MINIMIS RULE FOR THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS TO BACKUP WITHHOLDING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 3406(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) OTHER REPORTABLE PAYMENTS INCLUDE PAYMENTS IN SETTLEMENT OF THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS ONLY WHERE AGGREGATE TRANSACTIONS EXCEED REPORTING THRESHOLD FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any payment in settlement of a third party network transaction required to be shown on a return required under section 6050W which is made during any calendar year shall be treated as a reportable payment only if—

“(i) the aggregate number of transactions with respect to the participating payee during such calendar year exceeds the number of transactions specified in section 6050W(e)(2), and

“(ii) the aggregate amount of transactions with respect to the participating payee during such calendar year exceeds the dollar amount specified in section 6050W(e)(1) at the time of such payment.

“(B) EXCEPTION IF THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS MADE IN PRIOR YEAR WERE REPORTABLE.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to payments to any participating payee during any calendar year if one or more payments in settlement of third party network transactions made by the payor to the participating payee during the preceding calendar year were reportable payments.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70433. INCREASE IN THRESHOLD FOR REQUIRING INFORMATION REPORTING WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN PAYEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6041(a) is amended by striking “\$600” and inserting “\$2,000”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 6041 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any calendar year after 2026, the dollar amount in subsection (a) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(1) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(2) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for such calendar year, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under the preceding sentence is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.”.

(c) APPLICATION TO REPORTING ON REMUNERATION FOR SERVICES.—Section 6041A(a)(2) is amended by striking “is \$600 or more” and inserting “equals or exceeds the dollar amount in effect for such calendar year under section 6041(a)”.

(d) APPLICATION TO BACKUP WITHHOLDING.—Section 3406(b)(6) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$600” in subparagraph (A) and inserting “the dollar amount in effect for such calendar year under section 6041(a)”, and

(2) by striking “ONLY WHERE AGGREGATE FOR CALENDAR YEAR IS \$600 OR MORE” in the heading and inserting “ONLY WHERE IN EXCESS OF THRESHOLD”.

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading of section 6041(a) is amended by striking “OF \$600 OR MORE” and inserting “EXCEEDING THRESHOLD”.

(2) Section 6041(a) is amended by striking “taxable year” and inserting “calendar year”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to payments made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70434. TREATMENT OF CERTAIN QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTIONS.

(a) ELECTION TO TREAT COSTS AS EXPENSES.—Section 181(a)(1) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production, and any qualified live theatrical production,” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, and any qualified sound recording production”.

(b) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—Section 181(a)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to so much of the aggregate cost of any qualified sound recording production, or to so much of the aggregate, cumulative cost of all such qualified sound recording productions in the taxable year, as exceeds \$150,000.”.

(c) NO OTHER DEDUCTION OR AMORTIZATION DEDUCTION ALLOWABLE.—Section 181(b) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production or any qualified live theatrical production” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, or any qualified sound recording production”.

(d) ELECTION.—Section 181(c)(1) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production or any qualified live theatrical production” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, or any qualified sound recording production”.

(e) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION DEFINED.—Section 181 is amended by redesignating subsections (f) and (g) as subsections (g) and (h), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified sound recording production’ means a sound recording (as defined in section 101 of title 17, United States Code) produced and recorded in the United States.”.

(f) APPLICATION OF TERMINATION.—Section 181(h), as redesignated by subsection (e), is amended by striking “qualified film and television productions or qualified live theatrical productions” and inserting “qualified film and television productions, qualified live theatrical productions, or qualified sound recording productions”.

(g) BONUS DEPRECIATION.—

(1) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION AS QUALIFIED PROPERTY.—Section 168(k)(2)(A)(i) is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of subclause (IV), by inserting “or” at the end of subclause (V), and by inserting after subclause (V) the following:

“(VI) which is a qualified sound recording production (as defined in subsection (f) of section 181) for which a deduction would have been allowable under section 181 without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (h) of such section or this subsection, and”, and

(B) in subclauses (IV) and (V) (as so amended) by striking “without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (g)” both places it appears and inserting “without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (h)”.

(2) PRODUCTION PLACED IN SERVICE.—Section 168(k)(2)(H) is amended by striking “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting “, and”, and by adding after clause (ii) the following:

“(iii) a qualified sound recording production shall be considered to be placed in service at the time of initial release or broadcast.”.

(h) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading for section 181 is amended to read as follows: “TREATMENT OF CERTAIN QUALIFIED PRODUCTIONS.”.

(2) The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking the item relating to section 181 and inserting the following new item:

“Sec. 181. Treatment of certain qualified productions.”.

(i) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to productions commencing in taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70435. EXCLUSION OF INTEREST ON LOANS SECURED BY RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after section 139K the following new section:

“SEC. 139L. INTEREST ON LOANS SECURED BY RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income shall not include 25 percent of the interest received by a qualified lender on any qualified real estate loan.

“(b) QUALIFIED LENDER.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified lender’ means—

“(1) any bank or savings association the deposits of which are insured under the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1811 et seq.),

“(2) any State- or federally-regulated insurance company,

“(3) any entity wholly owned, directly or indirectly, by a company that is treated as a bank holding company for purposes of section 8 of the International Banking Act of 1978 (12 U.S.C. 3106) if—

“(A) such entity is organized, incorporated, or established under the laws of the United States or any State, and

“(B) the principal place of business of such entity is in the United States (including any territory of the United States),

“(4) any entity wholly owned, directly or indirectly, by a company that is considered an insurance holding company under the laws of any State if such entity satisfies the requirements described in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (3), and

“(5) with respect to interest received on a qualified real estate loan secured by real estate described in subsection (c)(3)(A), any federally chartered instrumentality of the United States established under section 8.1(a) of the Farm Credit Act of 1971 (12 U.S.C. 2279aa-1(a)).

“(c) QUALIFIED REAL ESTATE LOAN.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified real estate loan’ means any loan—

“(A) secured by—

“(i) rural or agricultural real estate, or

“(ii) a leasehold mortgage (with a status as a lien) on rural or agricultural real estate,

“(B) made to a person other than a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)), and

“(C) made after the date of the enactment of this section.

For purposes of the preceding sentence, the determination of whether property securing such loan is rural or agricultural real estate shall be made as of the time the interest income on such loan is accrued.

“(2) REFINANCINGS.—For purposes of subparagraphs (A) and (C) of paragraph (1), a loan shall not be treated as made after the date of the enactment of this section to the extent that the proceeds of such loan are used to refinance a loan which was made on or before the date of the enactment of this section (or, in the case of any series of refinancings, the original loan was made on or before such date).

“(3) RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL ESTATE.—The term ‘rural or agricultural real estate’ means—

“(A) any real property which is substantially used for the production of one or more agricultural products,

“(B) any real property which is substantially used in the trade or business of fishing or seafood processing, and

“(C) any aquaculture facility.

Such term shall not include any property which is not located in a State or a possession of the United States.

“(4) AQUACULTURE FACILITY.—The term ‘aquaculture facility’ means any land, structure, or other appurtenance that is used for aquaculture (including any hatchery, rearing pond, raceway, pen, or incubator).

“(d) COORDINATION WITH SECTION 265.—25 percent of any qualified real estate loan shall be treated as an obligation described in section 265(a)(2) the interest on which is wholly exempt from the taxes imposed by this subtitle.”.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 139K the following new item:

“Sec. 139L. Interest on loans secured by rural or agricultural real property.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70436. REDUCTION OF TRANSFER AND MANUFACTURING TAXES FOR CERTAIN DEVICES.

(a) TRANSFER TAX.—Section 5811(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) RATE.—There shall be levied, collected, and paid on firearms transferred a tax at the rate of—

“(1) \$200 for each firearm transferred in the case of a machinegun or a destructive device, and

“(2) \$0 for any firearm transferred which is not described in paragraph (1).”.

(b) MAKING TAX.—Section 5821(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) RATE.—There shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the making of a firearm a tax at the rate of—

“(1) \$200 for each firearm made in the case of a machinegun or a destructive device, and

“(2) \$0 for any firearm made which is not described in paragraph (1).”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 4182(a) is amended by adding at the end the following: “For purposes of the preceding sentence, any firearm described in section 5811(a)(2) shall be deemed to be a firearm on which the tax provided by section 5811 has been paid.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to calendar quarters beginning more than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70437. TREATMENT OF CAPITAL GAINS FROM THE SALE OF CERTAIN FARMLAND PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating section 1062 as section 1063 and by inserting after section 1061 the following new section:

“SEC. 1062. GAIN FROM THE SALE OR EXCHANGE OF QUALIFIED FARMLAND PROPERTY TO QUALIFIED FARMERS.

“(a) ELECTION TO PAY TAX IN INSTALLMENTS.—In the case of gain from the sale or exchange of qualified farmland property to a qualified farmer, at the election of the taxpayer, the portion of the net income tax of such taxpayer for the taxable year of the sale or exchange which is equal to the applicable net tax liability shall be paid in 4 equal installments.

“(b) RULES RELATING TO INSTALLMENT PAYMENTS.—

“(1) DATE FOR PAYMENT OF INSTALLMENTS.—If an election is made under subsection (a), the first installment shall be paid on the due date (determined without regard to any extension of time for filing the return) for the return of tax for the taxable year in which the sale or exchange occurs and each succeeding installment shall be paid on the due date (as so determined) for the return of tax

for the taxable year following the taxable year with respect to which the preceding installment was made.

“(2) ACCELERATION OF PAYMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If there is an addition to tax for failure to timely pay any installment required under this section, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be due on the date of such failure.

“(B) INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual, if the individual dies, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be paid on the due date for the return of tax for the taxable year in which the taxpayer dies.

“(C) C CORPORATIONS.—In the case of a taxpayer which is a C corporation, trust, or estate, if there is a liquidation or sale of substantially all the assets of the taxpayer (including in a title 11 or similar case), a cessation of business by the taxpayer (in the case of a C corporation), or any similar circumstance, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be due on the date of such event (or in the case of a title 11 or similar case, the day before the petition is filed). The preceding sentence shall not apply to the sale of substantially all the assets of a taxpayer to a buyer if such buyer enters into an agreement with the Secretary under which such buyer is liable for the remaining installments due under this subsection in the same manner as if such buyer were the taxpayer.

“(3) PRORATION OF DEFICIENCY TO INSTALLMENTS.—If an election is made under subsection (a) to pay the applicable net tax liability in installments and a deficiency has been assessed with respect to such applicable net tax liability, the deficiency shall be prorated to the installments payable under subsection (a). The part of the deficiency so prorated to any installment the date for payment of which has not arrived shall be collected at the same time as, and as a part of, such installment. The part of the deficiency so prorated to any installment the date for payment of which has arrived shall be paid upon notice and demand from the Secretary. This section shall not apply if the deficiency is due to negligence, to intentional disregard of rules and regulations, or to fraud with intent to evade tax.

“(c) ELECTION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any election under subsection (a) shall be made not later than the due date for the return of tax for the taxable year described in subsection (a).

“(2) PARTNERSHIPS AND S CORPORATIONS.—In the case of a sale or exchange described in subsection (a) by a partnership or S corporation, the election under subsection (a) shall be made at the partner or shareholder level. The Secretary may prescribe such regulations or other guidance as necessary to carry out the purposes of this paragraph.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) APPLICABLE NET TAX LIABILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The applicable net tax liability with respect to the sale or exchange of any property described in subsection (a) is the excess (if any) of—

“(i) such taxpayer’s net income tax for the taxable year, over

“(ii) such taxpayer’s net income tax for such taxable year determined without regard to any gain recognized from the sale or exchange of such property.

“(B) NET INCOME TAX.—The term ‘net income tax’ means the regular tax liability reduced by the credits allowed under subparts A, B, and D of part IV of subchapter A.

“(2) QUALIFIED FARMLAND PROPERTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified farmland property’ means real property located in the United States—

“(i) which—

“(I) has been used by the taxpayer as a farm for farming purposes, or

“(II) leased by the taxpayer to a qualified farmer for farming purposes, during substantially all of the 10-year period ending on the date of the qualified sale or exchange, and

“(ii) which is subject to a covenant or other legally enforceable restriction which prohibits the use of such property other than as a farm for farming purposes for any period before the date that is 10 years after the date of the sale or exchange described in subsection (a).

For purposes of clause (i), property which is used or leased by a partnership or S corporation in a manner described in such clause shall be treated as used or leased in such manner by each person who holds a direct or indirect interest in such partnership or S corporation.

“(B) FARM; FARMING PURPOSES.—The terms ‘farm’ and ‘farming purposes’ have the respective meanings given such terms under section 2032A(e).

“(3) QUALIFIED FARMER.—The term ‘qualified farmer’ means any individual who is actively engaged in farming (within the meaning of subsections (b) and (c) of section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1986 (7 U.S.C. 1308-1(b) and (c))).

“(e) RETURN REQUIREMENT.—A taxpayer making an election under subsection (a) shall include with the return for the taxable year of the sale or exchange described in subsection (a) a copy of the covenant or other legally enforceable restriction described in subsection (d)(2)(A)(ii).”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 1062 as relating to section 1063 and by inserting after the item relating to section 1061 the following new item:

“Sec. 1062. Gain from the sale or exchange of qualified farmland property to qualified farmers.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to sales or exchanges in taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70438. EXTENSION OF RULES FOR TREATMENT OF CERTAIN DISASTER-RELATED PERSONAL CASUALTY LOSSES.

For purposes of applying section 304(b) of the Taxpayer Certainty and Disaster Tax Relief Act of 2020 (division EE of Public Law 116-260), section 301 of such Act shall be applied by substituting the date of the enactment of this section for “the date of the enactment of this Act” each place it appears.

CHAPTER 5—ENDING GREEN NEW DEAL SPENDING, PROMOTING AMERICA-FIRST ENERGY, AND OTHER REFORMS

Subchapter A—Termination of Green New Deal Subsidies

SEC. 70501. TERMINATION OF PREVIOUSLY-OWNED CLEAN VEHICLE CREDIT.

Section 25E(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “September 30, 2025”.

SEC. 70502. TERMINATION OF CLEAN VEHICLE CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 30D(h) is amended by striking “placed in service after December 31, 2032” and inserting “acquired after September 30, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 30D(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(B)—

(A) in clause (iii), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(B) in clause (iv), by striking “, and” and inserting a period, and

(C) by striking clause (v), and

(2) in paragraph (2)(B)—

(A) in clause (ii), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the comma at the end and inserting a period, and

(C) by striking clauses (iv) through (vi).

SEC. 70503. TERMINATION OF QUALIFIED COMMERCIAL CLEAN VEHICLES CREDIT.

Section 45W(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “September 30, 2025”.

SEC. 70504. TERMINATION OF ALTERNATIVE FUEL VEHICLE REFUELING PROPERTY CREDIT.

Section 30C(i) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “June 30, 2026”.

SEC. 70505. TERMINATION OF ENERGY EFFICIENT HOME IMPROVEMENT CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 25C(h) is amended by striking “placed in service” and all that follows through “December 31, 2032” and inserting “placed in service after December 31, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 25C(d)(2)(C) is amended to read as follows:

“(C) Any oil furnace or hot water boiler which—

“(i) meets or exceeds 2021 Energy Star efficiency criteria, and

“(ii) is rated by the manufacturer for use with fuel blends at least 20 percent of the volume of which consists of an eligible fuel.”

SEC. 70506. TERMINATION OF RESIDENTIAL CLEAN ENERGY CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 25D(h) is amended by striking “to property placed in service after December 31, 2034” and inserting “with respect to any expenditures made after December 31, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 25D(g) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(2) in paragraph (3), by striking “ and before January 1, 2033, 30 percent,” and inserting “30 percent.”, and

(3) by striking paragraphs (4) and (5).

SEC. 70507. TERMINATION OF ENERGY EFFICIENT COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS DEDUCTION.

Section 179D is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(i) TERMINATION.—This section shall not apply with respect to property the construction of which begins after June 30, 2026.”

SEC. 70508. TERMINATION OF NEW ENERGY EFFICIENT HOME CREDIT.

Section 45L(h) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “June 30, 2026”.

SEC. 70509. TERMINATION OF COST RECOVERY FOR ENERGY PROPERTY AND QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.

(a) ENERGY PROPERTY.—Section 168(e)(3)(B)(vi), as amended by section 13703 of Public Law 117-169, is amended—

(1) by striking subclause (I), and

(2) by redesignating subclauses (II) and (III) as subclauses (I) and (II), respectively.

(b) QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.—Section 168(e)(3)(B), as amended by section 13703 of Public Law 117-169 and by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) in clause (vi)(II), by adding “and” at the end,

(2) in clause (vii), by striking “, and” and inserting a period, and

(3) by striking clause (viii).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) ENERGY PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2024.

(2) QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to

property placed in service after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70510. MODIFICATIONS OF ZERO-EMISSION NUCLEAR POWER PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45U(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).

“(B) OTHER PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D)), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof.”.

(b) PROHIBITION WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR POWER FACILITIES USING NUCLEAR FUEL PRODUCED IN COVERED NATIONS OR BY COVERED ENTITIES.—Section 45U, as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) and (C) as subparagraphs (C) and (D), respectively, and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (A) the following new subparagraph:

“(B) which satisfies the requirements described in subsection (c)(4).”, and

(2) in subsection (c), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO USE OF CERTAIN IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For any taxable year, the requirements described in this paragraph with respect to any nuclear facility are that—

“(i) with respect to any nuclear fuel used by such facility during such taxable year, such fuel was not—

“(I) produced in a covered nation or by a covered entity,

“(II) exchanged with, traded for, or substituted for nuclear fuel described in subclause (I), or

“(III) otherwise obtained in lieu of nuclear fuel described in subclause (I) in a manner which is designed to circumvent the purposes of this paragraph, and

“(ii) the taxpayer shall certify to the Secretary (at such time and in such form and manner as the Secretary may prescribe) that any fuel used by such facility during such taxable year complies with the requirements described in clause (i).

“(B) EXCEPTION.—The requirements described in subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to any nuclear fuel which was acquired by the taxpayer pursuant to a binding written contract in effect before January 1, 2023, and which was not modified in any material respect on or after such date.

“(C) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph—

“(i) COVERED ENTITY.—The term ‘covered entity’ means an entity organized under the laws of, or otherwise subject to the jurisdiction of, the government of a covered nation.

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f) of title 10, United States Code.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO USE OF CERTAIN IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2027.

SEC. 70511. TERMINATION OF CLEAN HYDROGEN PRODUCTION CREDIT.

Section 45V(c)(3)(C) is amended by striking “January 1, 2033” and inserting “January 1, 2028”.

SEC. 70512. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 45Y(d) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

“(3) APPLICABLE YEAR.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘applicable year’ means calendar year 2032.

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply with respect to any applicable facility placed in service after December 31, 2027.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”.

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Y is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any facility for which construction begins after December 31, 2025 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in subsection (d)(4)(B), after June 16, 2025), if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”, and

(2) in subsection (g), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D)), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof.

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(1).”.

(c) DEFINITIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 7701(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(51) PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—

“(i) DEFINITION.—The term ‘prohibited foreign entity’ means a specified foreign entity or a foreign-influenced entity.

“(ii) DETERMINATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subclause (II), for any taxable year, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity or foreign-influenced entity shall be made as of the last day of such taxable year.

“(II) INITIAL TAXABLE YEAR.—For purposes of the first taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity described in clauses (i) through (iv) of subparagraph (B) shall be made as of the first day of such taxable year.

“(B) SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified foreign entity’ means—

“(i) a foreign entity of concern described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), or (E) of section 9901(8) of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 15 U.S.C. 4651),

“(ii) an entity identified as a Chinese military company operating in the United States in accordance with section 1260H of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 10 U.S.C. 113 note),

“(iii) an entity included on a list required by clause (i), (ii), (iv), or (v) of section 2(d)(2)(B) of Public Law 117-78 (135 Stat. 1527),

“(iv) an entity specified under section 154(b) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2024 (Public Law 118-31; 10 U.S.C. note prec. 4651), or

“(v) a foreign-controlled entity.

“(C) FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (B), the term ‘foreign-controlled entity’ means—

“(i) the government (including any level of government below the national level) of a covered nation,

“(ii) an agency or instrumentality of a government described in clause (i),

“(iii) a person who is a citizen or national of a covered nation, provided that such person is not an individual who is a citizen, national, or lawful permanent resident of the United States,

“(iv) an entity or a qualified business unit (as defined in section 989(a)) incorporated or organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a covered nation, or

“(v) an entity (including subsidiary entities) controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by an entity described in clause (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv).

“(D) FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘foreign-influenced entity’ means an entity—

“(I) with respect to which, during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the direct authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity owns at least 25 percent of such entity,

“(cc) one or more specified foreign entities own in the aggregate at least 40 percent of such entity, or

“(dd) at least 15 percent of the debt of such entity has been issued, in the aggregate, to 1 or more specified foreign entities, or

“(II) which, during the previous taxable year, made a payment to a specified foreign entity pursuant to a contract, agreement, or other arrangement which entitles such specified foreign entity (or an entity related to such specified foreign entity) to exercise effective control over—

“(aa) any qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer), or

“(bb) with respect to any eligible component produced by the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer)—

“(AA) the extraction, processing, or recycling of any applicable critical mineral, or

“(BB) the production of an eligible component which is not an applicable critical mineral.

“(ii) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—

“(aa) GENERAL RULE.—Subject to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means 1 or more agreements or arrangements similar to those described in subclauses (II) and (III) which provide 1 or more contractual counterparties of a taxpayer with specific authority over key aspects of the production of eligible components, energy generation in a qualified facility, or energy storage which are not included in the measures of control through authority, ownership, or debt held which are described in clause (i)(I).

“(bb) GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this clause, including the establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions described in subparagraph (C) and subclauses (II) and (III) of this clause through a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(II) APPLICATION OF RULES PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF GUIDANCE.—During any period prior to the date that the guidance described in subclause (I)(bb) is issued by the Secretary, for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means the unrestricted contractual right of a contractual counterparty to—

“(aa) determine the quantity or timing of production of an eligible component produced by the taxpayer,

“(bb) determine the amount or timing of activities related to the production of electricity undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer or the storage of electrical energy in energy storage technology of the taxpayer,

“(cc) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a production unit of the taxpayer that produces eligible components,

“(dd) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a qualified facility of the taxpayer,

“(ee) restrict access to data critical to production or storage of energy undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer, or to the site of production or any part of a qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer, to the personnel or agents of such contractual counterparty, or

“(ff) on an exclusive basis, maintain, repair, or operate any plant or equipment which is necessary to the production by the taxpayer of eligible components or electricity.

“(III) LICENSING AND OTHER AGREEMENTS.—

“(aa) IN GENERAL.—In addition to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means, with respect to a licensing agreement for the provision of intellectual property or any other contract, agreement, or other arrangement entered into with a contractual counterparty which is related to such licensing agreement and to a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or the production of an eligible component, any of the following:

“(AA) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to specify or otherwise direct 1 or more sources of components, subcomponents, or applicable critical minerals utilized in a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(BB) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct the operation of any qualified facility, any energy storage technology, or any production unit that produces an eligible component.

“(CC) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to limit the taxpayer’s utilization of intellectual property related to the operation of a qualified facility or energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(DD) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to receive royalties under the licensing agreement or any similar agreement (or payments under any related agreement) beyond the 10th year of the agreement (including modifications or extensions thereof).

“(EE) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct or otherwise require the taxpayer to enter into an agreement for the provision of services for a duration longer than 2 years (including any modifications or extensions thereof).

“(FF) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement does not provide the licensee with all the technical data, information, and know-how necessary to enable the licensee to produce the eligible component or components subject to the contract, agreement, or other arrangement without further involvement from the contractual counterparty or a specified foreign entity.

“(GG) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement was entered into (or modified) on or after June 16, 2025.

“(bb) EXCEPTION.—

“(AA) IN GENERAL.—Item (aa) shall not apply in the case of a bona fide purchase or sale of intellectual property.

“(BB) BONA FIDE PURCHASE OR SALE.—For purposes of item (aa), any purchase or sale of intellectual property where the agreement provides that ownership of the intellectual property reverts to the contractual counterparty after a period of time shall not be considered a bona-fide purchase or sale.

“(IV) PERSONS RELATED TO THE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of subclauses (I), (II), and (III), the term ‘taxpayer’ shall include any person related to the taxpayer.

“(V) CONTRACTUAL COUNTERPARTY.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘contractual counterparty’ means an entity with which the taxpayer has entered into a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(iii) GUIDANCE.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this subparagraph, including establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions against impermissible technology licensing arrangements with specified foreign entities, such as through temporary transfers of intellectual property, retention by a specified foreign entity of a reversionary interest in transferred intellectual property, or otherwise.

“(E) PUBLICLY TRADED ENTITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—

“(I) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (C)(v) shall not apply in the case of any entity the securities of which are regularly traded on—

“(aa) a national securities exchange which is registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission,

“(bb) the national market system established pursuant to section 11A of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934, or

“(cc) any other exchange or other market which the Secretary has determined in guidance issued under section 1296(e)(1)(A)(ii) has rules adequate to carry out the purposes of part VI of subchapter P of chapter 1 of subtitle A.

“(II) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (D)(i)(I) shall not apply in the case of any entity—

“(aa) the securities of which are regularly traded in a manner described in subclause (I), or

“(bb) for which not less than 80 percent of the equity securities of such entity are owned directly or indirectly by an entity which is described in item (aa).

“(III) EXCLUSION OF EXCHANGES OR MARKETS IN COVERED NATIONS.—Subclause (I)(cc) shall not apply with respect to any exchange or market which—

“(aa) is incorporated or organized under the laws of a covered nation, or

“(bb) has its principal place of business in a covered nation.

“(ii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(I), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-controlled entity under subparagraph (C)(v) if such entity is controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by—

“(I) 1 or more specified foreign entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (B)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in clause (iii)(I)(bb), or

“(II) 1 or more foreign-controlled entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (C)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in such clause.

“(iii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(II), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-influenced entity under subparagraph (D)(i)(I) if—

“(I) during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity required to report its beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 (or, in the case of an exchange or market described in clause (i)(I)(cc), an equivalent rule) owns not less than 25 percent of such entity, or

“(cc) 1 or more specified foreign entities that are each required to report their beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 own, in the aggregate, not less than 40 percent of such entity, or

“(II) such entity has issued debt, as part of an original issuance, in excess of 15 percent of its publicly-traded debt to 1 or more specified foreign entities.

“(F) COVERED OFFICER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘covered officer’ means, with respect to an entity—

“(i) a member of the board of directors, board of supervisors, or equivalent governing body,

“(ii) an executive-level officer, including the president, chief executive officer, chief operating officer, chief financial officer, general counsel, or senior vice president, or

“(iii) an individual having powers or responsibilities similar to those of officers or members described in clause (i) or (ii).

“(G) DETERMINATION OF CONTROL.—For purposes of subparagraph (C)(v), the term ‘control’ means—

“(i) in the case of a corporation, ownership (by vote or value) of more than 50 percent of the stock in such corporation,

“(ii) in the case of a partnership, ownership of more than 50 percent of the profits interests or capital interests in such partnership, or

“(iii) in any other case, ownership of more than 50 percent of the beneficial interests in the entity.

“(H) DETERMINATION OF OWNERSHIP.—For purposes of this section, section 318(a)(2)

shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of stock in a corporation. Similar principles shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of interests in any other entity.

“(I) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL.—The term ‘applicable critical mineral’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(6).

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f)(2) of title 10, United States Code.

“(iii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(1).

“(iv) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(v) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1), and

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3).

“(vi) RELATED.—The term ‘related’ shall have the same meaning given such term under sections 267(b) and 707(b).

“(J) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of applying any provision under this paragraph, the beginning of construction with respect to any property shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules under Internal Revenue Service Notice 2013-29 and Internal Revenue Service Notice 2018-59 (as well as any subsequently issued guidance clarifying, modifying, or updating either such Notice), as in effect on January 1, 2025.

“(K) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including rules to prevent the circumvention of any rules or restrictions with respect to prohibited foreign entities.

“(52) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity’ means—

“(i) with respect to any qualified facility or energy storage technology, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (B), or

“(ii) with respect to any facility which produces eligible components, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (C).

“(B) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(i) in the case of a qualified facility the construction of which begins—

“(I) after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 37.5 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2026, 40 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2027, 45 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2028, 50 percent,

“(V) during calendar year 2029, 55 percent,

and

“(VI) after December 31, 2029, 60 percent,

and

“(ii) in the case of energy storage technology the construction of which begins—

“(I) during calendar year 2026, 55 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2028, 65 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2029, 70 percent,

and

“(V) after December 31, 2029, 75 percent.

“(C) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(I) in the case of any solar energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(3)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

“(II) in the case of any wind energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(4)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 85 percent,

and

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 90 percent,

“(III) in the case of any inverter described in subparagraphs (B) through (G) of section 45X(c)(2) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 55 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 60 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 65 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 70 percent,

“(IV) in the case of any qualifying battery component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(5)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 60 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 65 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

and

“(V) subject to clause (ii), in the case of any applicable critical mineral (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(6)) which is sold—

“(aa) after December 31, 2025, and before January 1, 2030, 0 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2030, 25 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2031, 30 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2032, 40 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2032, 50 percent.

“(ii) ADJUSTED THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS.—Not later than December 31, 2027, the Secretary shall issue threshold percentages for each of the applicable critical minerals described in section 45X(c)(6), which shall—

“(I) apply in lieu of the threshold percentage determined under clause (i)(V) for each calendar year, and

“(II) equal or exceed the threshold percentage which would otherwise apply with respect to such applicable critical mineral under such clause for such calendar year, taking into account—

“(aa) domestic geographic availability,

“(bb) supply chain constraints,

“(cc) domestic processing capacity needs,

and

“(dd) national security concerns.

“(D) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO.—

“(i) QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, minus

“(bb) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are—

“(AA) incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, and

“(BB) mined, produced, or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(ii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component, minus

“(bb) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component that are attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(iii) SAFE HARBOR TABLES.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue safe harbor tables (and such other guidance as deemed necessary) to—

“(aa) identify the percentage of total direct costs of any manufactured product which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity,

“(bb) identify the percentage of total direct material costs of any eligible component which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(cc) provide all rules necessary to determine the amount of a taxpayer’s material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity within the meaning of this paragraph.

“(II) SAFE HARBORS PRIOR TO ISSUANCE.—For purposes of this paragraph, prior to the date on which the Secretary issues the safe harbor tables described in subclause (I), and for construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology which begins on or before the date which is 60 days after the date of issuance of such tables, a taxpayer may—

“(aa) use the tables included in Internal Revenue Service Notice 2025-08 to establish the percentage of the total direct costs of any listed eligible component and any manufactured product, and

“(bb) rely on a certification by the supplier of the manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component—

“(AA) of the total direct costs or the total direct material costs, as applicable, of such product or component that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(BB) that such product or component was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(III) EXCEPTION.—Notwithstanding subclauses (I) and (II)—

“(aa) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that a manufactured product or eligible component was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, the taxpayer shall treat all direct costs with respect to such manufactured product, or all direct material costs with respect to such eligible component, as attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(bb) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) pertaining to a manufactured product or eligible component is inaccurate, the taxpayer may not rely on such certification.

“(IV) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—In a manner consistent with Treasury Regulation

section 1.45X-4(c)(4)(i) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) shall—

“(aa) include—

“(AA) the supplier’s employer identification number, or

“(BB) any such similar identification number issued by a foreign government,

“(bb) be signed under penalties of perjury,

“(cc) be retained by the supplier and the taxpayer for a period of not less than 6 years and shall be provided to the Secretary upon request, and

“(dd) be from the supplier from which the taxpayer purchased any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent elements, materials, or subcomponents of an eligible component, stating either—

“(AA) that such property was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity and that the supplier is not aware that any prior supplier in the chain of production of that property is a prohibited foreign entity,

“(BB) for purposes of section 45X, the total direct material costs for each component, constituent element, material, or subcomponent that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(CC) for purposes of section 45Y or section 48E, the total direct costs attributable to all manufactured products that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(iv) EXISTING CONTRACT.—Upon the election of the taxpayer (in such form and manner as the Secretary shall designate), in the case of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component which is—

“(I) acquired by the taxpayer, or manufactured or assembled by or for the taxpayer, pursuant to a binding written contract which was entered into prior to June 16, 2025, and

“(II)(aa) placed into service before January 1, 2030 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in section 45Y(d)(4)(B), before January 1, 2028), or

“(bb) in the case of a constituent element, material, or subcomponent, used in a product sold before January 1, 2030,

the cost to the taxpayer with respect to such product, component, element, material, or subcomponent shall not be included for purposes of determining the material assistance cost ratio under this subparagraph.

“(v) ANTI-CIRCUMVENTION RULES.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to prevent circumvention of the rules under this subparagraph, including prevention of—

“(I) any abuse of the exception provided under clause (iv) through the stockpiling of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component during any period prior to the application of the requirements under this paragraph, or

“(II) any evasion with respect to the requirements of this subparagraph where the facts and circumstances demonstrate that the beginning of construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology has not in fact occurred.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ means—

“(I) any property described in section 45X(c)(1), or

“(II) any component which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(ii) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the

same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(iii) MANUFACTURED PRODUCT.—The term ‘manufactured product’ means—

“(I) a manufactured product which is a component of a qualified facility, as described in section 45Y(g)(11)(B) and any guidance issued thereunder, or

“(II) any product which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(iv) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1),

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3), and

“(III) any qualified interconnection property (as defined in section 48E(b)(4)) which is part of the qualified investment with respect to a qualified facility (as described in section 48E(b)(1)).

“(F) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—Rules similar to the rules under paragraph (51)(J) shall apply for purposes of this paragraph.

“(G) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including—

“(i) identification of components or products for purposes of clauses (i) and (iii) of subparagraph (E), and

“(ii) for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), rules to address facilities which produce more than one eligible component.”.

(d) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—Section 45Y is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section with respect to any production of electricity during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘lessee’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”.

(e) EMISSIONS RATES TABLES.—Section 45Y(b)(2)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXISTING STUDIES.—For purposes of clause (i), in determining greenhouse gas emissions rates for types or categories of facilities for the purpose of determining whether a facility satisfies the requirements under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall consider studies published on or before the date of enactment of this clause which demonstrate a net lifecycle greenhouse gas emissions rate which is not greater than zero using widely accepted lifecycle assessment concepts, such as concepts described in standards developed by the International Organization for Standardization.”.

(f) NUCLEAR ENERGY COMMUNITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45(b)(11) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (ii)(II), by striking “or” at the end,

(ii) in clause (iii)(II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or”, and

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

“(iv) for purposes of any qualified facility which is an advanced nuclear facility, a metropolitan statistical area which has (or, at any time during the period beginning after December 31, 2009, had) 0.17 percent or greater direct employment related to the advancement of nuclear power, including employment related to—

“(I) an advanced nuclear facility,

“(II) advanced nuclear power research and development,

“(III) nuclear fuel cycle research, development, or production, including mining, enrichment, manufacture, storage, disposal, or recycling of nuclear fuel, and

“(IV) the manufacturing or assembly of components used in an advanced nuclear facility.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) ADVANCED NUCLEAR FACILITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), for purposes of subparagraph (B)(iv), the term ‘advanced nuclear facility’ means any nuclear facility the reactor design for which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2).

“(ii) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of clause (i), a facility shall be deemed to have a reactor design which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2) if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has authorized construction and issued a site-specific construction permit or combined license with respect to such facility.”.

(2) NONAPPLICATION FOR CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.—Section 48E(a)(3)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “, as applied without regard to clause (iv) thereof” after “section 45(b)(11)(B)”.

(g) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Paragraph (1) of section 48D(c) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) is not a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), and”.

(2) Section 45Y(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraph (D) as subparagraph (E), and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DETERMINATION OF CAPACITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (C), additions of capacity of a facility shall be determined in any reasonable manner, including based on—

“(i) determinations by, or reports to, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (including interconnection agreements), the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, or any similar entity, reflecting additions of capacity,

“(ii) determinations or reports reflecting additions of capacity made by an independent professional engineer,

“(iii) reports to, or issued by, regional transmission organizations or independent system operators reflecting additions of capacity, or

“(iv) any other method or manner provided by the Secretary.”.

(h) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 6418(g) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—With respect to any eligible credit described in clause (iii), (iv), (vi), (vii), (viii), or (xi) of subsection (f)(1)(A), an eligible taxpayer may not elect to transfer any portion of such credit to a taxpayer that is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).”.

(i) EXTENSION OF PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS FOR ERRORS RELATING TO DETERMINING OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—Section 6501 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—In the case of a deficiency attributable to an error with respect to the determination under section 7701(a)(52) for any taxable year, such deficiency may be assessed at any time within 6 years after the return for such year was filed.”.

(j) IMPOSITION OF ACCURACY-RELATED PENALTIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6662(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(m) SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTATEMENT OF INCOME TAX DUE TO DISALLOWANCE OF APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which there is a disallowance of an applicable energy credit for any taxable year, for purposes of determining whether there is a substantial understatement of income tax for such taxable year, subsection (d)(1) shall be applied—

“(A) in subparagraphs (A) and (B), by substituting ‘1 percent’ for ‘10 percent’ each place it appears, and

“(B) without regard to subparagraph (C).

“(2) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘disallowance of an applicable energy credit’ means the disallowance of a credit under section 45X, 45Y, or 48E by reason of overstating the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)) with respect to any qualified facility, energy storage technology, or facility which produces eligible components.”

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 6417(d)(6) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—In the case of an applicable entity which made an election under subsection (a) with respect to an applicable credit for which there is a disallowance described in section 6662(m)(2), subparagraph (A) shall apply with respect to any excessive payment resulting from such disallowance.”

(k) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6695A the following new section:

“SEC. 6695B. PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.

“(a) IMPOSITION OF PENALTY.—If—

“(1) a person—

“(A) provides a certification described in clause (iii)(II)(bb) of section 7701(a)(52)(D) with respect to any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component, and

“(B) knows, or reasonably should have known, that the certification would be used in connection with a determination under such section,

“(2) such certification is inaccurate or false with respect to—

“(A) whether such property was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(B) the total direct costs or total direct material costs of such property that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity that were provided on such certification, and

“(3) the inaccuracy or falsity described in paragraph (2) resulted in the disallowance of an applicable energy credit (as defined in section 6662(m)(2)) and an understatement of income tax (within the meaning of section 6662(d)(2)) for the taxable year in an amount which exceeds the lesser of—

“(A) 5 percent of the tax required to be shown on the return for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$100,000,

then such person shall pay a penalty in the amount determined under subsection (b).

“(b) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—The amount of the penalty imposed under subsection (a) on any person with respect to a certification shall be equal to the greater of—

“(1) 10 percent of the amount of the underpayment (as defined in section 6664(a)) solely attributable to the inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2), or

“(2) \$5,000.

“(c) EXCEPTION.—No penalty shall be imposed under subsection (a) if the person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that any inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2) is due to a reasonable cause and not willful neglect.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in section 7701(a)(52) shall have the meaning given such term in such section.”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 6696 is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “**AND 6695A**” and inserting “**6695A, AND 6695B**”,

(ii) in subsections (a), (b), and (e), by striking “and 6695A” each place it appears and inserting “6695A, and 6695B”,

(iii) in subsection (c), by striking “or 6695A” and inserting “6695A, or 6695B”, and

(iv) in subsection (d)—

(I) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, in the case of any penalty under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “assessed within 3 years”, and

(II) in paragraph (2), by inserting “(or, in the case of any claim for refund of an overpayment of any penalty assessed under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “filed within 3 years”.

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after item relating to section 6695A the following new item:

“Sec. 6695B. Penalty for substantial misstatements on certification provided by supplier.”

(1) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES

“Sec. 5000E-1. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 5000E-1. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable facility for which there is a material assistance cost ratio violation, a tax is hereby imposed for the taxable year in which such facility is placed in service in the amount determined under subsection (d) with respect to such facility.

“(b) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a facility owned by the taxpayer—

“(1) which—

“(A) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(B) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), and

“(2) either—

“(A) the construction of which begins after the date of the enactment of this section and before January 1, 2028, and which is placed in service after December 31, 2027, or

“(B) the construction of which begins after December 31, 2027, and before January 1, 2036.

“(c) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO VIOLATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘material assistance cost ratio violation’ means, with respect to an applicable facility, that the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(d) AMOUNT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount determined under this subsection with respect to any applicable facility shall be equal to the applicable percentage of the amount equal to the product of—

“(A) the amount (expressed in percentage points) by which the threshold percentage (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(B)(i)) exceeds the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)), multiplied by

“(B) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the applicable facility upon completion of construction (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)(I)).

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable percentage shall be—

“(A) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (A) of subsection (b)(1), 30 percent, or

“(B) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (B) of such subsection, 50 percent.

“(e) RULE OF APPLICATION.—For purposes of this section, with respect to the application of section 7701(a)(52) or any provision thereof, such section shall be applied by substituting ‘applicable facility’ for ‘qualified facility’ each place it appears.”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters for subtitle D is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50A the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES”.

(m) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (b)(1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(3) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(4) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—The amendments made by subsection (k) shall apply to certifications provided after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70513. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 48E(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

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

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply to any qualified property placed in service by the taxpayer after December 31, 2027, which is part of an applicable facility.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to

any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).

“(C) EXCEPTION.—This paragraph shall not apply with respect to any energy storage technology which is placed in service at any applicable facility.”

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 48E is amended—

(A) in subsection (b)—

(i) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7), and

(ii) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following new paragraph:

“(6) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the terms ‘qualified facility’ and ‘qualified interconnection property’ shall not include any facility or property the construction, reconstruction, or erection of which begins after December 31, 2025, if the construction, reconstruction, or erection of such facility or property includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any applicable facility (as defined in subsection (e)(4)(B)) for which construction begins after June 16, 2025, if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”

(B) in subsection (c), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ shall not include any property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2025, if the construction of such property includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”

(2) ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS.—Section 48E(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(3) or energy storage technology described in subsection (c)(2).”

(3) RECAPTURE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 50(a) is amended—

(i) by redesignating paragraphs (4) through (6) as paragraphs (5) through (7), respectively,

(ii) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) PAYMENTS TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If there is an applicable payment made by a specified taxpayer before the close of the 10-year period beginning on the date such taxpayer placed in service investment credit property which is eligible

for the clean electricity investment credit under section 48E(a), then the tax under this chapter for the taxable year in which such applicable payment occurs shall be increased by 100 percent of the aggregate decrease in the credits allowed under section 38 for all prior taxable years which would have resulted solely from reducing to zero any credit determined under section 46 which is attributable to the clean electricity investment credit under section 48E(a) with respect to such property.

“(B) APPLICABLE PAYMENT.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable payment’ means, with respect to any taxable year, a payment or payments described in section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II).

“(C) SPECIFIED TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified taxpayer’ means any taxpayer who has been allowed a credit under section 48E(a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph.”

(iii) in paragraph (5), as redesignated by clause (i), by striking “or any applicable transaction to which paragraph (3)(A) applies,” and inserting “any applicable transaction to which paragraph (3)(A) applies, or any applicable payment to which paragraph (4)(A) applies,” and

(iv) in paragraph (7), as redesignated by clause (i), by striking “or (3)” and inserting “(3), or (4)”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(i) Section 1371(d)(1) is amended by striking “section 50(a)(5)” and inserting “section 50(a)(6)”.

(ii) Section 6418(g)(3) is amended by striking “subsection (a)(5)” each place it appears and inserting “subsection (a)(7)”.

(c) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 48E is amended—

(A) by redesignating subsection (i) as subsection (j), and

(B) by inserting after subsection (h) the following new subsection:

“(i) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section for any qualified investment during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘lessee’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”

(2) CONFORMING RULES.—Section 50 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) RULES FOR GEOTHERMAL HEAT PUMPS.—For purposes of this section and section 168, the ownership of energy property described in section 48(a)(3)(A)(vii) shall be determined without regard to whether such property is readily usable by a person other than the lessee or service recipient.”

(d) DOMESTIC CONTENT RULES.—Subparagraph (B) of section 48E(a)(3) is amended to read as follows:

“(B) DOMESTIC CONTENT.—Rules similar to the rules of section 48(a)(12) shall apply, except that, for purposes of subparagraph (B) of such section and the application of rules similar to the rules of section 45(b)(9)(B), the adjusted percentage (as determined under section 45(b)(9)(C)) shall be determined as follows:

“(i) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins before June 16, 2025, 40 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 20 percent).

“(ii) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility

the construction of which begins on or after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 45 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 27.5 percent).

“(iii) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins during calendar year 2026, 50 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 35 percent).

“(iv) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins after December 31, 2026, 55 percent.”

(e) ELIMINATION OF ENERGY CREDIT FOR CERTAIN ENERGY PROPERTY.—Section 48(a)(2) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by striking “2 percent” and inserting “0 percent”, and

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

“(C) NONAPPLICATION OF INCREASES TO ENERGY PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of energy property described in subparagraph (A)(ii), the energy percentage applicable to such property pursuant to such subparagraph shall not be increased or otherwise adjusted by any provision of this section.”

(f) APPLICATION OF CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—Section 48E, as amended by subsection (c), is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (j) as subsection (k), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (i) the following new subsection:

“(j) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—For purposes of this section, in the case of any qualified fuel cell property (as defined in section 48(c)(1), as applied without regard to subparagraph (E) thereof)—

“(1) subsection (b)(3)(A) shall be applied without regard to clause (iii) thereof,

“(2) for purposes of subsection (a)(1), the applicable percentage shall be 30 percent and such percentage shall not be increased or otherwise adjusted by any other provision of this section, and

“(3) subsection (g) shall not apply.”

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) DOMESTIC CONTENT RULES.—The amendment made by subsection (d) shall apply on or after June 16, 2025.

(3) ELIMINATION OF ENERGY CREDIT FOR CERTAIN ENERGY PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (e) shall apply to property the construction of which begins on or after June 16, 2025.

(4) APPLICATION OF CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (f) shall apply to property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70514. PHASE-OUT AND RESTRICTIONS ON ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) MODIFICATION OF PROVISION RELATING TO SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—Paragraph (4) of section 45X(d) is amended to read as follows:

“(4) SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, a person shall be treated as having sold an eligible component to an unrelated person if—

“(i) such component (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘primary component’) is integrated, incorporated, or assembled into another eligible component (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘secondary component’) produced within the same manufacturing facility as the primary component, and

“(ii) the secondary component is sold to an unrelated person.

“(B) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—Subparagraph (A) shall only apply with respect to a secondary component for which not less than 65 percent of the total direct material costs which are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer to produce such secondary component are attributable to primary components which are mined, produced, or manufactured in the United States.”.

(b) PHASE OUT AND TERMINATION.—Section 45X(b)(3) is amended—

(1) in the heading, by inserting “AND TERMINATION” after “PHASE OUT”;

(2) in subparagraph (A), in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “subparagraph (C)” and inserting “subparagraphs (C) and (D)”, and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following:

“(C) PHASE OUT FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS OTHER THAN METALLURGICAL COAL.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any applicable critical mineral (other than metallurgical coal) produced after December 31, 2030, the amount determined under this subsection with respect to such mineral shall be equal to the product of—

“(I) the amount determined under paragraph (1) with respect to such mineral, as determined without regard to this subparagraph, multiplied by

“(II) the phase out percentage under clause (ii).

“(ii) PHASE OUT PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS OTHER THAN METALLURGICAL COAL.—The phase out percentage under this clause is equal to—

“(I) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2031, 75 percent,

“(II) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2032, 50 percent,

“(III) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2033, 25 percent, and

“(IV) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced after December 31, 2033, 0 percent.

“(D) TERMINATION FOR WIND ENERGY COMPONENTS.—This section shall not apply to any wind energy component produced and sold after December 31, 2027.

“(E) TERMINATION FOR METALLURGICAL COAL.—This section shall not apply to any metallurgical coal produced after December 31, 2029.”.

(c) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45X is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—In the case of taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the term ‘eligible component’ shall not include any property which includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52), as applied by substituting ‘used in a product sold before January 1, 2027’ for ‘used in a product sold before January 1, 2030’ in subparagraph (D)(iii)(V)(bb) thereof), and

(2) in subsection (d), as amended by subsection (a) of this section, by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to an eligible component described in subsection (c)(1).”.

(d) MODIFICATION OF DEFINITION OF BATTERY MODULE.—Section 45X(c)(5)(B)(iii) is amended—

(1) in subclause (I)(bb), by striking “and” at the end,

(2) in subclause (II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) which is comprised of all other essential equipment needed for battery functionality, such as current collector assemblies and voltage sense harnesses, thermal collection assemblies, or other essential energy collection equipment.”.

(e) INCLUSION OF METALLURGICAL COAL AS AN APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL FOR PURPOSES OF THE ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45X(c)(6) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (R) through (Z) as subparagraphs (S) through (AA), respectively, and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (Q) the following new subparagraph:

“(R) METALLURGICAL COAL.—Metallurgical coal which is suitable for use in the production of steel (within the meaning of the notice published by the Department of Energy entitled ‘Critical Material List; Addition of Metallurgical Coal Used for Steelmaking’ (90 Fed. Reg. 22711 (May 29, 2025))), regardless of whether such production occurs inside or outside of the United States.”.

(2) CREDIT AMOUNT.—Section 45X(b)(1)(M) is amended by inserting “(2.5 percent in the case of metallurgical coal)” after “10 percent”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MODIFICATION OF PROVISION RELATING TO SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to components sold during taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 70515. RESTRICTION ON THE EXTENSION OF ADVANCED ENERGY PROJECT CREDIT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 48C(e)(3)(C) is amended by striking “shall be increased” and inserting “shall not be increased”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

Subchapter B—Enhancement of America-first Energy Policy

SEC. 70521. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) PROHIBITION ON FOREIGN FEEDSTOCKS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(f)(1)(A) is amended—

(A) in clause (i)(II)(bb), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iii) such fuel is exclusively derived from a feedstock which was produced or grown in the United States, Mexico, or Canada.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(b) PROHIBITION ON NEGATIVE EMISSION RATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following:

“(C) ROUNDING OF EMISSIONS RATE.—The Secretary may round the emissions rates under subparagraph (B) to the nearest multiple of 5 kilograms of CO₂e per mMBTU.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) PROHIBITION ON NEGATIVE EMISSION RATES.—For purposes of this section, the emissions rate for a transportation fuel may not be less than zero.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to emissions rates published for transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(c) DETERMINATION OF EMISSIONS RATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(b)(1)(B) is amended by adding at the end the following new clauses:

“(iv) EXCLUSION OF INDIRECT LAND USE CHANGES.—Notwithstanding clauses (i), (ii), and (iii), the emissions rate shall be adjusted as necessary to exclude any emissions attributed to indirect land use change. Any such adjustment shall be based on regulations or methodologies determined by the Secretary.

“(v) ANIMAL MANURES.—With respect to any transportation fuel which is derived from animal manure, the Secretary—

“(I) shall provide a distinct emissions rate with respect to such fuel based on the specific animal manure feedstock, which may include dairy manure, swine manure, poultry manure, or any other sources as are determined appropriate by the Secretary, and

“(II) notwithstanding subparagraph (E), may provide an emissions rate that is less than zero.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 45Z(b)(1)(B)(i) is amended by striking “clauses (ii) and (iii)” and inserting “clauses (ii), (iii), (iv), and (v)”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to emissions rates published for transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(d) EXTENSION OF CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—Section 45Z(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2027” and inserting “December 31, 2029”.

(e) PREVENTING DOUBLE CREDIT.—Section 45Z(d)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iv) is not produced from a fuel for which a credit under this section is allowable.”, and

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

“(C) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of subparagraph (A)(iv).”.

(f) SALES TO UNRELATED PERSONS.—Section 45Z(f)(3) is amended by adding at the end the

following: “The Secretary may prescribe additional related person rules similar to the rule described in the preceding sentence for entities which are not described in such sentence, including rules for related persons with respect to which the taxpayer has reason to believe will sell fuel to an unrelated person in a manner described in subsection (a)(4).”.

(g) TREATMENT OF SUSTAINABLE AVIATION FUEL.—

(1) COORDINATION OF CREDITS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(a)(3) is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “SPECIAL” and inserting “ADJUSTED”, and

(ii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) COORDINATION OF CREDITS.—In the case of a transportation fuel which is sustainable aviation fuel which is sold before October 1, 2025, the amount of the credit determined under paragraph (1) with respect to any gallon of such fuel shall be reduced by an amount equal to the amount of the sustainable aviation fuel credit allowable under section 4626(k)(1).”.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to fuel sold after December 31, 2024.

(2) ELIMINATION OF SPECIAL RATE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(a)(3), as amended by paragraph (1), is amended by—

(i) striking subparagraph (A), and

(ii) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (A).

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 45Z(c)(1) is amended by striking “, the \$1.00 amount in subsection (a)(2)(B), the 35 cent amount in subsection (a)(3)(A)(i), and the \$1.75 amount in subsection (a)(3)(A)(ii)” and inserting “and the \$1.00 amount in subsection (a)(2)(B)”.

(C) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(h) SUSTAINABLE AVIATION FUEL CREDIT.—Section 4626(k) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) TERMINATION.—This subsection shall not apply to any sale or use for any period after September 30, 2025.”.

(i) REGISTRATION OF PRODUCERS OF FUEL ELIGIBLE FOR CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 13704(b)(5) of Public Law 117-169 is amended by striking “after ‘section 4626(k)(3),’” and inserting “after ‘section 40B),’”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2024.

(j) EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF SMALL AGRIBIODIESEL PRODUCER CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 40A is amended—

(A) in subsection (b)(4)—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “10 cents” and inserting “20 cents”,

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “in a manner which complies with the requirements under section 45Z(f)(1)(A)(iii)” after “produced by an eligible small agri-biodiesel producer”, and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) COORDINATION WITH CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—The credit determined under this paragraph with respect to any gallon of fuel shall be in addition to any credit determined under section 45Z with respect to such gallon of fuel.” and

(B) in subsection (g), by inserting “(or, in the case of the small agri-biodiesel producer credit, any sale or use after December 31, 2026)” after “December 31, 2024”.

(2) TRANSFER OF CREDIT.—Section 6418(f)(1)(A) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xii) So much of the biodiesel fuels credit determined under section 40A which consists of the small agri-biodiesel producer credit determined under subsection (b)(4) of such section.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to fuel sold or used after June 30, 2025.

(k) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).

“(B) OTHER PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70522. RESTRICTIONS ON CARBON OXIDE SEQUESTRATION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Q(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(10) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is—

“(A) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(B) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), determined without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”.

(b) PARITY FOR DIFFERENT USES AND UTILIZATIONS OF QUALIFIED CARBON OXIDE.—Section 45Q is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (2)(B)(ii), by adding “and” at the end,

(B) in paragraph (3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) disposed of by the taxpayer in secure geological storage and not used by the taxpayer as described in clause (ii) or (iii),

“(ii) used by the taxpayer as a tertiary injectant in a qualified enhanced oil or natural gas recovery project and disposed of by the taxpayer in secure geological storage, or

“(iii) utilized by the taxpayer in a manner described in subsection (f)(5).” and

(C) by striking paragraph (4),

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B) or (C), the applicable dollar amount shall be an amount equal to—

“(i) for any taxable year beginning in a calendar year after 2024 and before 2027, \$17, and

“(ii) for any taxable year beginning in a calendar year after 2026, an amount equal to the product of \$17 and the inflation adjustment factor for such calendar year determined under section 43(b)(3)(B) for such calendar year, determined by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘1990’.” and

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking “shall be applied” and all that follows through the period and inserting “shall be applied by substituting ‘\$36’ for ‘\$17’ each place it appears.”.

(B) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “paragraphs (3)(A) and (4)(A)” and inserting “paragraph (3)(A)”, and

(C) in paragraph (3), by striking “the dollar amounts applicable under paragraph (3) or (4)” and inserting “the dollar amount applicable under paragraph (3)”,

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5)(B)(i), by striking “(4)(B)(ii)” and inserting “(3)(B)(iii)”, and

(B) in paragraph (9), by striking “paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (a)” and inserting “subsection (a)(3)”, and

(4) in subsection (h)(3)(A)(ii), by striking “paragraph (3)(A) or (4)(A) of subsection (a)” and inserting “subsection (a)(3)(A)”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 6417(d)(3)(C)(i)(II)(bb) is amended by striking “paragraph (3)(A) or (4)(A) of section 45Q(a)” and inserting “section 45Q(a)(3)(A)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) PARITY FOR DIFFERENT USES AND UTILIZATIONS OF QUALIFIED CARBON OXIDE.—The amendments made subsections (b) and (c) shall apply to facilities or equipment placed in service after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70523. INTANGIBLE DRILLING AND DEVELOPMENT COSTS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT FOR PURPOSES OF COMPUTING ADJUSTED FINANCIAL STATEMENT INCOME.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 56A(c)(13) is amended—

(1) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) reduced by—

“(i) depreciation deductions allowed under section 167 with respect to property to which section 168 applies to the extent of the amount allowed as deductions in computing taxable income for the year, and

“(ii) any deduction allowed for expenses under section 263(c) (including any deduction for such expenses under section 59(e) or 291(b)(2)) with respect to property described therein to the extent of the amount allowed as deductions in computing taxable income for the year, and”.

(2) by striking subparagraph (B)(i) and inserting the following:

“(i) to disregard any amount of—

“(I) depreciation expense that is taken into account on the taxpayer’s applicable financial statement with respect to such property, and

“(II) depletion expense that is taken into account on the taxpayer’s applicable financial statement with respect to the intangible drilling and development costs of such property, and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70524. INCOME FROM HYDROGEN STORAGE, CARBON CAPTURE, ADVANCED NUCLEAR, HYDROPOWER, AND GEOTHERMAL ENERGY ADDED TO QUALIFYING INCOME OF CERTAIN PUBLICLY TRADED PARTNERSHIPS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 7704(d)(1)(E) is amended—

(1) by striking “income and gains derived from the exploration” and inserting the following: “income and gains derived from—

“(i) the exploration”.

(2) by inserting “or” before “industrial source”, and

(3) by striking “or the transportation or storage” and all that follows and inserting the following:

“(ii) the transportation or storage of—
“(I) any fuel described in subsection (b), (c), (d), (e), or (k) of section 6426, or any alcohol fuel defined in section 6426(b)(4)(A) or any biodiesel fuel as defined in section 40A(d)(1) or sustainable aviation fuel as defined in section 40B(d)(1), or

“(II) liquefied hydrogen or compressed hydrogen,

“(iii) in the case of a qualified facility (as defined in section 45Q(d), without regard to any date by which construction of the facility or equipment is required to begin) not less than 50 percent of the total carbon oxide production of which is qualified carbon oxide (as defined in section 45Q(c))—

“(I) the generation, availability for such generation, or storage of electric power at such facility, or

“(II) the capture of carbon dioxide by such facility,

“(iv) the production of electricity from any advanced nuclear facility (as defined in section 45J(d)(2)),

“(v) the production of electricity or thermal energy exclusively using a qualified energy resource described in subparagraph (D) or (H) of section 45(c)(1), or

“(vi) the operation of energy property described in clause (iii) or (vii) of section 48(a)(3)(A) (determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70525. ALLOW FOR PAYMENTS TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS WHO DYE FUEL.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Subchapter B of chapter 65, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6435. DYED FUEL.

“(a) **IN GENERAL.**—If a person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that such person meets the requirements of subsection (b) with respect to diesel fuel or kerosene, then the Secretary shall pay to such person an amount (without interest) equal to the tax described in subsection (b)(2)(A) with respect to such diesel fuel or kerosene.

“(b) **REQUIREMENTS.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—A person meets the requirements of this subsection with respect to diesel fuel or kerosene if such person removes from a terminal eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene.

“(2) **ELIGIBLE INDELIBLY DYED DIESEL FUEL OR KEROSENE DEFINED.**—The term ‘eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene’ means diesel fuel or kerosene—

“(A) with respect to which a tax under section 4081 was previously paid (and not credited or refunded), and

“(B) which is exempt from taxation under section 4082(a).

“(c) **CROSS REFERENCE.**—For civil penalty for excessive claims under this section, see section 6675.”

(b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.**—

(1) Section 6206 is amended—

(A) by striking “or 6427” each place it appears and inserting “6427, or 6435”, and

(B) by striking “6420 and 6421” and inserting “6420, 6421, and 6435”.

(2) Section 6430 is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) which are removed as eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene under section 6435.”

(3) Section 6675 is amended—

(A) in subsection (a), by striking “or 6427 (relating to fuels not used for taxable purposes)” and inserting “6427 (relating to fuels not used for taxable purposes), or 6435 (relating to eligible indelibly dyed fuel)”, and

(B) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “6421, or 6427,” and inserting “6421, 6427, or 6435.”

(4) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6435. Dyed fuel.”

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene removed on or after the date that is 180 days after the date of the enactment of this section.

Subchapter C—Other Reforms

SEC. 70531. MODIFICATIONS TO DE MINIMIS ENTRY PRIVILEGE FOR COMMERCIAL SHIPMENTS.

(a) **CIVIL PENALTY.**—

(1) **ADDITIONAL PENALTY IMPOSED.**—Section 321 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1321) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(c) Any person who enters, introduces, facilitates, or attempts to introduce an article into the United States using the privilege of this section, the importation of which violates any other provision of United States customs law, shall be assessed, in addition to any other penalty permitted by law, a civil penalty of up to \$5,000 for the first violation and up to \$10,000 for each subsequent violation.”

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall take effect 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) **REPEAL OF COMMERCIAL SHIPMENT EXCEPTION.**—

(1) **REPEAL.**—Section 321(a)(2) of such Act (19 U.S.C. 1321(a)(2)) is amended by striking “of this Act, or” and all that follows through “subdivision (2); and” and inserting “of this Act; and”.

(2) **CONFORMING REPEAL.**—Subsection (c) of such section 321, as added by subsection (a) of this section, is repealed.

(3) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on July 1, 2027.

CHAPTER 6—ENHANCING DEDUCTION AND INCOME TAX CREDIT GUARDRAILS, AND OTHER REFORMS

SEC. 70601. MODIFICATION AND EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON EXCESS BUSINESS LOSSES OF NONCORPORATE TAXPAYERS.

(a) **RULE MADE PERMANENT.**—Section 461(l)(1) is amended by striking “and before January 1, 2029,” each place it appears.

(b) **ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR CALCULATION OF EXCESS BUSINESS LOSS.**—Section 461(l)(3)(C) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “December 31, 2018” and inserting “December 31, 2025”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “2017” and inserting “2024”.

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATES.**—

(1) **RULE MADE PERMANENT.**—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

(2) **ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR CALCULATION OF EXCESS BUSINESS LOSS.**—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70602. TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FROM PARTNERSHIPS TO PARTNERS FOR PROPERTY OR SERVICES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 707(a)(2) is amended by striking “Under regulations prescribed” and inserting “Except as provided”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to services performed, and property transferred, after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Nothing in this section, or the amendments made by this section, shall be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper treatment under section 707(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to payments from a partnership to a partner for services performed, or property transferred, on or before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70603. EXCESSIVE EMPLOYEE REMUNERATION FROM CONTROLLED GROUP MEMBERS AND ALLOCATION OF DEDUCTION.

(a) **APPLICATION OF AGGREGATION RULES.**—Section 162(m) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) **REMUNERATION FROM CONTROLLED GROUP MEMBERS.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any publicly held corporation which is a member of a controlled group—

“(i) paragraph (1) shall be applied by substituting ‘specified covered employee’ for ‘covered employee’, and

“(ii) if any person which is a member of such controlled group (other than such publicly held corporation) provides applicable employee remuneration to an individual who is a specified covered employee of such controlled group and the aggregate amount described in subparagraph (B)(i) with respect to such specified covered employee exceeds \$1,000,000—

“(I) paragraph (1) shall apply to such person with respect to such remuneration, and

“(II) paragraph (1) shall apply to such publicly held corporation and to each such related person by substituting ‘the allocable limitation amount’ for ‘\$1,000,000’.

“(B) **ALLOCABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.**—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘allocable limitation amount’ means, with respect to any member of the controlled group referred to in subparagraph (A) with respect to any specified covered employee of such controlled group, the amount which bears the same ratio to \$1,000,000 as—

“(i) the amount of applicable employee remuneration provided by such member with respect to such specified covered employee, bears to

“(ii) the aggregate amount of applicable employee remuneration provided by all such members with respect to such specified covered employee.

“(C) **SPECIFIED COVERED EMPLOYEE.**—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified covered employee’ means, with respect to any controlled group—

“(i) any employee described in subparagraph (A), (B), or (D) of paragraph (3), with respect to the publicly held corporation which is a member of such controlled group, and

“(ii) any employee who would be described in subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3) if such subparagraph were applied by taking into account the employees of all members of the controlled group.

“(D) **CONTROLLED GROUP.**—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘controlled group’ means any group treated as a single employer under subsection (b), (c), (m), or (o) of section 414.”

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70604. THIRD PARTY LITIGATION FUNDING REFORM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50C—LITIGATION FINANCING

“Sec. 5000F-1. Tax imposed.

“Sec. 5000F-2. Definitions.

“Sec. 5000F-3. Special rules.

“SEC. 5000F-1. TAX IMPOSED.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A tax is hereby imposed for each taxable year in an amount equal to 31.8 percent of any qualified litigation proceeds received by a covered party.

“(b) APPLICATION OF TAX FOR PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES.—In the case of a covered party that is a partnership, S corporation, or other pass-through entity, the tax imposed under subsection (a) shall be applied at the entity level.

“SEC. 5000F-2. DEFINITIONS.

“In this chapter—

“(1) CIVIL ACTION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘civil action’ means any civil action, administrative proceeding, claim, or cause of action.

“(B) MULTIPLE ACTIONS.—The term ‘civil action’ may, unless otherwise indicated, include more than 1 civil action.

“(2) COVERED PARTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘covered party’ means, with respect to any civil action, any third party (including an individual, corporation, partnership, or sovereign wealth fund) to such action which—

“(i) receives funds pursuant to a litigation financing agreement, and

“(ii) is not an attorney representing a party to such civil action.

“(B) INCLUSION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Subparagraph (A) shall apply to any third party without regard to whether such party is created or organized in the United States or under the law of the United States or of any State.

“(3) LITIGATION FINANCING AGREEMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ means, with respect to any civil action, a written agreement—

“(i) whereby a third party agrees to provide funds to one of the named parties or any law firm affiliated with such civil action, and

“(ii) which creates a direct or collateralized interest in the proceeds of such action (by settlement, verdict, judgment or otherwise) which—

“(I) is based, in whole or in part, on a funding-based obligation to—

“(aa) such civil action,

“(bb) the appearing counsel,

“(cc) any contractual co-counsel, or

“(dd) the law firm of such counsel or co-counsel, and

“(II) is executed with—

“(aa) any attorney representing a party to such civil action,

“(bb) any co-counsel in such civil action with a contingent fee interest in the representation of such party,

“(cc) any third party that has a collateral-based interest in the contingency fees of the counsel or co-counsel firm which is related, in whole or part, to the fees derived from representing such party, or

“(dd) any named party in such civil action.

“(B) SUBSTANTIALLY SIMILAR AGREEMENTS.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ shall include any contract (including any option, forward contract, futures contract, short position, swap, or similar contract) or other agreement which, as determined by the Secretary, is substantially similar to an agreement described in subparagraph (A).

“(C) EXCEPTIONS.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ shall not include any agreement—

“(i) under which the total amount of funds described in subparagraph (A)(i) with respect to an individual civil action is less than \$10,000, or

“(ii) in which the third party described in subparagraph (A)—

“(I) has a right to receive proceeds which are derived from, or pursuant to, such agreement that are limited to—

“(aa) repayment of the principal of a loan,

“(bb) repayment of the principal of a loan plus any interest on such loan, provided that the rate of interest does not exceed the greater of—

“(AA) 7 percent, or

“(BB) a rate equal to twice the average annual yield on 30-year United States Treasury securities (as determined for the year preceding the date on which such agreement was executed), or

“(cc) reimbursement of attorney’s fees, or

“(II) bears a relationship described in section 267(b) to the named party receiving the payment described in subparagraph (A)(i).

“(4) QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified litigation proceeds’ means, with respect to any taxable year, an amount equal to the realized gains, net income, or other profit received by a covered party during such taxable year which is derived from, or pursuant to, any litigation financing agreement.

“(B) ANTI-NETTING.—Any gains, income, or profit described in subparagraph (A) shall not be reduced or offset by any ordinary or capital loss in the taxable year.

“(C) PROHIBITION ON EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS.—In determining the amount of realized gain under subparagraph (A), amounts described in section 104(a)(2) and 892(a)(1) shall not be excluded.

“SEC. 5000F-3. SPECIAL RULES.

“(a) WITHHOLDING OF TAX ON LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—Any applicable person having the control, receipt, or custody of any proceeds from a civil action (by settlement, judgment, or otherwise) with respect to which such person had entered into a litigation financing agreement shall deduct and withhold from such proceeds a tax equal to 15.9 percent of the qualified litigation proceeds which are required to be paid to a third party pursuant to such agreement.

“(b) APPLICABLE PERSON.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable person’ means any person which—

“(1) is a named party in a civil action or a law firm affiliated with such civil action, and

“(2) has entered into a litigation financing agreement with respect to such civil action.

“(c) APPLICATION OF WITHHOLDING PROVISIONS.—

“(1) LIABILITY FOR WITHHELD TAX.—Every person required to deduct and withhold any tax under this chapter is hereby made liable for such tax and is hereby indemnified against the claims and demands of any person for the amount of any payments made in accordance with the provisions of this chapter.

“(2) WITHHELD TAX AS CREDIT TO RECIPIENT OF QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—Qualified litigation proceeds on which any tax is required to be withheld at the source under this chapter shall be included in the return of the recipient of such proceeds, but any amount of tax so withheld shall be credited against the amount of tax as computed in such return.

“(3) TAX PAID BY RECIPIENT OF QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—If—

“(A) any person, in violation of the provisions of this chapter, fails to deduct and withhold any tax under this chapter, and

“(B) thereafter the tax against which such tax may be credited is paid, the tax so required to be deducted and withheld shall not be collected from such person, but this paragraph shall in no case relieve such person from liability for interest or any penalties or additions to the tax otherwise applicable in respect of such failure to deduct and withhold.

“(4) REFUNDS AND CREDITS WITH RESPECT TO WITHHELD TAX.—Where there has been an overpayment of tax under this chapter, any refund or credit made under chapter 65 shall be made to the withholding agent unless the amount of such tax was actually withheld by the withholding agent.”.

(b) EXCLUSION FROM DEFINITION OF CAPITAL ASSET.—Section 1221(a) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking “or” at the end,

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(9) any financial arrangement created by, or any proceeds derived from, a litigation financing agreement (as defined under section 5000F-2).”.

(c) REMOVAL FROM GROSS INCOME.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after section 139L the following new section:

“SEC. 139M. QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.

“Gross income shall not include any qualified litigation proceeds (as defined in section 5000F-2).”.

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 7701(a)(16) is amended by inserting “5000F-3(c)(1),” before “1441”.

(2) The table of chapters for subtitle D, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50B the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50C—LITIGATION FINANCING”.

(3) The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 139L the following new item:

“Sec. 139M. Qualified litigation proceeds.”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70605. EXCISE TAX ON CERTAIN REMITTANCE TRANSFERS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 36 is amended by inserting after subchapter B the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter C—Remittance Transfers

“Sec. 4475. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 4475. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There is hereby imposed on any remittance transfer a tax equal to 1 percent of the amount of such transfer.

“(b) PAYMENT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The tax imposed by this section with respect to any remittance transfer shall be paid by the sender with respect to such transfer.

“(2) COLLECTION OF TAX.—The remittance transfer provider with respect to any remittance transfer shall collect the amount of the tax imposed under subsection (a) with respect to such transfer from the sender and remit such tax quarterly to the Secretary at such time and in such manner as provided by the Secretary.

“(3) SECONDARY LIABILITY.—Where any tax imposed by subsection (a) is not paid at the time the transfer is made, then to the extent that such tax is not collected, such tax shall be paid by the remittance transfer provider.

“(c) TAX LIMITED TO CASH AND SIMILAR INSTRUMENTS.—The tax imposed under subsection (a) shall apply only to any remittance transfer for which the sender provides

cash, a money order, a cashier's check, or any other similar physical instrument (as determined by the Secretary) to the remittance transfer provider.

“(d) NONAPPLICATION TO CERTAIN NONCASH REMITTANCE TRANSFERS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to any remittance transfer for which the funds being transferred are—

“(1) withdrawn from an account held in or by a financial institution—

“(A) which is described in subparagraphs (A) through (H) of section 5312(a)(2) of title 31, United States Code, and

“(B) that is subject to the requirements under subchapter II of chapter 53 of such title, or

“(2) funded with a debit card or a credit card which is issued in the United States.

“(e) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The terms ‘remittance transfer’, ‘remittance transfer provider’, and ‘sender’ shall each have the respective meanings given such terms by section 919(g) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-1(g)).

“(2) CREDIT CARD.—The term ‘credit card’ has the same meaning given such term under section 920(c)(3) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-2(c)(3)).

“(3) DEBIT CARD.—The term ‘debit card’ has the same meaning given such term under section 920(c)(2) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-2(c)(2)), without regard to subparagraph (B) of such section.

“(f) APPLICATION OF ANTI-CONDUIT RULES.—For purposes of section 7701(l), with respect to any multiple-party arrangements involving the sender, a remittance transfer shall be treated as a financing transaction.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 36 is amended by inserting after the item relating to subchapter B the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER C—REMITTANCE TRANSFERS”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to transfers made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70606. ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO COVID-RELATED EMPLOYEE RETENTION CREDITS.

(a) ASSESSABLE PENALTY FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Any COVID-ERTC promoter which provides aid, assistance, or advice with respect to any COVID-ERTC document and which fails to comply with due diligence requirements imposed by the Secretary with respect to determining eligibility for, or the amount of, any credit or advance payment of a credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall pay a penalty of \$1,000 for each such failure.

(2) DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS.—The due diligence requirements referred to in paragraph (1) shall be similar to the due diligence requirements imposed under section 6695(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(3) RESTRICTION TO DOCUMENTS USED IN CONNECTION WITH RETURNS OR CLAIMS FOR REFUND.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to any COVID-ERTC document unless such document constitutes, or relates to, a return or claim for refund.

(4) TREATMENT AS ASSESSABLE PENALTY, ETC.—For purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the penalty imposed under paragraph (1) shall be treated as a penalty which is imposed under section 6695(g) of such Code and assessed under section 6201 of such Code.

(5) SECRETARY.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary's delegate.

(b) COVID-ERTC PROMOTER.—For purposes of this section—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The term “COVID-ERTC promoter” means, with respect to any COVID-ERTC document, any person which provides aid, assistance, or advice with respect to such document if—

(A) such person charges or receives a fee for such aid, assistance, or advice which is based on the amount of the refund or credit with respect to such document and, with respect to such person's taxable year in which such person provided such assistance or the preceding taxable year, the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents exceeds 20 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, or

(B) with respect to such person's taxable year in which such person provided such assistance or the preceding taxable year—

(i) the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents exceeds 50 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, or

(ii) both—

(I) such aggregate gross receipts exceed 20 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, and

(II) the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents (determined after application of paragraph (3)) exceeds \$500,000.

(2) EXCEPTION FOR CERTIFIED PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS.—The term “COVID-ERTC promoter” shall not include a certified professional employer organization (as defined in section 7705 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).

(3) AGGREGATION RULE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), all persons treated as a single employer under subsection (a) or (b) of section 52 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or subsection (m) or (o) of section 414 of such Code, shall be treated as 1 person.

(4) SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.—In the case of any taxable year of less than 12 months, a person shall be treated as a COVID-ERTC promoter if such person is described in paragraph (1) either with respect to such taxable year or by treating any reference to such taxable year as a reference to the calendar year in which such taxable year begins.

(c) COVID-ERTC DOCUMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term “COVID-ERTC document” means any return, affidavit, claim, or other document related to any credit or advance payment of a credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, including any document related to eligibility for, or the calculation or determination of any amount directly related to, any such credit or advance payment.

(d) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Notwithstanding section 6511 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, no credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be allowed, and no refund with respect to any such credit shall be made, after the date of the enactment of this Act, unless a claim for such credit or refund was filed by the taxpayer on or before January 31, 2024.

(e) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—Section 3134(l) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 6501, the limitation on the time period for the assessment of any amount attributable to a credit claimed under this section shall not expire before the date that is 6 years after the latest of—

“(A) the date on which the original return which includes the calendar quarter with respect to which such credit is determined is filed,

“(B) the date on which such return is treated as filed under section 6501(b)(2), or

“(C) the date on which the claim for credit or refund with respect to such credit is made.

“(2) DEDUCTION FOR WAGES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DETERMINING IMPROPERLY CLAIMED CREDIT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 6511, in the case of an assessment attributable to a credit claimed under this section, the limitation on the time period for credit or refund of any amount attributable to a deduction for improperly claimed ERTC wages shall not expire before the time period for such assessment expires under paragraph (1).

“(B) IMPROPERLY CLAIMED ERTC WAGES.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘improperly claimed ERTC wages’ means, with respect to an assessment attributable to a credit claimed under this section, the wages with respect to which a deduction would not have been allowed if the portion of the credit to which such assessment relates had been properly claimed.”

(f) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—Section 6676(a) is amended by striking “income tax” and inserting “income or employment tax”.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The provisions of this section shall apply to aid, assistance, and advice provided after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Subsection (d) shall apply to credits and refunds allowed or made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(3) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—The amendment made by subsection (e) shall apply to assessments made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(4) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—The amendment made by subsection (f) shall apply to claims for credit or refund after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary (as defined in subsection (a)(5)) shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section (and the amendments made by this section).

SEC. 70607. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT FOR AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY AND LIFETIME LEARNING CREDITS.

(a) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER OF TAXPAYER REQUIRED.—Section 25A(g)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT.—No credit shall be allowed under subsection (a) to an individual unless the individual includes on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(i) such individual's social security number, and

“(ii) in the case of a credit with respect to the qualified tuition and related expenses of an individual other than the taxpayer or the taxpayer's spouse, the name and social security number of such individual.

“(B) INSTITUTION.—No American Opportunity Tax Credit shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes the employer identification number of any institution to which the taxpayer paid qualified tuition and related expenses taken into account under this section on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(C) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).”

(b) OMISSION TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2)(J) is amended by striking “TIN” and inserting

“social security number or employer identification number”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70608. TASK FORCE ON THE REPLACEMENT OF DIRECT FILE.

Out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, there is hereby appropriated for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2026, \$15,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2026, for necessary expenses of the Department of the Treasury to deliver to Congress, within 90 days following the date of the enactment of this Act, a report on—

(1) the cost of enhancing and establishing public-private partnerships which provide for free tax filing for up to 70 percent of all taxpayers calculated by adjusted gross income, and to replace any direct e-file programs run by the Internal Revenue Service;

(2) taxpayer opinions and preferences regarding a taxpayer-funded, government-run service or a free service provided by the private sector;

(3) assessment of the feasibility of a new approach, how to make the options consistent and simple for taxpayers across all participating providers, and how to provide features to address taxpayer needs; and

(4) the cost (including options for differential coverage based on taxpayer adjusted gross income and return complexity) of developing and running a free direct e-file tax return system, including costs to build and administer each release.

Subtitle B—Health

CHAPTER 1—MEDICAID

Subchapter A—Reducing Fraud and Improving Enrollment Processes

SEC. 71101. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY AND ENROLLMENT IN MEDICARE SAVINGS PROGRAMS.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on September 21, 2023, and titled “Streamlining Medicaid; Medicare Savings Program Eligibility Determination and Enrollment” (88 Fed. Reg. 65230) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) Section 406.21(c).
- (2) Section 435.4.
- (3) Section 435.601.
- (4) Section 435.909.
- (5) Section 435.911.
- (6) Section 435.952.

SEC. 71102. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY AND ENROLLMENT FOR MEDICAID, CHIP, AND THE BASIC HEALTH PROGRAM.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on April 2, 2024, and titled “Medicaid Program; Streamlining the Medicaid, Children’s Health Insurance Program, and Basic Health Program Application, Eligibility Determination, Enrollment, and Renewal Processes” (89 Fed. Reg. 22780) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) PART 431.—
- (A) Section 431.10(c)(1)(i)(A)(2).

(B) Section 431.10(c)(1)(i)(A)(3).

(C) Section 431.213(d).

(2) PART 435.—

(A) Section 435.222.

(B) Section 435.223.

(C) Section 435.407.

(D) Section 435.601.

(E) Section 435.608.

(F) Section 435.831(g).

(G) Section 435.907.

(H) Section 435.911(c).

(I) Section 435.912.

(J) Section 435.916.

(K) Section 435.919.

(L) Section 435.940.

(M) Section 435.952.

(N) Section 435.1200.

(3) PART 436.—

(A) Section 436.608.

(B) Section 436.831(g).

(4) PART 447.—Section 447.56(a)(1)(v).

(5) PART 457.—

(A) Section 457.65(d).

(B) Section 457.340(d).

(C) Section 457.340(f).

(D) Section 457.344.

(E) Section 457.348.

(F) Section 457.350.

(G) Section 457.480.

(H) Section 457.570.

(I) Section 457.805(b).

(J) Section 457.810(a).

(K) Section 457.960.

(L) Section 457.1140(d)(4).

(M) Section 457.1170.

(N) Section 457.1180.

SEC. 71103. REDUCING DUPLICATE ENROLLMENT UNDER THE MEDICAID AND CHIP PROGRAMS.

(a) MEDICAID.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) in paragraph (86), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in paragraph (87), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

(iii) by inserting after paragraph (87) the following new paragraph:

“(88) provide—

“(A) beginning not later than January 1, 2027, in the case of 1 of the 50 States and the District of Columbia, for a process to regularly obtain address information for individuals enrolled under such plan (or a waiver of such plan) in accordance with subsection (vv); and

“(B) beginning not later than October 1, 2029—

“(i) for the State to submit to the system established by the Secretary under subsection (uu), with respect to an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under such plan, not less frequently than once each month and during each determination or re-determination of the eligibility of such individual for medical assistance under such plan (or waiver of such plan)—

“(I) the social security number of such individual, if such individual has a social security number and is required to provide such number to enroll under such plan (or waiver); and

“(II) such other information with respect to such individual as determined necessary by the Secretary for purposes of preventing individuals from simultaneously being enrolled under State plans (or waivers of such plans) of multiple States;

“(ii) for the use of such system to prevent such simultaneous enrollment; and

“(iii) in the case that such system indicates that an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under such plan (or waiver of such plan) is enrolled under a State plan (or waiver of such a plan) of another State, for the taking of appropriate action (as determined by the Secretary) to identify whether such

an individual resides in the State and disenroll an individual from the State plan of such State if such individual does not reside in such State (unless such individual meets such an exception as the Secretary may specify).”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(uu) PREVENTION OF ENROLLMENT UNDER MULTIPLE STATE PLANS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than October 1, 2029, the Secretary shall establish a system to be utilized by the Secretary and States to prevent an individual from being simultaneously enrolled under the State plans (or waivers of such plans) of multiple States. Such system shall—

“(A) provide for the receipt of information submitted by a State under subsection (a)(88)(B)(i); and

“(B) not less than once each month, transmit information to a State (or allow the Secretary to transmit information to a State) regarding whether an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under the State plan of such State (or waiver of such plan) is enrolled under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) of another State.

“(2) STANDARDS.—The Secretary shall establish such standards as determined necessary by the Secretary to limit and protect information submitted under such system and ensure the privacy of such information, consistent with subsection (a)(7).

“(3) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—There are appropriated to the Secretary, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in addition to amounts otherwise available—

“(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$10,000,000 for purposes of establishing the system and standards required under this subsection, to remain available until expended; and

“(B) for fiscal year 2029, \$20,000,000 for purposes of maintaining such system, to remain available until expended.

“(vv) PROCESS TO OBTAIN ENROLLEE ADDRESS INFORMATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(88)(A), a process to regularly obtain address information for individuals enrolled under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) shall obtain address information from reliable data sources described in paragraph (2) and take such actions as the Secretary shall specify with respect to any changes to such address based on such information.

“(2) RELIABLE DATA SOURCES DESCRIBED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the reliable data sources described in this paragraph are the following:

“(A) Mail returned to the State by the United States Postal Service with a forwarding address.

“(B) The National Change of Address Database maintained by the United States Postal Service.

“(C) A managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B)) or prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)) that has a contract under the State plan if the address information is provided to such entity or plan directly from, or verified by such entity or plan directly with, such individual.

“(D) Other data sources as identified by the State and approved by the Secretary.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) PARIS.—Section 1903(r)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(r)(3)) is amended—

(i) by striking “In order” and inserting “(A) In order”; and

(ii) by striking “through the Public” and inserting “through—

“(i) the Public”;

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and

“(ii) beginning October 1, 2029, the system established by the Secretary under section 1902(uu).”; and

(iv) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) Beginning October 1, 2029, the Secretary may determine that a State is not required to have in operation an eligibility determination system which provides for data matching (for purposes of address verification under section 1902(vv)) through the system described in subparagraph (A)(i) to meet the requirements of this paragraph.”.

(B) **MANAGED CARE.**—Section 1932 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u–2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(j) **TRANSMISSION OF ADDRESS INFORMATION.**—Beginning January 1, 2027, each contract under a State plan with a managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B)) or with a prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)), shall provide that such entity or plan shall promptly transmit to the State any address information for an individual enrolled with such entity or plan that is provided to such entity or plan directly from, or verified by such entity or plan directly with, such individual.”.

(b) **CHIP.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 2107(e)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (H) through (U) as subparagraphs (I) through (V), respectively; and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (G) the following new subparagraph:

“(H) Section 1902(a)(88) (relating to address information for enrollees and prevention of simultaneous enrollments).”.

(2) **MANAGED CARE.**—Section 2103(f)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397cc(f)(3)) is amended by striking “and (e)” and inserting “(e), and (j)”.

SEC. 71104. ENSURING DECEASED INDIVIDUALS DO NOT REMAIN ENROLLED.

Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a), as amended by section 71103, is further amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (87), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(B) in paragraph (88), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (88) the following new paragraph:

“(89) provide that the State shall comply with the eligibility verification requirements under subsection (ww), except that this paragraph shall apply only in the case of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.”; and

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

“(ww) **VERIFICATION OF CERTAIN ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—For purposes of subsection (a)(89), the eligibility verification requirements, beginning January 1, 2028, are as follows:

“(A) **QUARTERLY SCREENING TO VERIFY ENROLLEE STATUS.**—The State shall, not less frequently than quarterly, review the Death Master File (as such term is defined in section 203(d) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013) or a successor system that provides such information needed to determine whether any individuals enrolled for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) are deceased.

“(B) **DISENROLLMENT UNDER STATE PLAN.**—If the State determines, based on informa-

tion obtained from the Death Master File, that an individual enrolled for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) is deceased, the State shall—

“(1) treat such information as factual information confirming the death of a beneficiary;

“(ii) disenroll such individual from the State plan (or waiver of such plan) in accordance with subsection (a)(3); and

“(iii) discontinue any payments for medical assistance under this title made on behalf of such individual (other than payments for any items or services furnished to such individual prior to the death of such individual).”.

“(C) **REINSTATEMENT OF COVERAGE IN THE EVENT OF ERROR.**—If a State determines that an individual was misidentified as deceased based on information obtained from the Death Master File and was erroneously disenrolled from medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) based on such misidentification, the State shall immediately re-enroll such individual under the State plan (or waiver of such plan), retroactive to the date of such disenrollment.

“(2) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Nothing under this subsection shall be construed to preclude the ability of a State to use other electronic data sources to timely identify potentially deceased beneficiaries, so long as the State is also in compliance with the requirements of this subsection (and all other requirements under this title relating to Medicaid eligibility determination and redetermination).”.

SEC. 71105. ENSURING DECEASED PROVIDERS DO NOT REMAIN ENROLLED.

Section 1902(kk)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(kk)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The State” and inserting: “(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The State”; and

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

“(B) **PROVIDER SCREENING AGAINST DEATH MASTER FILE.**—Beginning January 1, 2028, as part of the enrollment (or reenrollment or revalidation of enrollment) of a provider or supplier under this title, and not less frequently than quarterly during the period that such provider or supplier is so enrolled, the State conducts a check of the Death Master File (as such term is defined in section 203(d) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013) to determine whether such provider or supplier is deceased.”.

SEC. 71106. PAYMENT REDUCTION RELATED TO CERTAIN ERRONEOUS EXCESS PAYMENTS UNDER MEDICAID.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1903(u)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(u)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “for any audits conducted by the Secretary, or, at the option of the Secretary, audits conducted by the State” after “exceeds 0.03”; and

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “The Secretary” and inserting “(i) Subject to clause (ii), the Secretary”; and

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

“(ii) The amount waived under clause (i) for a fiscal year may not exceed an amount equal to the erroneous excess payments for medical assistance described in subparagraph (D)(i)(II) made for such fiscal year.”.

(3) in subparagraph (C), by striking “he” in each place it appears and inserting “the Secretary” in each such place; and

(4) in subparagraph (D)(i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subclause (II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or payments where insufficient information is available to confirm eligibility, and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) payments (other than payments described in subclause (I)) for items and services furnished to an individual who is not eligible for medical assistance under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) with respect to such items and services, or payments where insufficient information is available to confirm eligibility.”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply beginning with respect to fiscal year 2030.

SEC. 71107. ELIGIBILITY REDETERMINATIONS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1902(e)(14) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(e)(14)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(L) **FREQUENCY OF ELIGIBILITY REDETERMINATIONS FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.**—

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—Subject to clause (ii), with respect to redeterminations of eligibility for medical assistance under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) scheduled on or after the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026, a State shall make such a redetermination once every 6 months for the following individuals:

“(I) Individuals enrolled under subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(II) Individuals described in such subsection who are otherwise enrolled under a waiver of such plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) to all individuals described in subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(ii) **EXEMPTION.**—The requirements described in clause (i) shall not apply to any individual described in subsection (xx)(9)(A)(ii)(II).

“(iii) **STATE DEFINED.**—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.”.

(b) **GUIDANCE.**—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services, shall issue guidance relating to the implementation of the amendments made by this section.

SEC. 71108. REVISING HOME EQUITY LIMIT FOR DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY FOR LONG-TERM CARE SERVICES UNDER THE MEDICAID PROGRAM.

(a) **REVISING HOME EQUITY LIMIT.**—Section 1917(f)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396p(f)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “A State” and inserting “(i) A State”; and

(B) in clause (i), as inserted by subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “\$500,000” and inserting “the amount specified in subparagraph (A)”; and

(ii) by inserting “, in the case of an individual’s home that is located on a lot that is zoned for agricultural use,” after “apply subparagraph (A)”; and

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

“(ii) A State may elect, without regard to the requirements of section 1902(a)(1) (relating to statewideness) and section 1902(a)(10)(B) (relating to comparability), to apply subparagraph (A), in the case of an individual’s home that is not described in clause (i), by substituting for the amount specified in such subparagraph, an amount that exceeds such amount, but does not exceed \$1,000,000.”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) by inserting “(other than the amount specified in subparagraph (B)(ii) (relating to certain non-agricultural homes))” after “specified in this paragraph”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new sentence: “In the case that application of the preceding sentence would result in a dollar amount (other than the amount specified in subparagraph (B)(i) (relating to certain agricultural homes)) exceeding \$1,000,000, such amount shall be deemed to be equal to \$1,000,000.”.

(b) CLARIFICATION.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a) is amended—

(1) in subsection (r)(2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) This paragraph shall not be construed as permitting a State to determine the eligibility of an individual for medical assistance with respect to nursing facility services or other long-term care services without application of the limit under section 1917(f)(1).”; and

(2) in subsection (e)(14)(D)(iv)—

(A) by striking “Subparagraphs” and inserting

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraphs”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(II) APPLICATION OF HOME EQUITY INTEREST LIMIT.—Section 1917(f) shall apply for purposes of determining the eligibility of an individual for medical assistance with respect to nursing facility services or other long-term care services.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply beginning on January 1, 2028.

SEC. 71109. ALIEN MEDICAID ELIGIBILITY.

(a) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(v) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(v)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “and (4)” and inserting “, (4), and (5)”; and

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

“(5) Notwithstanding the preceding paragraphs of this subsection, beginning on October 1, 2026, except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (4), in no event shall payment be made to a State under this section for medical assistance furnished to an individual unless such individual is—

“(A) a resident of 1 of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, or a territory of the United States; and

“(B) either—

“(i) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(ii) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding, among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country;

“(iii) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(iv) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.”.

(b) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, as amended by section 71103(b), is further amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (R) through (V) as paragraphs (S) through (W), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (Q) the following:

“(R) Section 1903(v)(5) (relating to payments for medical assistance furnished to aliens), except in relation to payments for services provided under section 2105(a)(1)(D)(ii).”.

SEC. 71110. EXPANSION FMAP FOR CERTAIN STATES PROVIDING PAYMENTS FOR HEALTH CARE FURNISHED TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (y)—

(A) in paragraph (1)(E), by inserting “(or, for calendar quarters beginning on or after October 1, 2027, in the case such State is a specified State with respect to such calendar quarter, 80 percent)” after “thereafter”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIFIED STATE.—The term ‘specified State’ means, with respect to a quarter, a State that—

“(i) provides any form of financial assistance from a State general fund during such quarter, in whole or in part, whether or not made under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) under this title or under another program established by the State, to or on behalf of an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not a child or pregnant woman who is lawfully residing in the United States and eligible for medical assistance pursuant to section 1903(v)(4) or for child health assistance or pregnancy-related assistance pursuant to section 2107(e)(1)(Q), for the purchasing of health insurance coverage (as defined in section 2791(b)(1) of the Public Health Service Act) for an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not such a child or pregnant woman; or

“(ii) provides any form of comprehensive health benefits coverage, except such coverage required by Federal law, during such quarter, whether or not under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) under this title or under another program established by the State, and regardless of the source of funding for such coverage, to an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not such a child or pregnant woman.

“(D) IMMIGRATION TERMS.—

“(i) ALIEN.—The term ‘alien’ has the meaning given such term in section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

“(ii) QUALIFIED ALIEN.—The term ‘qualified alien’ has the meaning given such term in section 431 of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, except that the references to ‘(in the opinion of the agency providing such benefits)’ in subsection (c) of such section 431 shall be treated as references to ‘(in the opinion of the State in which such comprehensive health benefits coverage or such financial assistance is provided, as applicable)’; and

(2) in subsection (z)(2)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “for such year” and inserting “for such quarter”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)(i)—

(i) in the matter preceding subclause (I), by striking “for a year” and inserting “for a calendar quarter in a year”; and

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “for the year” and inserting “for the quarter for the State”.

SEC. 71111. EXPANSION FMAP FOR EMERGENCY MEDICAID.

Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(kk) FMAP FOR TREATMENT OF AN EMERGENCY MEDICAL CONDITION.—Notwithstanding subsection (y) and (z), beginning on October 1, 2026, the Federal medical assistance percentage for payments for care and services described in paragraph (2) of subsection

1903(v) furnished to an alien described in paragraph (1) of such subsection shall not exceed the Federal medical assistance percentage determined under subsection (b) for such State.”.

Subchapter B—Preventing Wasteful Spending

SEC. 71112. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO STAFFING STANDARDS FOR LONG-TERM CARE FACILITIES UNDER THE MEDICARE AND MEDICAID PROGRAMS.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on May 10, 2024, and titled “Medicare and Medicaid Programs; Minimum Staffing Standards for Long-Term Care Facilities and Medicaid Institutional Payment Transparency Reporting” (89 Fed. Reg. 40876) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of part 483 of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

(1) Section 483.5.

(2) Section 483.35.

SEC. 71113. REDUCING STATE MEDICAID COSTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902(a)(34) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(34)) is amended to read as follows:

“(34) provide that in the case of any individual who has been determined to be eligible for medical assistance under the plan and—

“(A) is enrolled under paragraph (10)(A)(i)(VIII), such assistance will be made available to the individual for care and services included under the plan and furnished in or after the month before the month in which the individual made application (or application was made on the individual’s behalf in the case of a deceased individual) for such assistance if such individual was (or upon application would have been) eligible for such assistance at the time such care and services were furnished; or

“(B) is not described in subparagraph (A), such assistance will be made available to the individual for care and services included under the plan and furnished in or after the second month before the month in which the individual made application (or application was made on the individual’s behalf in the case of a deceased individual) for such assistance if such individual was (or upon application would have been) eligible for such assistance at the time such care and services were furnished.”.

(b) DEFINITION OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE.—Section 1905(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(a)) is amended by striking “in or after the third month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance” and inserting “, with respect to an individual described in section 1902(a)(34)(A), in or after the month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance, and with respect to an individual described in section 1902(a)(34)(B), in or after the second month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance”.

(c) CHIP.—Section 2102(b)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397bb(b)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) in clause (iv), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in clause (v), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

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

“(vi) shall, in the case that the State elects to provide child health or pregnancy-related assistance to an individual for any

period prior to the month in which the individual made application for such assistance (or application was made on behalf of the individual), provide that such assistance is not made available to such individual for items and services included under the State child health plan (or waiver of such plan) that are furnished before the second month preceding the month in which such individual made application (or application was made on behalf of such individual) for assistance.”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to medical assistance, child health assistance, and pregnancy-related assistance with respect to individuals whose eligibility for such medical assistance, child health assistance, or pregnancy-related assistance is based on an application made on or after the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 71114. PROHIBITING FEDERAL MEDICAID AND CHIP FUNDING FOR CERTAIN ITEMS AND SERVICES.

(a) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(i) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(i)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (26), by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in paragraph (27), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”;

(3) by inserting after paragraph (27) the following new paragraph:

“(28) with respect to any amount expended for specified gender transition procedures (as defined in section 1905(l)) furnished to an individual enrolled in a State plan (or waiver of such plan).”;

(4) in the flush left matter at the end, by striking “and (18),” and inserting “(18), and (28)”.

(b) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1)(O) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)(O)), as redesignated by section 71103(b)(1)(A), is amended by striking “and (17)” and inserting “(17), and (28)”.

(c) SPECIFIED GENDER TRANSITION PROCEDURES DEFINED.—Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(1) SPECIFIED GENDER TRANSITION PROCEDURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 1903(i)(28), except as provided in paragraph (2), the term ‘specified gender transition procedure’ means, with respect to an individual, any of the following when performed for the purpose of intentionally changing the body of such individual (including by disrupting the body’s development, inhibiting its natural functions, or modifying its appearance) to no longer correspond to the individual’s sex:

- “(A) Performing any surgery, including—
- “(i) castration;
- “(ii) sterilization;
- “(iii) orchiectomy;
- “(iv) scrotoplasty;
- “(v) vasectomy;
- “(vi) tubal ligation;
- “(vii) hysterectomy;
- “(viii) oophorectomy;
- “(ix) ovariectomy;
- “(x) metoidioplasty;
- “(xi) clitoroplasty;
- “(xii) reconstruction of the fixed part of the urethra with or without a metoidioplasty or a phalloplasty;
- “(xiii) penectomy;
- “(xiv) phalloplasty;
- “(xv) vaginoplasty;
- “(xvi) vaginectomy;
- “(xvii) vulvoplasty;
- “(xviii) reduction thyrochondroplasty;
- “(xix) chondrolaryngoplasty;
- “(xx) mastectomy; and
- “(xxi) any plastic, cosmetic, or aesthetic surgery that feminizes or masculinizes the

facial or other body features of an individual.

“(B) Any placement of chest implants to create feminine breasts or any placement of erection or testicular prostheses.

“(C) Any placement of fat or artificial implants in the gluteal region.

“(D) Administering, prescribing, or dispensing to an individual medications, including—

“(i) gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) analogues or other puberty-blocking drugs to stop or delay normal puberty; and

“(ii) testosterone, estrogen, or other androgens to an individual at doses that are supraphysiologic than would normally be produced endogenously in a healthy individual of the same age and sex.

“(2) EXCEPTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the following when furnished to an individual by a health care provider if the individual is a minor with the consent of such individual’s parent or legal guardian:

“(A) Puberty suppression or blocking prescription drugs for the purpose of normalizing puberty for an individual experiencing precocious puberty.

“(B) Medically necessary procedures or treatments to correct for—

“(i) a medically verifiable disorder of sex development, including—

“(I) 46,XX chromosomes with virilization;

“(II) 46,XY chromosomes with undervirilization; and

“(III) both ovarian and testicular tissue;

“(ii) sex chromosome structure, sex steroid hormone production, or sex hormone action, if determined to be abnormal by a physician through genetic or biochemical testing;

“(iii) infection, disease, injury, or disorder caused or exacerbated by a previous procedure described in paragraph (1), or a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness that would, as certified by a physician, place the individual in danger of death or impairment of a major bodily function unless the procedure is performed, not including procedures performed for the alleviation of mental distress; or

“(iv) procedures to restore or reconstruct the body of the individual in order to correspond to the individual’s sex after one or more previous procedures described in paragraph (1), which may include the removal of a pseudo phallus or breast augmentation.

“(3) SEX.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘sex’ means either male or female, as biologically determined and defined in paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively.

“(4) FEMALE.—For purposes of paragraph (3), the term ‘female’ means an individual who naturally has, had, will have, or would have, but for a developmental or genetic anomaly or historical accident, the reproductive system that at some point produces, transports, and utilizes eggs for fertilization.

“(5) MALE.—For purposes of paragraph (3), the term ‘male’ means an individual who naturally has, had, will have, or would have, but for a developmental or genetic anomaly or historical accident, the reproductive system that at some point produces, transports, and utilizes sperm for fertilization.”.

SEC. 71115. FEDERAL PAYMENTS TO PROHIBITED ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—No Federal funds that are considered direct spending and provided to carry out a State plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act or a waiver of such a plan shall be used to make payments to a prohibited entity for items and services furnished during the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, including any payments made directly to the prohibited entity or under a contract or other arrangement between a State and a covered organization.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) PROHIBITED ENTITY.—The term “prohibited entity” means an entity, including its affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, and clinics—

(A) that, as of the first day of the first quarter beginning after the date of enactment of this Act—

(i) is an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt from tax under section 501(a) of such Code;

(ii) is an essential community provider described in section 156.235 of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act), that is primarily engaged in family planning services, reproductive health, and related medical care; and

(iii) provides for abortions, other than an abortion—

(I) if the pregnancy is the result of an act of rape or incest; or

(II) in the case where a woman suffers from a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness, including a life-endangering physical condition caused by or arising from the pregnancy itself, that would, as certified by a physician, place the woman in danger of death unless an abortion is performed; and

(B) for which the total amount of Federal and State expenditures under the Medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act for medical assistance furnished in fiscal year 2023 made directly, or by a covered organization, to the entity or to any affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, or clinics of the entity, or made to the entity or to any affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, or clinics of the entity as part of a nationwide health care provider network, exceeded \$800,000.

(2) DIRECT SPENDING.—The term “direct spending” has the meaning given that term under section 250(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 900(c)).

(3) COVERED ORGANIZATION.—The term “covered organization” means a managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u-2(a)(1)(B))) or a prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(m)(9)(D))).

(4) STATE.—The term “State” has the meaning given such term in section 1101 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1301).

Subchapter C—Stopping Abusive Financing Practices

SEC. 71116. SUNSETTING INCREASED FMAP INCENTIVE.

Section 1905(ii)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(ii)(3)) is amended—

(1) by striking “which has not” and inserting the following: “which—

“(A) has not”;

(2) in subparagraph (A), as so inserted, by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) begins to expend amounts for all such individuals prior to January 1, 2026.”.

SEC. 71117. PROVIDER TAXES.

(a) CHANGE IN THRESHOLD FOR HARMLESS PROVISION OF BROAD-BASED HEALTH CARE RELATED TAXES.—Section 1903(w)(4) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)(ii), by inserting “, and for fiscal years beginning on or after October 1, 2026, the applicable percent determined under subparagraph (D) shall be substituted for ‘6 percent’ each place it appears” after “each place it appears”; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (C)(ii), the following new subparagraph:

“(D)(i) For purposes of subparagraph (C)(ii), the applicable percent determined under this subparagraph is—

“(I) in the case of a non-expansion State and a class of health care items or services described in section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025)—

“(aa) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the non-expansion State has enacted a tax and imposes such tax on such class and the Secretary determines that the tax is within the hold harmless threshold as of that date, the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined; and

“(bb) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the non-expansion State has not enacted or does not impose a tax with respect to such class, 0 percent; and

“(II) in the case of an expansion State and a class of health care items or services described in section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025), subject to clause (iv)—

“(aa) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the expansion State has enacted a tax and imposes such tax on such class and the Secretary determines that the tax is within the hold harmless threshold as of that date, the lower of—

“(AA) the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined; and

“(BB) the applicable percent specified in clause (ii) for the fiscal year; and

“(bb) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the expansion State has not enacted or does not impose a tax with respect to such class, 0 percent.

“(ii) For purposes of clause (i)(II)(aa)(BB), the applicable percent is—

“(I) for fiscal year 2028, 5.5 percent;

“(II) for fiscal year 2029, 5 percent;

“(III) for fiscal year 2030, 4.5 percent;

“(IV) for fiscal year 2031, 4 percent; and

“(V) for fiscal year 2032 and each subsequent fiscal year, 3.5 percent.

“(iii) For purposes of clause (i):

“(I) EXPANSION STATE.—The term ‘expansion State’ means a State that, beginning on January 1, 2014, or on any date thereafter, elects to provide medical assistance to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) under the State plan under this title or under a waiver of such plan.

“(II) NON-EXPANSION STATE.—The term ‘non-expansion State’ means a State that is not an expansion State.

“(iv) In the case of a tax of an expansion State in effect on the date of enactment of this clause, that applies to a class of health care items or services that is described in paragraph (3) or (4) of section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025), and for which, on such date of enactment, is within the hold harmless threshold (as determined by the Secretary), the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined shall apply for a fiscal year instead of the applicable percent specified in clause (ii) for the fiscal year.”

(b) NON-APPLICATION TO TERRITORIES.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply with respect to a State that is 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(c) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71118. STATE DIRECTED PAYMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), the Secretary of Health and Human Services (in this section referred to as the Secretary)

shall revise section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) such that, with respect to a payment described in such section made for a service furnished during a rating period beginning on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, the total payment rate for such service is limited to—

(1) in the case of a State that provides coverage to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII)) that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) of such State under title XIX of such Act, 100 percent of the specified total published Medicare payment rate (or, in the absence of a specified total published Medicare payment rate, the payment rate under a Medicaid State plan (or under a waiver of such plan)); or

(2) in the case of a State other than a State described in paragraph (1), 110 percent of the specified total published Medicare payment rate (or, in the absence of a specified total published Medicare payment rate, the payment rate under a Medicaid State plan (or under a waiver of such plan)).

(b) GRANDFATHERING CERTAIN PAYMENTS.—In the case of a payment described in section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) for which written prior approval (or a good faith effort to receive such approval, as determined by the Secretary) was made before May 1, 2025, or a payment described in such section for a rural hospital (as defined in subsection (d)(2)) for which written prior approval (or a good faith effort to receive such approval, as determined by the Secretary) was made by the date of enactment of this Act, for the rating period occurring within 180 days of the date of the enactment of this Act, beginning with the rating period on or after January 1, 2028, the total amount of such payment shall be reduced by 10 percentage points each year until the total payment rate for such service is equal to the rate for such service specified in subsection (a).

(c) TREATMENT OF EXPANSION STATES.—The revisions described in subsection (a) shall provide that, with respect to a State that begins providing the coverage described in paragraph (1) of such subsection on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, the limitation described in such paragraph shall apply to such State with respect to a payment described in section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) for a service furnished during a rating period beginning on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) RATING PERIOD.—The term “rating period” has the meaning given such term in section 438.2 of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(2) RURAL HOSPITAL.—The term “rural hospital” means the following:

(A) A subsection (d) hospital (as defined in paragraph (1)(B) of section 1886(d)) that—

(i) is located in a rural area (as defined in paragraph (2)(D) of such section);

(ii) is treated as being located in a rural area pursuant to paragraph (8)(E) of such section; or

(iii) is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

(B) A critical access hospital (as defined in section 1861(mm)(1)).

(C) A sole community hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(D)(iii)).

(D) A Medicare-dependent, small rural hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(G)(iv)).

(E) A low-volume hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(12)(C)).

(F) A rural emergency hospital (as defined in section 1861(kkk)(2)).

(3) STATE.—The term “State” means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(4) TOTAL PUBLISHED MEDICARE PAYMENT RATE.—The term “total published Medicare payment rate” means amounts calculated as payment for specific services including the service furnished that have been developed under part A or part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.).

(5) WRITTEN PRIOR APPROVAL.—The term “written prior approval” has the meaning given such term in section 438.6(c)(2)(i) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(e) FUNDING.—There are appropriated out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated \$7,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2033 for purposes of carrying out this section, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71119. REQUIREMENTS REGARDING WAIVER OF UNIFORM TAX REQUIREMENT FOR MEDICAID PROVIDER TAX.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1903(w) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3)(E), by inserting after clause (ii)(II) the following new clause:

“(iii) For purposes of clause (ii)(I), a tax is not considered to be generally redistributive if any of the following conditions apply:

“(I) Within a permissible class, the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group (as defined in paragraph (7)(J)) explicitly defined by its relatively lower volume or percentage of Medicaid taxable units (as defined in paragraph (7)(H)) is lower than the tax rate imposed on any other taxpayer or tax rate group explicitly defined by its relatively higher volume or percentage of Medicaid taxable units.

“(II) Within a permissible class, the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group (as so defined) based upon its Medicaid taxable units (as so defined) is higher than the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group based upon its non-Medicaid taxable unit (as defined in paragraph (7)(I)).

“(III) The tax excludes or imposes a lower tax rate on a taxpayer or tax rate group (as so defined) based on or defined by any description that results in the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II) for a taxpayer or tax rate group. Characteristics that may indicate such type of exclusion include the use of terminology to establish a tax rate group—

“(aa) based on payments or expenditures made under the program under this title without mentioning the term ‘Medicaid’ (or any similar term) to accomplish the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II); or

“(bb) that closely approximates a taxpayer or tax rate group under the program under this title, to the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II).”;

(2) in paragraph (7), by adding at the end the following new subparagraphs:

“(H) The term ‘Medicaid taxable unit’ means a unit that is being taxed within a health care related tax that is applicable to the program under this title. Such term includes a unit that is used as the basis for—

“(i) payment under the program under this title (such as Medicaid bed days);

“(ii) Medicaid revenue;

“(iii) costs associated with the program under this title (such as Medicaid charges, claims, or expenditures); and

“(iv) other units associated with the program under this title, as determined by the Secretary.

“(I) The term ‘non-Medicaid taxable unit’ means a unit that is being taxed within a health care related tax that is not applicable to the program under this title. Such term includes a unit that is used as the basis for—

“(i) payment by non-Medicaid payers (such as non-Medicaid bed days);

“(ii) non-Medicaid revenue;

“(iii) costs that are not associated with the program under this title (such as non-Medicaid charges, non-Medicaid claims, or non-Medicaid expenditures); and

“(iv) other units not associated with the program under this title, as determined by the Secretary.

“(J) The term ‘tax rate group’ means a group of entities contained within a permissible class of a health care related tax that are taxed at the same rate.”

(b) NON-APPLICATION TO TERRITORIES.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply with respect to a State that is 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, subject to any applicable transition period determined appropriate by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, not to exceed 3 fiscal years.

SEC. 71120. REQUIRING BUDGET NEUTRALITY FOR MEDICAID DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS UNDER SECTION 1115.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) REQUIREMENT OF BUDGET NEUTRALITY FOR MEDICAID DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Beginning January 1 2027, the Secretary may not approve an application for (or renewal or amendment of) an experimental, pilot, or demonstration project undertaken under subsection (a) to promote the objectives of title XIX in a State (in this subsection referred to as a ‘Medicaid demonstration project’) unless the Chief Actuary for the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services certifies that such project, based on expenditures for the State program in the preceding fiscal year or, in the case of a renewal, the duration of the preceding waiver, is not expected to result in an increase in the amount of Federal expenditures compared to the amount that such expenditures would otherwise be in the absence of such project. For purposes of this subsection, expenditures for the coverage of populations and services that the State could have otherwise provided through its Medicaid State plan or other authority under title XIX, including expenditures that could be made under such authority but for the provision of such services at a different site of service than authorized under such State plan or other authority, shall be considered expenditures in the absence of such a project.

“(2) TREATMENT OF SAVINGS.—In the event that expenditures with respect to a State under a Medicaid demonstration project are, during an approval period for such project, less than the amount of such expenditures that would have otherwise been made in the absence of such project, the Secretary shall specify the methodology to be used with respect to the subsequent approval period for such project for purposes of taking the difference between such expenditures into account.”

(b) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$5,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 and 2027, to remain available until expended.

Subchapter D—Increasing Personal Accountability

SEC. 71121. REQUIREMENT FOR STATES TO ESTABLISH MEDICAID COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a), as amended by sections 71103 and 71104, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(xx) COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENT FOR APPLICABLE INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (11), beginning not later than the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026, or, at the option of the State under a waiver or demonstration project under section 1115 or the State plan, such earlier date as the State may specify, subject to the succeeding provisions of this subsection, a State shall provide, as a condition of eligibility for medical assistance for an applicable individual, that such individual is required to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (2)—

“(A) in the case of an applicable individual who has filed an application for medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, for 1 or more but not more than 3 (as specified by the State) consecutive months immediately preceding the month during which such individual applies for such medical assistance; and

“(B) in the case of an applicable individual enrolled and receiving medical assistance under a State plan (or under a waiver of such plan) under this title, for 1 or more (as specified by the State) months, whether or not consecutive—

“(i) during the period between such individual’s most recent determination (or redetermination, as applicable) of eligibility and such individual’s next regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility (as verified by the State as part of such regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility); or

“(ii) in the case of a State that has elected under paragraph (4) to conduct more frequent verifications of compliance with the requirement to demonstrate community engagement, during the period between the most recent and next such verification with respect to such individual.

“(2) COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT COMPLIANCE DESCRIBED.—Subject to paragraph (3), an applicable individual demonstrates community engagement under this paragraph for a month if such individual meets 1 or more of the following conditions with respect to such month, as determined in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary through regulation:

“(A) The individual works not less than 80 hours.

“(B) The individual completes not less than 80 hours of community service.

“(C) The individual participates in a work program for not less than 80 hours.

“(D) The individual is enrolled in an educational program at least half-time.

“(E) The individual engages in any combination of the activities described in subparagraphs (A) through (D), for a total of not less than 80 hours.

“(F) The individual has a monthly income that is not less than the applicable minimum wage requirement under section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, multiplied by 80 hours.

“(G) The individual had an average monthly income over the preceding 6 months that is not less than the applicable minimum wage requirement under section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 multiplied by 80 hours, and is a seasonal worker, as described in section 45R(d)(5)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 .

“(3) EXCEPTIONS.—

“(A) MANDATORY EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—The State shall deem an applicable individual to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (2) for a month, and may elect to not require an individual to verify information resulting in such deeming, if—

“(i) for part or all of such month, the individual—

“(I) was a specified excluded individual (as defined in paragraph (9)(A)(ii)); or

“(II) was—

“(aa) under the age of 19;

“(bb) entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII; or

“(cc) described in any of subclasses (I) through (VII) of subsection (a)(10)(A)(i); or

“(ii) at any point during the 3-month period ending on the first day of such month, the individual was an inmate of a public institution.

“(B) OPTIONAL EXCEPTION FOR SHORT-TERM HARDSHIP EVENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The State plan (or waiver of such plan) may provide, in the case of an applicable individual who experiences a short-term hardship event during a month, that the State shall, under procedures established by the State (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary), in the case of a short-term hardship event described in clause (ii)(II) and, upon the request of such individual, a short-term hardship event described in subclause (I) or (III) of clause (ii), deem such individual to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (2) for such month.

“(ii) SHORT-TERM HARDSHIP EVENT DEFINED.—For purposes of this subparagraph, an applicable individual experiences a short-term hardship event during a month if, for part or all of such month—

“(I) such individual receives inpatient hospital services, nursing facility services, services in an intermediate care facility for individuals with intellectual disabilities, inpatient psychiatric hospital services, or such other services of similar acuity (including outpatient care relating to other services specified in this subclause) as the Secretary determines appropriate;

“(II) such individual resides in a county (or equivalent unit of local government)—

“(aa) in which there exists an emergency or disaster declared by the President pursuant to the National Emergencies Act or the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act; or

“(bb) that, subject to a request from the State to the Secretary, made in such form, at such time, and containing such information as the Secretary may require, has an unemployment rate that is at or above the lesser of—

“(AA) 8 percent; or

“(BB) 1.5 times the national unemployment rate; or

“(III) such individual or their dependent must travel outside of their community for an extended period of time to receive medical services necessary to treat a serious or complex medical condition (as described in paragraph (9)(A)(ii)(V)(ee)) that are not available within their community of residence.

“(4) OPTION TO CONDUCT MORE FREQUENT COMPLIANCE VERIFICATIONS.—With respect to an applicable individual enrolled and receiving medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, the State shall verify (in accordance with procedures specified by the Secretary) that each such individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1) during each such individual’s

regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility, except that a State may provide for such verifications more frequently.

“(5) EX PARTE VERIFICATIONS.—For purposes of verifying that an applicable individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1), or determining such individual to be deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3), or that an individual is a specified excluded individual under paragraph (9)(A)(ii), the State shall, in accordance with standards established by the Secretary, establish processes and use reliable information available to the State (such as payroll data or payments or encounter data under this title for individuals and data on payments to such individuals for the provision of services covered under this title) without requiring, where possible, the applicable individual to submit additional information.

“(6) PROCEDURE IN THE CASE OF NONCOMPLIANCE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If a State is unable to verify that an applicable individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1) (including, if applicable, by verifying that such individual was deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3)) the State shall (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary)—

“(i) provide such individual with the notice of noncompliance described in subparagraph (B);

“(ii)(I) provide such individual with a period of 30 calendar days, beginning on the date on which such notice of noncompliance is received by the individual, to—

“(aa) make a satisfactory showing to the State of compliance with such requirement (including, if applicable, by showing that such individual was or should be deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3)); or

“(bb) make a satisfactory showing to the State that such requirement does not apply to such individual on the basis that such individual does not meet the definition of applicable individual under paragraph (9)(A); and

“(II) if such individual is enrolled under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, continue to provide such individual with medical assistance during such 30-calendar-day period; and

“(iii) if no such satisfactory showing is made and the individual is not a specified excluded individual described in paragraph (9)(A)(ii), deny such individual’s application for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) or, as applicable, disenroll such individual from the plan (or waiver of such plan) not later than the end of the month following the month in which such 30-calendar-day period ends, provided that—

“(I) the State first determines whether, with respect to the individual, there is any other basis for eligibility for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) or for another insurance affordability program; and

“(II) the individual is provided written notice and granted an opportunity for a fair hearing in accordance with subsection (a)(3).

“(B) NOTICE.—The notice of noncompliance provided to an applicable individual under subparagraph (A)(i) shall include information (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary) on—

“(i) how such individual may make a satisfactory showing of compliance with such requirement (as described in subparagraph (A)(ii)) or make a satisfactory showing that such requirement does not apply to such individual on the basis that such individual

does not meet the definition of applicable individual under paragraph (9)(A); and

“(ii) how such individual may reapply for medical assistance under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title in the case that such individuals’ application is denied or, as applicable, in the case that such individual is disenrolled from the plan (or waiver).

“(7) TREATMENT OF NONCOMPLIANT INDIVIDUALS IN RELATION TO CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

“(A) CERTAIN FMAP INCREASES.—A State shall not be treated as not providing medical assistance to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII), or as not expending amounts for all such individuals under the State plan (or waiver of such plan), solely because such an individual is determined ineligible for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver) on the basis of a failure to meet the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1).

“(B) OTHER PROVISIONS.—For purposes of section 36B(c)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, an individual shall be deemed to be eligible for minimum essential coverage described in section 5000A(F)(1)(A)(ii) of such Code for a month if such individual would have been eligible for medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title but for a failure to meet the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1).

“(8) OUTREACH.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In accordance with standards specified by the Secretary, beginning not later than the date that precedes December 31, 2026 (or, if the State elects under paragraph (1) to specify an earlier date, such earlier date) by the number of months specified by the State under paragraph (1)(A) plus 3 months, and periodically thereafter, the State shall notify applicable individuals enrolled under a State plan (or waiver) under this title of the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under this subsection. Such notice shall include information on—

“(i) how to comply with such requirement, including an explanation of the exceptions to such requirement under paragraph (3) and the definition of the term ‘applicable individual’ under paragraph (9)(A);

“(ii) the consequences of noncompliance with such requirement; and

“(iii) how to report to the State any change in the individual’s status that could result in—

“(I) the applicability of an exception under paragraph (3) (or the end of the applicability of such an exception); or

“(II) the individual qualifying as a specified excluded individual under paragraph (9)(A)(ii).

“(B) FORM OF OUTREACH NOTICE.—A notice required under subparagraph (A) shall be delivered—

“(i) by regular mail (or, if elected by the individual, in an electronic format); and

“(ii) in 1 or more additional forms, which may include telephone, text message, an internet website, other commonly available electronic means, and such other forms as the Secretary determines appropriate.

“(9) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(A) APPLICABLE INDIVIDUAL.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable individual’ means an individual (other than a specified excluded individual (as defined in clause (ii)))—

“(I) who is eligible to enroll (or is enrolled) under the State plan under subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII); or

“(II) who—

“(aa) is otherwise eligible to enroll (or is enrolled) under a waiver of such plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to min-

imum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(F)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and as determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations); and

“(bb) has attained the age of 19 and is under 65 years of age, is not pregnant, is not entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII, and is not otherwise eligible to enroll under such plan.

“(ii) SPECIFIED EXCLUDED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘specified excluded individual’ means an individual, as determined by the State (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary)—

“(I) who is described in subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(IX);

“(II) who—

“(aa) is an Indian or an Urban Indian (as such terms are defined in paragraphs (13) and (28) of section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act);

“(bb) is a California Indian described in section 809(a) of such Act; or

“(cc) has otherwise been determined eligible as an Indian for the Indian Health Service under regulations promulgated by the Secretary;

“(III) who is the parent, guardian, caretaker relative, or family caregiver (as defined in section 2 of the RAISE Family Caregivers Act) of a dependent child 13 years of age and under or a disabled individual;

“(IV) who is a veteran with a disability rated as total under section 1155 of title 38, United States Code;

“(V) who is medically frail or otherwise has special medical needs (as defined by the Secretary), including an individual—

“(aa) who is blind or disabled (as defined in section 1614);

“(bb) with a substance use disorder;

“(cc) with a disabling mental disorder;

“(dd) with a physical, intellectual or developmental disability that significantly impairs their ability to perform 1 or more activities of daily living; or

“(ee) with a serious or complex medical condition;

“(VI) who—

“(aa) is in compliance with any requirements imposed by the State pursuant to section 407; or

“(bb) is a member of a household that receives supplemental nutrition assistance program benefits under the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 and is not exempt from a work requirement under such Act;

“(VII) who is participating in a drug addiction or alcoholic treatment and rehabilitation program (as defined in section 3(h) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008);

“(VIII) who is an inmate of a public institution; or

“(IX) who is pregnant or entitled to postpartum medical assistance under paragraph (5) or (16) of subsection (e).

“(B) EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM.—The term ‘educational program’ includes—

“(i) an institution of higher education (as defined in section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965); and

“(ii) a program of career and technical education (as defined in section 3 of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006).

“(C) STATE.—The term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

“(D) WORK PROGRAM.—The term ‘work program’ has the meaning given such term in section 6(o)(1) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008.

“(10) PROHIBITING WAIVER OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENTS.—Notwithstanding section 1115(a), the provisions of this subsection may not be waived.

“(11) SPECIAL IMPLEMENTATION RULE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (C), the Secretary may exempt a State from compliance with the requirements of this subsection if—

“(i) the State submits to the Secretary a request for such exemption, made in such form and at such time as the Secretary may require, and including the information specified in subparagraph (B); and

“(ii) the Secretary determines that based on such request, the State is demonstrating a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of this subsection.

“(B) GOOD FAITH EFFORT DETERMINATION.—In determining whether a State is demonstrating a good faith effort for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the Secretary shall consider—

“(i) any actions taken by the State toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection;

“(ii) any significant barriers to or challenges in meeting such requirements, including related to funding, design, development, procurement, or installation of necessary systems or resources;

“(iii) the State’s detailed plan and timeline for achieving full compliance with such requirements, including any milestones of such plan (as defined by the Secretary); and

“(iv) any other criteria determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(C) DURATION OF EXEMPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An exemption granted under subparagraph (A) shall expire not later than December 31, 2028, and may not be renewed beyond such date.

“(ii) EARLY TERMINATION.—The Secretary may terminate an exemption granted under subparagraph (A) prior to the expiration date of such exemption if the Secretary determined that the State has—

“(I) failed to comply with the reporting requirements described in subparagraph (D); or

“(II) based on the information provided pursuant to subparagraph (D), failed to make continued good faith efforts toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection.

“(D) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—A State granted an exemption under subparagraph (A) shall submit to the Secretary—

“(i) quarterly progress reports on the State’s status in achieving the milestones toward full compliance described in subparagraph (B)(iii); and

“(ii) information on specific risks or newly identified barriers or challenges to full compliance, including the State’s plan to mitigate such risks, barriers, or challenges.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII)) is amended by striking “subject to subsection (k)” and inserting “subject to subsections (k) and (xx)”.

(c) PROHIBITING CONFLICTS OF INTEREST.—A State shall not use a Medicaid managed care entity or other specified entity (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)), or other contractor to determine beneficiary compliance under such section unless the contractor has no direct or indirect financial relationship with any Medicaid managed care entity or other specified entity that is responsible for providing or arranging for coverage of medical assistance for individuals enrolled with the entity pursuant to a contract with such State.

(d) INTERIM FINAL RULEMAKING.—Not later than June 1, 2026, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall promulgate an interim final rule for purposes of implementing the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section. Any action taken to implement the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section shall

not be subject to the provisions of section 553 of title 5, United States Code.

(e) DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY GRANTS TO STATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In order for States to establish systems necessary to carry out the provisions of, and amendments made by, this section [or other sections of this chapter that pertain to conducting eligibility determinations or redeterminations], the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall—

(A) out of amounts appropriated under paragraph (3)(A), award to each State a grant equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2) for such State; and

(B) out of amounts appropriated under paragraph (3)(B), distribute an equal amount among such States.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), the amount specified in this paragraph is an amount that bears the same ratio to the amount appropriated under paragraph (3)(A) as the number of applicable individuals (as defined in section 1902(xx) of the Social Security Act, as added by subsection (a)) residing in such State bears to the total number of such individuals residing in all States, as of March 31, 2025.

(3) FUNDING.—There are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated—

(A) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 for purposes of awarding grants under paragraph (1)(A), to remain available until expended; and

(B) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 for purposes of award grants under paragraph (1)(B), to remain available until expended.

(4) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term “State” means 1 of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

(f) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$50,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71122. MODIFYING COST SHARING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN EXPANSION INDIVIDUALS UNDER THE MEDICAID PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1916 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396o) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “(other than, beginning October 1, 2028, specified individuals (as defined in subsection (k)(3)))” after “individuals”; and

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

“(k) SPECIAL RULES FOR CERTAIN EXPANSION INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) PREMIUMS.—Beginning October 1, 2028, the State plan shall provide that in the case of a specified individual (as defined in paragraph (3)) who is eligible under the plan, no enrollment fee, premium, or similar charge will be imposed under the plan.

“(2) REQUIRED IMPOSITION OF COST SHARING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B) and subsection (j), in the case of a specified individual, the State plan shall, beginning October 1, 2028, provide for the imposition of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges determined appropriate by the State (in an amount greater than \$0) with respect to certain care, items, or services furnished to such an individual, as determined by the State.

“(B) LIMITATIONS.—

“(i) EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN SERVICES.—In no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge be imposed under the State plan with respect to care, items, or services described in any of subparagraphs (B) through

(J) of subsection (a)(2), or any primary care services, mental health care services, substance use disorder services, or services provided by a Federally qualified health center (as defined in 1905(l)(2)), certified community behavioral health clinic (as defined in section 1905(jj)(2)), or rural health clinic (as defined in 1905(l)(1)), furnished to a specified individual.

“(ii) ITEM AND SERVICE LIMITATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subclause (II), in no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge imposed under the State plan with respect to care or an item or service furnished to a specified individual exceed \$35.

“(II) SPECIAL RULES FOR PRESCRIPTION DRUGS.—In no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge imposed under the State plan with respect to a prescription drug furnished to a specified individual exceed the limit that would be applicable under paragraph (2)(A)(i) or (2)(B) of section 1916A(c) with respect to such drug and individual if such drug so furnished were subject to cost sharing under such section.

“(iii) MAXIMUM LIMIT ON COST SHARING.—The total aggregate amount of deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges imposed under the State plan for all individuals in the family may not exceed 5 percent of the family income of the family involved, as applied on a quarterly or monthly basis (as specified by the State).

“(C) CASES OF NONPAYMENT.—Notwithstanding subsection (e), a State may permit a provider participating under the State plan to require, as a condition for the provision of care, items, or services to a specified individual entitled to medical assistance under this title for such care, items, or services, the payment of any deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges authorized to be imposed with respect to such care, items, or services. Nothing in this subparagraph shall be construed as preventing a provider from reducing or waiving the application of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges on a case-by-case basis.

“(3) SPECIFIED INDIVIDUAL DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘specified individual’ means an individual who has a family income (as determined in accordance with section 1902(e)(14)) that exceeds the poverty line (as defined in section 2110(c)(5)) applicable to a family of the size involved and—

“(A) is enrolled under section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII); or

“(B) is described in such subsection and otherwise enrolled under a waiver of the State plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(4) STATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) REQUIRED APPLICATION.—Section 1902(a)(14) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(14)) is amended by inserting “and provide for imposition of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges for care, items, or services furnished to specified individuals (as defined in paragraph (3) of section 1916(k)) in accordance with paragraph (2) of such section” after “section 1916”.

(2) NONAPPLICABILITY OF ALTERNATIVE COST SHARING.—Section 1916A(a)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396o-1(a)(1)) is amended, in the second sentence, by striking “or (j)” and inserting “(j), or (k)”.

Subchapter E—Expanding Access to Care**SEC. 71123. MAKING CERTAIN ADJUSTMENTS TO COVERAGE OF HOME OR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES UNDER MEDICAID.**

(a) EXPANDING HCBS COVERAGE UNDER SECTION 1915(C) WAIVERS.—Section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by inserting “paragraph (1) or” before “subsection (h)(2)”; and

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

“(1) EXPANDING COVERAGE FOR HOME OR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning July 1, 2028, notwithstanding paragraph (1), the Secretary may approve a waiver that is standalone from any other waiver approved under this subsection to include as medical assistance under the State plan of such State payment for part or all of the cost of home or community-based services (other than room and board (as described in paragraph (1))) approved by the Secretary which are provided pursuant to a written plan of care to individuals described in subparagraph (B)(iii). A waiver approved under this paragraph shall be for an initial term of 3 years and, upon the request of the State, shall be extended for additional 5-year periods unless the Secretary determines that for the previous waiver period the requirements specified under this subsection (excluding those excepted under subparagraph (B)) have not been met.

“(B) STATE REQUIREMENTS.—In addition to the requirements specified under this subsection (except for the requirements described in subparagraphs (C) and (D) of paragraph (2) and any other requirement specified under this subsection that the Secretary determines to be inapplicable in the context of a waiver that does not require individuals to have a determination described in paragraph (1)), a State shall meet the following requirements as a condition of waiver approval:

“(i) As of the date that such State requests a waiver under this subsection to provide home or community-based services to individuals described in clause (iii), all other waivers (if any) granted under this subsection to such State meet the requirements of this subsection.

“(ii) The State demonstrates to the Secretary that approval of a waiver under this subsection with respect to individuals described in clause (iii) will not result in a material increase of the average amount of time that individuals with respect to whom a determination described in paragraph (1) has been made will need to wait to receive home or community-based services under any other waiver granted under this subsection, as determined by the Secretary.

“(iii) The State establishes needs-based criteria, subject to the approval of the Secretary, regarding who will be eligible for home or community-based services under a waiver approved under this paragraph without requiring such individual to have a determination described in paragraph (1), and specifies the home or community-based services such individuals so eligible will receive.

“(iv) The State establishes needs-based criteria for determining whether an individual described in clause (iii) requires the level of care provided in a hospital, nursing facility, or an intermediate care facility for individuals with developmental disabilities under the State plan or under any waiver of such plan that are more stringent than the needs-based criteria established under clause (iii) for determining eligibility for home or community-based services.

“(v) The State attests that the State’s average per capita expenditure for medical as-

sistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) provided with respect to such individuals enrolled in a waiver under this paragraph will not exceed the State’s average per capita expenditure for medical assistance for individuals receiving institutional care under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) for the duration that the waiver under this paragraph is in effect.

“(vi) The State provides to the Secretary data (in such form and manner as the Secretary may specify) regarding the number of individuals described in clause (iii) with respect to a State seeking approval of a waiver under this subsection, to whom the State will make such services available under such waiver.

“(vii) The State agrees to provide to the Secretary, not less frequently than annually, data for purposes of paragraph (2)(E) (in such form and manner as the Secretary may specify) regarding, with respect to each preceding year in which a waiver under this subsection to provide home or community-based services to individuals described in clause (iii) was in effect—

“(I) the cost (as such term is defined by the Secretary) of such services furnished to individuals described in clause (iii), broken down by type of service;

“(II) with respect to each type of home or community-based service provided under the waiver, the length of time that such individuals have received such service;

“(III) a comparison between the data described in subclause (I) and any comparable data available with respect to individuals with respect to whom a determination described in paragraph (1) has been made and with respect to individuals receiving institutional care under this title; and

“(IV) the number of individuals who have received home or community-based services under the waiver during the preceding year.

“(C) LIMITATION ON PAYMENTS.—No payments made to carry out this paragraph shall be used to make payments to a third party on behalf of an individual practitioner for benefits such as health insurance, skills training, and other benefits customary for employees, in the case of a class of practitioners for which the program established under this title is the primary source of revenue.”

(b) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services—

(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$50,000,000 for purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, to remain available until expended; and

(B) for fiscal year 2027, \$100,000,000 for purposes of making payments to States, subject to paragraph (2), to support State systems to deliver home or community-based services under section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) (as amended by this section), to remain available until expended.

(2) PAYMENTS BASED ON STATE HCBS ELIGIBLE POPULATION.—Payments to States from amounts made available by paragraph (1)(B) shall be made, with respect to a State, on the basis of the proportion of the population of the State that is eligible for home or community-based services under section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) (as amended by this section), as compared to all States.

SEC. 71124. DETERMINATION OF FMAP FOR HIGH-POVERTY STATES.

Section 1905(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended in the first sentence—

(1) by striking “and (6)” and inserting “(6)”; and

(2) by inserting before the period the following: “, and (7) only for purposes of payments for medical assistance under this title (excluding any such payments that are based on the enhanced FMAP described in section 2105(b)), in the case of a State for which the Secretary issues under the authority of section 673(2) of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 a separate poverty guideline for any calendar year occurring during or after the date of enactment of this clause that is higher than the poverty guideline issued by the Secretary for such calendar year that is applicable to the majority of States, the regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined for such a State under this subsection (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the 1st fiscal year quarter that begins after such date of enactment, and for each fiscal year quarter beginning thereafter, shall be increased (after such determination but prior to any other increase which may be applicable and in no case to exceed 100 percent) by, in the case of the State with the highest separate poverty guideline for the calendar year, 25 percent of the average regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the fiscal year for States which did not have a separate poverty guideline issued for them for such calendar year, and in the case of the State with the second highest separate poverty guideline for the calendar year, 15 percent of the average regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the fiscal year for States which did not have a separate poverty guideline issued for them for such calendar year”.

CHAPTER 2—MEDICARE**Subchapter A—Strengthening Eligibility Requirements****SEC. 71201. LIMITING MEDICARE COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.**

Title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 1899C. LIMITING MEDICARE COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), an individual may be entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title only if the individual is—

“(1) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(2) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act;

“(3) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban or Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(4) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

“(b) APPLICATION TO INDIVIDUALS CURRENTLY ENTITLED TO OR ENROLLED FOR BENEFITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual who is entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title as of the date of the enactment of this section, subsection (a) shall apply beginning on the date that is 18 months after such date of enactment.

“(2) REVIEW BY COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SECURITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this section, the Commissioner of Social Security shall complete a review of individuals entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title as of such date of enactment for purposes of identifying individuals not described

in any of paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (a).

“(B) NOTICE.—The Commissioner of Social Security shall notify each individual identified under the review conducted under subparagraph (A) that such individual’s entitlement to, or enrollment for, benefits under this title will be terminated as of the date that is 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section. Such notification shall be made as soon as practicable after such identification and in a manner designed to ensure such individual’s comprehension of such notification.”.

Subchapter B—Improving Services for Seniors

SEC. 71202. TEMPORARY PAYMENT INCREASE UNDER THE MEDICARE PHYSICIAN FEE SCHEDULE TO ACCOUNT FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1848(t)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(t)(1)) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and 2024” and inserting “2024, and 2026”;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(3) in subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(4) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) such services furnished on or after January 1, 2026, and before January 1, 2027, by 2.5 percent.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1848(c)(2)(B)(iv)(V) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(c)(2)(B)(iv)(V)) is amended by striking “or 2024” and inserting “2024, or 2026”.

SEC. 71203. EXPANDING AND CLARIFYING THE EXCLUSION FOR ORPHAN DRUGS UNDER THE DRUG PRICE NEGOTIATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1192(e) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and (3)” and inserting “through (4)”;

(2) in paragraph (3)(A)—

(A) by striking “only one rare disease or condition” and inserting “one or more rare diseases or conditions”;

(B) by striking “such disease or condition” and inserting “one or more such rare diseases or conditions (as such term is defined in section 526(a)(2) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act)”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) TREATMENT OF FORMER ORPHAN DRUGS.—In the case of a drug or biological product that, as of the date of the approval or licensure of such drug or biological product, is a drug or biological product described in paragraph (3)(A), paragraph (1)(A)(ii) or (1)(B)(ii) (as applicable) shall apply as if the reference to ‘the date of such approval’ or ‘the date of such licensure’, respectively, were instead a reference to ‘the first day after the date of such approval for which such drug is not a drug described in paragraph (3)(A)’ or ‘the first day after the date of such licensure for which such biological product is not a biological product described in paragraph (3)(A)’, respectively.”.

(b) APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to initial price applicability years (as defined in section 1191(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f(b))) beginning on or after January 1, 2028.

SEC. 71204. APPLICATION OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT TO NON-LABOR RELATED PORTION FOR HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT DEPARTMENT SERVICES FURNISHED IN ALASKA AND HAWAII.

Section 1833(t) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l(t)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(23) APPLICATION OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT TO NON-LABOR RELATED PORTION FOR HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT DEPARTMENT SERVICES FURNISHED IN ALASKA AND HAWAII.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—With respect to OPD services furnished on or after January 1, 2027, the Secretary shall provide for adjustments to the payment amounts under this subsection for such services in the same manner that is provided under section 1886(d)(5)(H) with respect to the application of the cost-of-living adjustment to the non-labor related portion of such payment amounts to take into account the unique circumstances of hospitals located in Alaska or Hawaii. Such adjustment shall not apply to payment amounts for a separately payable drug, biological, or medical device.

“(B) APPLICATION WITHOUT REGARD TO BUDGET NEUTRALITY.—Adjustments to payment amounts made under this paragraph—

“(i) shall not be considered an adjustment under paragraph (2)(E); and

“(ii) shall not be implemented in a budget neutral manner.”.

CHAPTER 3—HEALTH TAX

Subchapter A—Improving Eligibility Criteria

SEC. 71301. PERMITTING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(e)(1) is amended by inserting “or, in the case of aliens who are lawfully present, are not eligible aliens” after “individuals who are not lawfully present”.

(b) ELIGIBLE ALIENS.—Section 36B(e)(2) is amended—

(1) by striking “For purposes of this section, an individual” and inserting “For purposes of this section—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—An individual”, and

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

“(B) ELIGIBLE ALIENS.—An individual who is an alien and lawfully present shall be treated as an eligible alien if such individual is, and is reasonably expected to be for the entire period of enrollment for which the credit under this section is being claimed—

“(i) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.),

“(ii) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(iii) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1612(b)(2)(G)).”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION.—Section 1411 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18081) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) in paragraph (1), by striking “and section 36B(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986”;

(ii) in paragraph (2)—

(I) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(II) in subparagraph (B), by adding “and” at the end; and

(III) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) in the case such individual is an alien lawfully present in the United States, whether such individual is an eligible alien (within

the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code);”;

(B) in subsection (b)(3), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) IMMIGRATION STATUS.—In the case the individual’s eligibility is based on an attestation of the enrollee’s immigration status, an attestation that such individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of 36B(e)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).”;

(C) in subsection (c)(2)(B)(ii), by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) In the case of an individual described in clause (i)(I) with respect to whom a premium tax credit under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is being claimed, the attestation that the individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code).”.

(2) ADVANCE DETERMINATIONS.—Section 1412(d) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18082(d)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, or credits under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for aliens who are not eligible aliens (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code).”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply with respect to plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2027.

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading for section 36B(e) is amended by inserting “AND NOT ELIGIBLE ALIENS” after “INDIVIDUALS NOT LAWFULLY PRESENT”.

(2) The heading for section 36B(e)(2) is amended by inserting “; ELIGIBLE ALIENS” after “LAWFULLY PRESENT”.

(e) REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN MINIMUM ESSENTIAL COVERAGE.—Section 5000A(d)(3) is amended by striking “an alien lawfully present in the United States” and inserting “an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2))”.

(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section (other than the amendments made by subsection (c)) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 71302. DISALLOWING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT DURING PERIODS OF MEDICAID INELIGIBILITY DUE TO ALIEN STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c)(1) is amended by striking subparagraph (B).

(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter B—Preventing Waste, Fraud, and Abuse

SEC. 71303. REQUIRING VERIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR PREMIUM TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(5) EXCHANGE ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘coverage month’ shall not include, with respect to any individual covered by a qualified health plan enrolled in through an Exchange, any month beginning before the Exchange verifies, using applicable enrollment information that shall be provided or verified by the applicant, such individual’s eligibility—

“(i) to enroll in the plan through the Exchange, and

“(ii) for any advance payment under section 1412 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of the credit allowed under this section.

“(B) APPLICABLE ENROLLMENT INFORMATION.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), applicable enrollment information shall include affirmation of at least the following information (to the extent relevant in determining eligibility described in subparagraph (A)):

“(i) Household income and family size.

“(ii) Whether the individual is an eligible alien.

“(iii) Any health coverage status or eligibility for coverage.

“(iv) Place of residence.

“(v) Such other information as may be determined by the Secretary (in consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services) as necessary to the verification prescribed under subparagraph (A).

“(C) VERIFICATION OF PAST MONTHS.—In the case of a month that begins before verification prescribed by subparagraph (A), such month shall be treated as a coverage month if, and only if, the Exchange verifies for such month (using applicable enrollment information that shall be provided or verified by the applicant) such individual's eligibility to have so enrolled and for any such advance payment.

“(D) EXCHANGE PARTICIPATION; COORDINATION WITH OTHER PROCEDURES FOR DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY.—An individual shall not, solely by reason of failing to meet the requirements of this paragraph with respect to a month, be treated for such month as ineligible to enroll in a qualified health plan through an Exchange.

“(E) WAIVER FOR CERTAIN SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIODS.—The Secretary may waive the application of subparagraph (A) in the case of an individual who enrolls in a qualified health plan through an Exchange for 1 or more months of the taxable year during a special enrollment period provided by the Exchange on the basis of a change in the family size of the individual.

“(F) INFORMATION AND RELIANCE ON THIRD-PARTY SOURCES.—An Exchange shall be permitted to use any data available to the Exchange and any reliable third-party sources in collecting information for verification by the applicant.

“(6) EXCHANGE COMPLIANCE WITH FILING REQUIREMENTS.—The term ‘coverage month’ shall not include, with respect to any individual covered by a qualified health plan enrolled in through an Exchange, any month for which the Exchange does not meet the requirements of section 155.305(f)(4)(iii) of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (as published in the Federal Register on June 25, 2025 (90 FR 27074), applied as though it applied to all plan years after 2025), with respect to the individual.”

(b) PRE-ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION PROCESS REQUIRED.—Section 36B(c)(3)(A) is amended—

(1) by striking “HEALTH PLAN.—The term” and inserting “HEALTH PLAN.—“

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term”, and

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

“(ii) PRE-ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION PROCESS REQUIRED.—Such term shall not include any plan enrolled in through an Exchange, unless such Exchange provides a process for pre-enrollment verification through which any applicant may, beginning not later than August 1, verify with the Exchange the applicant's household income and eligibility for enrollment in such plan for plan years beginning in the subsequent year.”

(c) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and

Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2027.

SEC. 71304. DISALLOWING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT IN CASE OF CERTAIN COVERAGE ENROLLED IN DURING SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIOD.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c)(3)(A), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXCEPTION IN CASE OF CERTAIN SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIODS.—Such term shall not include any plan enrolled in during a special enrollment period provided for by an Exchange—

“(I) on the basis of the relationship of the individual's expected household income to such a percentage of the poverty line (or such other amount) as is prescribed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services for purposes of such period, and

“(II) not in connection with the occurrence of an event or change in circumstances specified by the Secretary of Health and Human Services for such purposes.”

(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to plan years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 71305. ELIMINATING LIMITATION ON RECAPITULATION OF ADVANCE PAYMENT OF PREMIUM TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(f)(2) is amended by striking subparagraph (B).

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 36B(f)(2) is amended by striking “ADVANCE PAYMENTS.—” and all that follows through “If the advance payments” and inserting the following: “ADVANCE PAYMENTS.—If the advance payments”.

(2) Section 35(g)(12)(B)(ii) is amended by striking “then section 36B(f)(2)(B) shall be applied by substituting the amount determined under clause (i) for the amount determined under section 36B(f)(2)(A)” and inserting “then the amount determined under clause (i) shall be substituted for the amount determined under section 36B(f)(2)”.

(c) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TREATED AS APPLICABLE TAXPAYERS.—Paragraph (1) of section 36B(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TREATED AS APPLICABLE TAXPAYERS.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, if an individual—

“(i) is determined by an Exchange at the time of enrollment in a qualified health plan through such Exchange to have a projected annual household income for the taxable year which equals or exceeds 100 percent of an amount equal to the poverty line for a family of the size involved, and

“(ii) receives an advance payment of the credit under this section for 1 or more months during such taxable year under section 1412 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act,

such individual shall not fail to be treated as an applicable taxpayer for such taxable year solely because the actual household income of the individual for the taxable year is less than 100 percent of an amount equal to the poverty line for a family of the size involved, unless the Secretary determines that the individual provided incorrect information to

the Exchange with intentional or reckless disregard for the facts.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter C—Enhancing Choice for Patients

SEC. 71306. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF SAFE HARBOR FOR ABSENCE OF DEDUCTIBLE FOR TELEHEALTH SERVICES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (E) of section 223(c)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(E) SAFE HARBOR FOR ABSENCE OF DEDUCTIBLE FOR TELEHEALTH.—A plan shall not fail to be treated as a high deductible health plan by reason of failing to have a deductible for telehealth and other remote care services.”

(b) CERTAIN COVERAGE DISREGARDED.—Clause (ii) of section 223(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “(in the case of months or plan years to which paragraph (2)(E) applies)”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to plan years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 71307. ALLOWANCE OF BRONZE AND CATASTROPHIC PLANS IN CONNECTION WITH HEALTH SAVINGS ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(H) BRONZE AND CATASTROPHIC PLANS TREATED AS HIGH DEDUCTIBLE HEALTH PLANS.—The term ‘high deductible health plan’ shall include any plan which is—

“(i) available as individual coverage through an Exchange established under section 1311 or 1321 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, and

“(ii) described in subsection (d)(1)(A) or (e) of section 1302 of such Act.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 71308. TREATMENT OF DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) TREATMENT OF DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—A direct primary care service arrangement shall not be treated as a health plan for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii).

“(ii) DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENT.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘direct primary care service arrangement’ means, with respect to any individual, an arrangement under which such individual is provided medical care (as defined in section 213(d)) consisting solely of primary care services provided by primary care practitioners (as defined in section 1833(x)(2)(A) of the Social Security Act, determined without regard to clause (ii) thereof), if the sole compensation for such care is a fixed periodic fee.

“(II) LIMITATION.—With respect to any individual for any month, such term shall not include any arrangement if the aggregate fees for all direct primary care service arrangements (determined without regard to this subclause) with respect to such individual for such month exceed \$150 (twice such dollar amount in the case of an individual with any direct primary care service arrangement (as so determined) that covers more than one individual).

“(iii) CERTAIN SERVICES SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM TREATMENT AS PRIMARY CARE SERVICES.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘primary care services’ shall not include—

“(I) procedures that require the use of general anesthesia,

“(II) prescription drugs (other than vaccines), and

“(III) laboratory services not typically administered in an ambulatory primary care setting.

The Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services, shall issue regulations or other guidance regarding the application of this clause.”

(b) DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENT FEES TREATED AS MEDICAL EXPENSES.—Section 223(d)(2)(C) is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (iii), by striking the period at the end of clause (iv) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(v) any direct primary care service arrangement.”

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 223(g)(1) is amended—

(1) by striking “in subsections (b)(2) and (c)(2)(A)” and inserting “in subsections (b)(2), (c)(2)(A), and in the case of taxable years beginning after 2026, (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II)”,

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking “clause (ii)” in clause (i) and inserting “clauses (ii) and (iii)”, by striking “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) in the case of the dollar amount in subsection (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II), ‘calendar year 2025’.”, and

(3) by inserting “, (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II),” after “(b)(2)” in the last sentence.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

CHAPTER 4—PROTECTING RURAL HOSPITALS AND PROVIDERS

SEC. 71401. RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2105 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397ee) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.—

“(1) APPROPRIATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (in this subsection referred to as the ‘Administrator’), to provide allotments to States for purposes of carrying out the activities described in paragraph (6)—

“(i) \$10,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;

“(ii) \$10,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;

“(iii) \$2,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2030;

“(iv) \$2,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2031; and

“(v) \$1,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2032.

“(B) UNEXPENDED OR UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Any amounts appropriated under subparagraph (A) that are unexpended or unobligated as of October 1, 2034, shall be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

“(ii) REDISTRIBUTION OF UNEXPENDED OR UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Administrator shall, not later than March 31, 2030, and annually thereafter through March 31, 2034—

“(I) determine the amount of funds, if any, that are available under such subparagraph for a previous fiscal year, are unexpended or unobligated with respect to such fiscal year, and will not be available to a State in the current fiscal year, pursuant to clause (iii); and

“(II) if the Administrator determines that any such funds from a previous fiscal year remain, redistribute such funds in the current fiscal year to States that have an application approved under this subsection for such fiscal year in accordance with an allot-

ment methodology specified by the Administrator.

“(iii) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Amounts allotted to a State under this subsection for a year shall be available for expenditure by the State through the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such amounts are allotted.

“(II) AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS REDISTRIBUTED.—Amounts redistributed to a State under clause (ii) with respect to a fiscal year shall be available for expenditure by the State through the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such amounts are redistributed (except in the case of amounts redistributed in fiscal year 2034 which shall only be available for expenditure through September 30, 2034).

“(iv) MISUSE OF FUNDS.—If the Administrator determines that a State is not using amounts allotted or redistributed to the State under this subsection in a manner consistent with the description provided by the State in its application approved under paragraph (2), the Administrator may withhold payments to, or reduce payments to, or recover previous payments from, the State under this subsection as the Administrator deems appropriate, and any amounts so withheld, or that remain after any such reduction, or so recovered, shall be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

“(2) APPLICATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—To be eligible for an allotment under this subsection, a State shall submit to the Administrator during an application submission period to be specified by the Administrator (but that ends not later than April 1, 2027) an application in such form and manner as the Administrator may specify, that includes—

“(i) a detailed rural health transformation plan, developed in consultation with the State Office of Rural Health—

“(I) to improve access to hospitals, other health care providers, and health care items and services furnished to rural residents of the State;

“(II) to improve health care outcomes of rural residents of the State;

“(III) to prioritize the use of new and emerging technologies that emphasize prevention and chronic disease management;

“(IV) to initiate, foster, and strengthen local and regional strategic partnerships between rural hospitals and other health care providers in order to promote measurable quality improvement, increase financial stability, maximize economies of scale, and share best practices in care delivery;

“(V) to enhance economic opportunity for, and the supply of, health care clinicians through enhanced recruitment and training;

“(VI) to prioritize data and technology driven solutions that help rural hospitals and other rural health care providers furnish high-quality health care services as close to a patient’s home as is possible;

“(VII) that outlines strategies to manage long-term financial solvency and operating models of rural hospitals in the State; and

“(VIII) that identifies specific causes driving the accelerating rate of stand-alone rural hospitals becoming at risk of closure, conversion, or service reduction;

“(i) a certification that none of the amounts provided under this subsection shall be used by the State for an expenditure that is attributable to an intergovernmental transfer, certified public expenditure, or any other expenditure to finance the non-Federal share of expenditures required under any provision of law, including under the State plan established under this title, the State plan established under title XIX, or under a waiver of such plans; and

“(iii) such other information as the Administrator may require.

“(B) DEADLINE FOR APPROVAL.—Not later than September 30, 2027, the Administrator shall approve or deny all applications submitted for an allotment under this subsection.

“(C) ONE-TIME APPLICATION.—If an application of a State for an allotment under this subsection is approved by the Administrator, the State shall be eligible for an allotment under this subsection for each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, except as provided in paragraph (1)(B)(iv).

“(D) ELIGIBILITY.—Only the 50 States shall be eligible for an allotment under this subsection and all references in this subsection to a State shall be treated as only referring to the 50 States.

“(3) ALLOTMENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, the Administrator shall determine under subparagraph (B) the amount of the allotment for such fiscal year for each State with an approved application under this subsection.

“(B) AMOUNT DETERMINED.—From the amounts appropriated under paragraph (1)(A) for each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, the Administrator shall allot—

“(i) 50 percent of the amounts appropriated for each such fiscal year equally among all States with an approved application under this subsection; and

“(ii) 50 percent of the amounts appropriated for each such fiscal year among all such States in an amount to be determined by the Administrator in accordance with subparagraph (C).

“(C) CONSIDERATIONS.—In determining the amount to be allotted to a State under subparagraph (B)(ii) for a fiscal year, the Administrator shall consider the following:

“(i) The percentage of the State population that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(ii) The proportion of rural health facilities (as defined in subparagraph (D)) in the State relative to the number of rural health facilities nationwide.

“(iii) The situation of hospitals in the State, as described in section 1902(a)(13)(A)(iv).

“(iv) Any other factors that the Administrator determines appropriate.

“(D) RURAL HEALTH FACILITY DEFINED.—For the purposes of subparagraph (C)(ii), the term ‘rural health facility’ means the following:

“(i) A subsection (d) hospital (as defined in paragraph (1)(B) of section 1886(d)) that—

“(I) is located in a rural area (as defined in paragraph (2)(D) of such section);

“(II) is treated as being located in a rural area pursuant to paragraph (8)(E) of such section; or

“(III) is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(ii) A critical access hospital (as defined in section 1861(mm)(1)).

“(iii) A sole community hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(D)(iii)).

“(iv) A Medicare-dependent, small rural hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(G)(iv)).

“(v) A low-volume hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(12)(C)).

“(vi) A rural emergency hospital (as defined in section 1861(kkk)(2)).

“(vii) A rural health clinic (as defined in section 1861(aa)(2)).

“(viii) A Federally qualified health center (as defined in section 1861(aa)(4)).

“(ix) A community mental health center (as defined in section 1861(ff)(3)(B)).

“(x) A health center that is receiving a grant under section 330 of the Public Health Service Act.

“(xi) An opioid treatment program (as defined in section 1861(jjj)(2)) that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(xii) A certified community behavioral health clinic (as defined in section 1905(jj)(2)) that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(4) NO MATCHING PAYMENT.—A State approved for an allotment under this subsection for a fiscal year shall not be required to provide any matching funds as a condition for receiving payments from the allotment.

“(5) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The Administrator shall specify such terms and conditions for allotments to States provided under this subsection as the Administrator deems appropriate, including the following:

“(A) Each State shall submit to the Administrator (at a time, and in a form and manner, specified by the Administrator)—

“(i) a plan for the State to use its allotment to carry out 3 or more of the activities described in paragraph (6); and

“(ii) annual reports on the use of allotments, including such additional information as the Administrator determines appropriate.

“(B) Not more than 10 percent of the amount allotted to a State for a fiscal year may be used by the State for administrative expenses.

“(C) In the event that a State uses amounts from an allotment to provide payments to health care providers in accordance with subparagraph (B) or (J) of paragraph (6), the State shall ensure that such amounts are not used to reimburse any expense or loss that—

“(i) has been reimbursed from any other source; or

“(ii) any other source is obligated to reimburse.

“(6) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts allotted to a State under this subsection shall be used for 3 or more of the following health-related activities:

“(A) Promoting evidence-based, measurable interventions to improve prevention and chronic disease management.

“(B) Providing payments to health care providers, as defined by the Administrator, for the provision of health care items or services, as specified by the Administrator.

“(C) Promoting consumer-facing, technology-driven solutions for the prevention and management of chronic diseases.

“(D) Providing training and technical assistance for the development and adoption of technology-enabled solutions that improve care delivery in rural hospitals, including remote monitoring, robotics, artificial intelligence, and other advanced technologies.

“(E) Recruiting and retaining clinical workforce talent to rural areas, with commitments to serve rural communities for a minimum of 5 years.

“(F) Providing technical assistance, software, and hardware for significant information technology advances designed to improve efficiency, enhance cybersecurity ca-

pability development, and improve patient health outcomes.

“(G) Assisting rural communities to right size their health care delivery systems by identifying needed preventative, ambulatory, pre-hospital, emergency, acute inpatient care, outpatient care, and post-acute care service lines.

“(H) Supporting access to opioid use disorder treatment services (as defined in section 1861(jjj)(1)), other substance use disorder treatment services, and mental health services.

“(I) Developing projects that support innovative models of care that include value-based care arrangements and alternative payment models, as appropriate.

“(J) Additional uses designed to promote sustainable access to high quality rural health care services, as determined by the Administrator.

“(7) EXEMPTIONS.—Paragraphs (2), (3), (5), (6), (8), (10), (11), and (12) of subsection (c) do not apply to payments under this subsection.

“(8) REVIEW.—There shall be no administrative or judicial review under section 1116 or otherwise of amounts allotted or redistributed to States under this subsection, payments to States withheld or reduced under this subsection, or previous payments recovered from States under this subsection.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Title XXI of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397aa) is amended—

(1) in section 2101—

(A) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “The purpose” and inserting “Except with respect to the rural health transformation program established in section 2105(h), the purpose”; and

(B) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “subsection (a) or (g) of” before “section 2105”; and

(2) in section 2105(c)(1), by striking “and may not include” and inserting “or to carry out the rural health transformation program established in subsection (h) and, except in the case of amounts made available under subsection (h), may not include”; and

(3) in section 2106(a)(1), by inserting “subsection (a) or (g) of” before “section 2105”.

(c) IMPLEMENTATION.—The Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services shall implement this section, including the amendments made by this section, by program instruction or other forms of program guidance.

Subtitle C—Increase in Debt Limit

SEC. 72001. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The limitation under section 3101(b) of title 31, United States Code, as most recently increased by section 401(b) of Public Law 118–5 (31 U.S.C. 3101 note), is increased by \$5,000,000,000,000.

TITLE VIII—COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS

Subtitle A—Exemption of Certain Assets

SEC. 80001. EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ASSETS.

(a) EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ASSETS.—Section 480(f)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087vv(f)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking “net value of the” and inserting the following: “net value of—

“(A) the”; and

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) a family farm on which the family resides;

“(C) a small business with not more than 100 full-time or full-time equivalent employees (or any part of such a small business) that is owned and controlled by the family; or

“(D) a commercial fishing business and related expenses, including fishing vessels and permits owned and controlled by the family.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year, as determined under the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001 et seq.).

Subtitle B—Loan Limits

SEC. 81001. ESTABLISHMENT OF LOAN LIMITS FOR GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS AND PARENT BORROWERS; TERMINATION OF GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL PLUS LOANS.

Section 455(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in the paragraph heading, by inserting “AND FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS” after “LOANS”; and

(B) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO MAKE INTEREST SUBSIDIZED LOANS TO GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS.—Subject to subparagraph (B), and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B—

“(i) for any period of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 2012, a graduate or professional student shall not be eligible to receive a Federal Direct Stafford loan under this part; and

“(ii) for any period of instruction beginning on July 1, 2012, and ending on June 30, 2026, the maximum annual amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans such a student may borrow in any academic year (as defined in section 481(a)(2)) or its equivalent shall be the maximum annual amount for such student determined under section 428H, plus an amount equal to the amount of Federal Direct Stafford loans the student would have received in the absence of this subparagraph.”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO MAKE FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS TO GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, for any period of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 2026, a graduate or professional student shall not be eligible to receive a Federal Direct PLUS Loan under this part.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL ANNUAL AND AGGREGATE LIMITS FOR FEDERAL DIRECT UNSUBSIDIZED STAFFORD LOANS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) ANNUAL LIMITS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—Subject to paragraphs (7)(A) and (8), beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum annual amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans—

“(i) a graduate student, who is not a professional student, may borrow in any academic year or its equivalent shall be \$20,500; and

“(ii) a professional student may borrow in any academic year or its equivalent shall be \$50,000.

“(B) AGGREGATE LIMITS.—Subject to paragraphs (6), (7)(A), and (8), beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum aggregate amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans, in addition to the amount borrowed for undergraduate education, that—

“(i) a graduate student—

“(I) who is not (and has not been) a professional student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i) shall be \$100,000; or

“(II) who is (or has been) a professional student, may borrow for programs of study

described in subparagraph (C)(i) shall be an amount equal to—

“(aa) \$200,000; minus

“(bb) the amount such student borrowed for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii); and

“(ii) a professional student—

“(I) who is not (and has not been) a graduate student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii) shall be \$200,000; or

“(II) who is (or has been) a graduate student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii) shall be an amount equal to—

“(aa) \$200,000; minus

“(bb) the amount such student borrowed for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i).

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—

“(i) GRADUATE STUDENT.—The term ‘graduate student’ means a student enrolled in a program of study that awards a graduate credential (other than a professional degree) upon completion of the program.

“(ii) PROFESSIONAL STUDENT.—In this paragraph, the term ‘professional student’ means a student enrolled in a program of study that awards a professional degree, as defined under section 668.2 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), upon completion of the program.

“(5) PARENT BORROWER ANNUAL AND AGGREGATE LIMITS FOR FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) ANNUAL LIMITS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, for each dependent student, the total maximum annual amount of Federal Direct PLUS loans that may be borrowed on behalf of that dependent student by all parents of that dependent student shall be \$20,000.

“(B) AGGREGATE LIMITS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, for each dependent student, the total maximum aggregate amount of Federal Direct PLUS loans that may be borrowed on behalf of that dependent student by all parents of that dependent student shall be \$65,000, without regard to any amounts repaid, forgiven, canceled, or otherwise discharged on any such loan.

“(6) LIFETIME MAXIMUM AGGREGATE AMOUNT FOR ALL STUDENTS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum aggregate amount of loans made, insured, or guaranteed under this title that a student may borrow (other than a Federal Direct PLUS loan, or loan under section 428B, made to the student as a parent borrower on behalf of a dependent student) shall be \$257,500, without regard to any amounts repaid, forgiven, canceled, or otherwise discharged on any such loan.

“(7) ADDITIONAL RULES REGARDING ANNUAL LOAN LIMITS.—

“(A) LESS THAN FULL-TIME ENROLLMENT.—Notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, in any case in which a student is enrolled in a program of study of an institution of higher education on less than a full-time basis during any academic year, the amount of a loan that student may borrow for an academic year or its equivalent shall be reduced in direct proportion to the degree to which that student is not so enrolled on a full-time basis, rounded to the nearest whole percentage point, as provided in a schedule of reductions published by the Secretary computed for purposes of this subparagraph.

“(B) INSTITUTIONALLY DETERMINED LIMITS.—Notwithstanding the annual loan limits established under this section and, for undergraduate students, under this part and part

B, beginning on July 1, 2026, an institution of higher education (at the discretion of a financial aid administrator at the institution) may limit the total amount of loans made under this part for a program of study for an academic year that a student may borrow, and that a parent may borrow on behalf of such student, as long as any such limit is applied consistently to all students enrolled in such program of study.

“(8) INTERIM EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN STUDENTS.—

“(A) APPLICATION OF PRIOR LIMITS.—Paragraphs (3)(C), (4), (5), and (6) shall not apply, and paragraph (3)(A)(ii) shall apply as such paragraph was in effect for periods of instruction ending before June 30, 2026, during the expected time to credential described in subparagraph (B), with respect to an individual who, as of June 30, 2026—

“(i) is enrolled in a program of study at an institution of higher education; and

“(ii) has received a loan (or on whose behalf a loan was made) under this part for such program of study.

“(B) EXPECTED TIME TO CREDENTIAL.—For purposes of this paragraph, the expected time to credential of an individual shall be equal to the lesser of—

“(i) three academic years; or

“(ii) the period determined by calculating the difference between—

“(I) the program length for the program of study in which the individual is enrolled; and

“(II) the period of such program of study that such individual has completed as of the date of the determination under this subparagraph.

“(C) DEFINITION OF PROGRAM LENGTH.—In this paragraph, the term ‘program length’ means the minimum amount of time in weeks, months, or years that is specified in the catalog, marketing materials, or other official publications of an institution of higher education for a full-time student to complete the requirements for a specific program of study.”

Subtitle C—Loan Repayment

SEC. 82001. LOAN REPAYMENT.

(a) TRANSITION TO INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT PLANS.—

(1) SELECTION.—The Secretary of Education shall take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that before July 1, 2028, each borrower who has one or more loans that are in a repayment status in accordance with, or an administrative forbearance associated with, an income contingent repayment plan authorized under section 455(e) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (referred to in this subsection as “covered income contingent loans”) selects one of the following income-based repayment plans that is otherwise applicable, and for which that borrower is otherwise eligible, for the repayment of the covered income contingent loans of the borrower:

(A) The Repayment Assistance Plan under section 455(q) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(B) The income-based repayment plan under section 493C of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(C) Any other repayment plan as authorized under section 455(d)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(2) COMMENCEMENT OF NEW REPAYMENT PLAN.—Beginning on July 1, 2028, a borrower described in paragraph (1) shall begin repaying the covered income contingent loans of the borrower in accordance with the repayment plan selected under paragraph (1), unless the borrower chooses to begin repaying in accordance with the repayment plan selected under paragraph (1) before such date.

(3) FAILURE TO SELECT.—In the case of a borrower described in paragraph (1) who fails

to select a repayment plan in accordance with such paragraph, the Secretary of Education shall—

(A) enroll the covered income contingent loans of such borrower in—

(i) the Repayment Assistance Plan under section 455(q) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 with respect to loans that are eligible for the Repayment Assistance Plan under such subsection; or

(ii) the income-based repayment plan under section 493C of such Act, with respect to loans that are not eligible for the Repayment Assistance Plan; and

(B) require the borrower to begin repaying covered income contingent loans according to the plans under subparagraph (A) on July 1, 2028.

(b) REPAYMENT PLANS.—Section 455(d) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(d)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by inserting “before July 1, 2026, who has not received a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026,” after “made under this part”;

(B) in subparagraph (D)—

(i) by inserting “before June 30, 2028,” before “an income contingent repayment plan”; and

(ii) by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(C) in subparagraph (E)—

(i) by striking “that enables borrowers who have a partial financial hardship to make a lower monthly payment”;

(ii) by striking “a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on such Federal Direct PLUS Loan or a loan under section 428B made on behalf of a dependent student” and inserting “an excepted Consolidation Loan (as defined in section 493C(a)(2))”; and

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(F) beginning on July 1, 2026, the income-based Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q), provided that—

“(i) such Plan shall not be available for the repayment of excepted loans (as defined in paragraph (7)(E)); and

“(ii) the borrower is required to pay each outstanding loan of the borrower made under this part under such Repayment Assistance Plan, except that a borrower of an excepted loan (as defined in paragraph (7)(E)) may repay the excepted loan separately from other loans under this part obtained by the borrower.”;

(2) in paragraph (5), by amending subparagraph (B) to read as follows:

“(B) repay the loan pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under subsection (q) or section 493C, as applicable.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(6) TERMINATION AND LIMITATION OF REPAYMENT AUTHORITY.—

“(A) SUNSET OF REPAYMENT PLANS AVAILABLE BEFORE JULY 1, 2026.—Paragraphs (1) through (4) of this subsection shall only apply to loans made under this part before July 1, 2026.

“(B) PROHIBITIONS.—The Secretary may not, for any loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026—

“(i) authorize a borrower of such a loan to repay such loan pursuant to a repayment plan that is not described in paragraph (7)(A); or

“(ii) carry out or modify a repayment plan that is not described in such paragraph.

“(7) REPAYMENT PLANS FOR LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) DESIGN AND SELECTION.—Beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall offer a borrower of a loan made under this part on or

after such date (including such a borrower who also has a loan made under this part before such date) two plans for repayment of the borrower's loans under this part, including principal and interest on such loans. The borrower shall be entitled to accelerate, without penalty, repayment on such loans. The borrower may choose—

“(i) a standard repayment plan—

“(I) with a fixed monthly repayment amount paid over a fixed period of time equal to the applicable period determined under subclause (II); and

“(II) with the applicable period of time for repayment determined based on the total outstanding principal of all loans of the borrower made under this part before, on, or after July 1, 2026, at the time the borrower is entering repayment under such plan, as follows—

“(aa) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of less than \$25,000, a period of 10 years;

“(bb) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of not less than \$25,000 and less than \$50,000, a period of 15 years;

“(cc) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of not less than \$50,000 and less than \$100,000, a period of 20 years; and

“(dd) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of \$100,000 or more, a period of 25 years; or

“(ii) the income-based Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q).

“(B) SELECTION BY SECRETARY.—If a borrower of a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026, does not select a repayment plan described in subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall provide the borrower with the standard repayment plan described in subparagraph (A)(i).

“(C) SELECTION APPLIES TO ALL OUTSTANDING LOANS.—A borrower is required to pay each outstanding loan of the borrower made under this part under the same selected repayment plan, except that a borrower who selects the Repayment Assistance Plan and also has an excepted loan that is not eligible for repayment under such Repayment Assistance Plan shall repay the excepted loan separately from other loans under this part obtained by the borrower.

“(D) CHANGES OF REPAYMENT PLAN.—A borrower may change the borrower's selection of—

“(i) the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i), or the Secretary's selection of such plan for the borrower under subparagraph (B), as the case may be, to the Repayment Assistance Plan under subparagraph (A)(ii) at any time; and

“(ii) the Repayment Assistance Plan under subparagraph (A)(ii) to the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i) at any time.

“(E) REPAYMENT FOR BORROWERS WITH EXCEPTED LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—

“(i) STANDARD REPAYMENT PLAN REQUIRED.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (D), beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall require a borrower who has received an excepted loan made on or after such date (including such a borrower who also has an excepted loan made before such date) to repay each excepted loan, including principal and interest on those excepted loans, under the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i). The borrower shall be entitled to accelerate, without penalty, repayment on such loans.

“(ii) EXCEPTED LOAN DEFINED.—For the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘excepted loan’ means a loan with an outstanding balance that is—

“(I) a Federal Direct PLUS Loan that is made on behalf of a dependent student; or

“(II) a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on—

“(aa) an excepted PLUS loan, as defined in section 493C(a)(1); or

“(bb) an excepted consolidation loan (as such term is defined in section 493C(a)(2)(A), notwithstanding subparagraph (B) of such section).”

(c) ELIMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT PLANS.—

(1) REPEAL.—Subsection (e) of section 455 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(e)) is repealed.

(2) FURTHER AMENDMENTS TO ELIMINATE INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT.—

(A) Section 428 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078) is amended—

(i) in subsection (b)(1)(D), by striking “be subject to income contingent repayment in accordance with subsection (m)” and inserting “be subject to income-based repayment in accordance with subsection (m)”; and

(ii) in subsection (m)—

(I) in the subsection heading, by striking “INCOME CONTINGENT AND”;

(II) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) AUTHORITY OF SECRETARY TO REQUIRE.—The Secretary may require borrowers who have defaulted on loans made under this part that are assigned to the Secretary under subsection (c)(8) to repay those loans pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C.”; and

(III) in the heading of paragraph (2), by striking “INCOME CONTINGENT OR”.

(B) Section 428C of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-3) is amended—

(i) in subsection (a)(3)(B)(i)(V)(aa), by striking “for the purposes of obtaining income contingent repayment or income-based repayment” and inserting “for the purposes of qualifying for an income-based repayment plan under section 455(q) or section 493C, as applicable”;

(ii) in subsection (b)(5), by striking “be repaid either pursuant to income contingent repayment under part D of this title, pursuant to income-based repayment under section 493C, or pursuant to any other repayment provision under this section” and inserting “be repaid pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C or any other repayment provision under this section”;

(iii) in subsection (c)—

(I) in paragraph (2)(A), by striking “or by the terms of repayment pursuant to income contingent repayment offered by the Secretary under subsection (b)(5)” and inserting “or by the terms of repayment pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C”; and

(II) in paragraph (3)(B), by striking “except as required by the terms of repayment pursuant to income contingent repayment offered by the Secretary under subsection (b)(5)” and inserting “except as required by the terms of repayment pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C”.

(C) Section 485(d)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1092(d)(1)) is amended by striking “income-contingent and”.

(D) Section 494(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098h(a)(2)) is amended—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by striking “INCOME-CONTINGENT AND INCOME-BASED” and inserting “INCOME-BASED”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “income-contingent or”; and

(II) in clause (ii)(I), by striking “section 455(e)(8) or the equivalent procedures established under section 493C(c)(2)(B), as applicable” and inserting “section 493C(c)(2)”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on July 1, 2028.

(d) REPAYMENT ASSISTANCE PLAN.—Section 455 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(q) REPAYMENT ASSISTANCE PLAN.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall carry out an income-based repayment plan (to be known as the ‘Repayment Assistance Plan’), that shall have the following terms and conditions:

“(A) The total monthly repayment amount owed by a borrower for all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan shall be equal to the applicable monthly payment of a borrower calculated under paragraph (4)(B), except that the borrower may not be precluded from repaying an amount that exceeds such amount for any month.

“(B) The Secretary shall apply the borrower's applicable monthly payment under this paragraph first toward interest due on each such loan, next toward any fees due on each loan, and then toward the principal of each loan.

“(C) Any principal due and not paid under subparagraph (B) or paragraph (2)(B) shall be deferred.

“(D) A borrower who is not in a period of deferment or forbearance shall make an applicable monthly payment for each month until the earlier of—

“(i) the date on which the outstanding balance of principal and interest due on all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan is \$0; or

“(ii) the date on which the borrower has made 360 qualifying monthly payments.

“(E) The Secretary shall cancel any outstanding balance of principal and interest due on a loan made under this part to a borrower—

“(i) who, for any period of time, participated in the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection;

“(ii) whose most recent payment for such loan prior to the loan cancellation under this subparagraph was made under such Repayment Assistance Plan; and

“(iii) who has made 360 qualifying monthly payments on such loan.

“(F) For the purposes of this subsection, the term ‘qualifying monthly payment’ means any of the following:

“(i) An on-time applicable monthly payment under this subsection.

“(ii) An on-time monthly payment under the standard repayment plan under subsection (d)(7)(A)(i) of not less than the monthly payment required under such plan.

“(iii) A monthly payment under any repayment plan (excluding the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection) of not less than the monthly payment that would be required under a standard repayment plan under section 455(d)(1)(A) with a repayment period of 10 years.

“(iv) A monthly payment under section 493C of not less than the monthly payment required under such section, including a monthly payment equal to the minimum payment amount permitted under such section.

“(v) A monthly payment made before July 1, 2028, under an income contingent repayment plan carried out under section 455(d)(1)(D) (or under an alternative repayment plan in lieu of repayment under such an income contingent repayment plan, if placed in such an alternative repayment plan by the Secretary) of not less than the monthly payment required under such a

plan, including a monthly payment equal to the minimum payment amount permitted under such a plan.

“(vi) A month when the borrower did not make a payment because the borrower was in deferment under subsection (f)(2)(B) or due to an economic hardship described in subsection (f)(2)(D).

“(vii) A month that ended before the date of enactment of this subsection when the borrower did not make a payment because the borrower was in a period of deferment or forbearance described in section 685.209(k)(4)(iv) of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this subsection).

“(G) The procedures established by the Secretary under section 493C(c) shall apply for annually determining the borrower’s eligibility for the Repayment Assistance Plan, including verification of a borrower’s annual income and the annual amount due on the total amount of loans eligible to be repaid under this subsection, and such other procedures as are necessary to effectively implement income-based repayment under this subsection. With respect to carrying out section 494(a)(2) for the Repayment Assistance Plan, an individual may elect to opt out of the disclosures required under section 494(a)(2)(A)(ii) in accordance with the procedures established under section 493C(c)(2).

“(2) BALANCE ASSISTANCE FOR DISTRESSED BORROWERS.—

“(A) INTEREST SUBSIDY.—With respect to a borrower of a loan made under this part, for each month for which such a borrower makes an on-time applicable monthly payment required under paragraph (1)(A) and such monthly payment is insufficient to pay the total amount of interest that accrues for the month on all loans of the borrower repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection, the amount of interest accrued and not paid for the month shall not be charged to the borrower.

“(B) MATCHING PRINCIPAL PAYMENT.—With respect to a borrower of a loan made under this part and not in a period of deferment or forbearance, for each month for which a borrower makes an on-time applicable monthly payment required under paragraph (1)(A) and such monthly payment reduces the total outstanding principal balance of all loans of the borrower repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection by less than \$50, the Secretary shall reduce such total outstanding principal balance of the borrower by an amount that is equal to—

“(i) the amount that is the lesser of—

“(I) \$50; or

“(II) the total amount paid by the borrower for such month pursuant to paragraph (1)(A); minus

“(ii) the total amount paid by the borrower for such month pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) that is applied to such total outstanding principal balance.

“(3) ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS.—A borrower who chooses, or is required, to repay a loan under this subsection, and for whom adjusted gross income is unavailable or does not reasonably reflect the borrower’s current income, shall provide to the Secretary other documentation of income satisfactory to the Secretary, which documentation the Secretary may use to determine repayment under this subsection.

“(4) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(A) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—The term ‘adjusted gross income’, when used with respect to a borrower, means the adjusted gross income (as such term is defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the borrower (and the borrower’s spouse, as applicable) for the most recent taxable year, except that, in the case of a married borrower who files a separate Federal income

tax return, the term does not include the adjusted gross income of the borrower’s spouse.

“(B) APPLICABLE MONTHLY PAYMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in clause (ii), (iii), or (vi), the term ‘applicable monthly payment’ means, when used with respect to a borrower, the amount equal to—

“(I) the applicable base payment of the borrower, divided by 12; minus

“(II) \$50 for each dependent of the borrower (which, in the case of a married borrower filing a separate Federal income tax return, shall include only each dependent that the borrower claims on that return).

“(ii) MINIMUM AMOUNT.—In the case of a borrower with an applicable monthly payment amount calculated under clause (i) that is less than \$10, the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be \$10.

“(iii) FINAL PAYMENT.—In the case of a borrower whose total outstanding balance of principal and interest on all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan is less than the applicable monthly payment calculated pursuant to clause (i) or (ii), as applicable, then the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be the total outstanding balance of principal and interest on all such loans.

“(iv) BASE PAYMENT.—The amount of the applicable base payment for a borrower with an adjusted gross income of—

“(I) not more than \$10,000, is \$120;

“(II) more than \$10,000 and not more than \$20,000, is 1 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(III) more than \$20,000 and not more than \$30,000, is 2 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(IV) more than \$30,000 and not more than \$40,000, is 3 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(V) more than \$40,000 and not more than \$50,000, is 4 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VI) more than \$50,000 and not more than \$60,000, is 5 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VII) more than \$60,000 and not more than \$70,000, is 6 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VIII) more than \$70,000 and not more than \$80,000, is 7 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(IX) more than \$80,000 and not more than \$90,000, is 8 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(X) more than \$90,000 and not more than \$100,000, is 9 percent of such adjusted gross income; and

“(XI) more than \$100,000, is 10 percent of such adjusted gross income.

“(v) DEPENDENT.—For the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘dependent’ means an individual who is a dependent under section 152 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

“(vi) SPECIAL RULE.—In the case of a borrower who is required by the Secretary to provide information to the Secretary to determine the applicable monthly payment of the borrower under this subparagraph, and who does not comply with such requirement, the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be—

“(I) the sum of the monthly payment amounts the borrower would have paid for each of the borrower’s loans made under this part under a standard repayment plan with a fixed monthly repayment amount, paid over a period of 10 years, based on the outstanding principal due on such loan when such loan entered repayment; and

“(II) determined pursuant to this clause until the date on which the borrower provides such information to the Secretary.”.

(e) FEDERAL CONSOLIDATION LOANS.—Section 455(g) of the Higher Education Act of

1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(g)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) CONSOLIDATION LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—A Federal Direct Consolidation Loan offered to a borrower under this part on or after July 1, 2026, may only be repaid pursuant to a repayment plan described in clause (i) or (ii) of subsection (d)(7)(A) of this section, as applicable, and the repayment schedule of such a Consolidation Loan shall be determined in accordance with such repayment plan.”.

(f) INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT.—

(1) AMENDMENTS.—

(A) EXCEPTED CONSOLIDATION LOAN DEFINED.—Section 493C(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(a)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) EXCEPTED CONSOLIDATION LOAN.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘excepted consolidation loan’ means—

“(i) a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on an excepted PLUS loan; or

“(ii) a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan described in clause (i).

“(B) EXCLUSION.—The term ‘excepted consolidation loan’ does not include a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan described in subparagraph (A) that, on any date during the period beginning on the date of enactment of this subparagraph and ending on June 30, 2028, was being repaid—

“(i) pursuant to the Income Contingent Repayment (ICR) plan in accordance with section 685.209(b) of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on June 30, 2023); or

“(ii) pursuant to another income driven repayment plan.”.

(B) TERMINATION OF PARTIAL FINANCIAL

HARDSHIP ELIGIBILITY.—Section 493C(a)(3) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

“(3) APPLICABLE AMOUNT.—The term ‘applicable amount’ means 15 percent of the result obtained by calculating, on at least an annual basis, the amount by which—

“(A) the borrower’s, and the borrower’s spouse’s (if applicable), adjusted gross income; exceeds

“(B) 150 percent of the poverty line applicable to the borrower’s family size as determined under section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)).”.

(C) TERMS OF INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT.—Section 493C(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(b)) is amended—

(i) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) a borrower of any loan made, insured, or guaranteed under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan), may elect to have the borrower’s aggregate monthly payment for all such loans not exceed the applicable amount divided by 12;”;

(ii) by striking paragraph (6) and inserting the following:

“(6) if the monthly payment amount calculated under this section for all loans made to the borrower under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan) exceeds the monthly amount calculated under section 428(b)(9)(A)(i) or 455(d)(1)(A), based on a 10-year repayment period, when the borrower first made the election described in this subsection (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘standard monthly repayment amount’), or if the borrower no longer wishes to continue the election under this subsection, then—

“(A) the maximum monthly payment required to be paid for all loans made to the borrower under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan) shall be the standard monthly repayment amount; and

“(B) the amount of time the borrower is permitted to repay such loans may exceed 10 years;”;

(iii) in paragraph (7)(B)(iv), by inserting “(as such section was in effect on the day before the date of the repeal of section 455(e))” after “section 455(d)(1)(D)”; and

(iv) in paragraph (8), by inserting “or the Repayment Assistance Program under section 455(q)” after “standard repayment plan”.

(D) ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATIONS.—Section 493C(c) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(c)) is amended to read as follows:

“(c) ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATIONS; AUTOMATIC RECERTIFICATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish procedures for annually determining, in accordance with paragraph (2), the borrower’s eligibility for income-based repayment, including the verification of a borrower’s annual income and the annual amount due on the total amount of loans made, insured, or guaranteed under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan), and such other procedures as are necessary to effectively implement income-based repayment under this section. The Secretary shall consider, but is not limited to, the procedures established in accordance with section 455(e)(1) (as in effect on the day before the date of repeal of subsection (e) of section 455) or in connection with income sensitive repayment schedules under section 428(b)(9)(A)(iii) or 428C(b)(1)(E).

“(2) AUTOMATIC RECERTIFICATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish and implement, with respect to any borrower enrolled in an income-based repayment program under this section or under section 455(q), procedures to—

“(i) use return information disclosed under section 6103(1)(13) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, pursuant to approval provided under section 494, to determine the repayment obligation of the borrower without further action by the borrower;

“(ii) allow the borrower (or the spouse of the borrower), at any time, to opt out of disclosure under such section 6103(1)(13) and instead provide such information as the Secretary may require to determine the repayment obligation of the borrower (or withdraw from the repayment plan under this section or under section 455(q), as the case may be); and

“(iii) provide the borrower with an opportunity to update the return information so disclosed before the determination of the repayment obligation of the borrower.

“(B) APPLICABILITY.—Subparagraph (A) shall apply to each borrower of a loan eligible to be repaid under this section or under section 455(q), who, on or after the date on which the Secretary establishes procedures under such subparagraph (A)—

“(i) selects, or is required to repay such loan pursuant to, an income-based repayment plan under this section or under section 455(q); or

“(ii) recertifies income or family size under such plan.”.

(E) SPECIAL TERMS FOR NEW BORROWERS ON AND AFTER JULY 1, 2014.—Section 493C(e) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(e)) is amended—

(1) in the subsection heading, by inserting “AND BEFORE JULY 1, 2026” after “AFTER JULY 1, 2014”; and

(ii) by inserting “and before July 1, 2026” after “after July 1, 2014”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of enactment of this title, and shall apply with respect to any borrower who is in repayment before, on, or after the date of enactment of this title.

(g) FFEL ADJUSTMENT.—Section 428(b)(9)(A)(v) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078(b)(9)(A)(v)) is amended by striking “who has a partial financial hardship”.

SEC. 82002. DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE.

(a) SUNSET OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND UNEMPLOYMENT DEFERMENTS.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended—

(1) by striking the subsection heading and inserting the following: “DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE”;

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(B) in subparagraph (D), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(7) SUNSET OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP DEFERMENTS.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2027, shall not be eligible to defer such loan under subparagraph (B) or (D) of paragraph (2).”.

(b) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(8) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2027, may only be eligible for a forbearance on such loan pursuant to section 428(c)(3)(B) that does not exceed 9 months during any 24-month period.”.

SEC. 82003. LOAN REHABILITATION.

(a) UPDATING LOAN REHABILITATION LIMITS.—

(1) FFEL AND DIRECT LOANS.—Section 428F(a)(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-6(a)(5)) is amended by striking “one time” and inserting “two times”.

(2) PERKINS LOANS.—Section 464(h)(1)(D) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087dd(h)(1)(D)) is amended by striking “once” and inserting “twice”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect beginning on July 1, 2027, and shall apply with respect to any loan made, insured, or guaranteed under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070 et seq.).

(b) MINIMUM MONTHLY PAYMENT AMOUNT.—Section 428F(a)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-6(a)(1)(B)) is amended by adding at the end the following: “With respect to a borrower who has 1 or more loans made under part D on or after July 1, 2027 that are described in subparagraph (A), the total monthly payment of the borrower for all such loans shall not be less than \$10.”.

SEC. 82004. PUBLIC SERVICE LOAN FORGIVENESS.

Section 455(m)(1)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(m)(1)(A)) is amended—

(1) in clause (iii), by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in clause (iv), by striking “; and” and inserting “(as in effect on the day before the date of the repeal of subsection (e) of this section); or”;

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

“(v) on-time payments under the Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q); and”.

SEC. 82005. STUDENT LOAN SERVICING.

Paragraph (1) of section 458(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087h(a)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) ADDITIONAL MANDATORY FUNDS FOR SERVICING.—There shall be available to the Secretary (in addition to any other amounts appropriated under any appropriations Act for administrative costs under this part and part B and out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated) \$1,000,000,000 to be obligated for administrative costs under this part and part B, including the costs of servicing the direct student loan programs under this part, which shall remain available until expended.”.

Subtitle D—Pell Grants

SEC. 83001. ELIGIBILITY.

(a) FOREIGN INCOME AND FEDERAL PELL GRANT ELIGIBILITY.—

(1) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME DEFINED.—Section 401(a)(2)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(a)(2)(A)) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) the term ‘adjusted gross income’ means—

“(i) in the case of a dependent student, for the second tax year preceding the academic year—

“(I) the adjusted gross income (as defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the student’s parents; plus

“(II) for Federal Pell Grant determinations made for academic years beginning on or after July 1, 2026, the foreign income (as described in section 480(b)(5)) of the student’s parents; and

“(ii) in the case of an independent student, for the second tax year preceding the academic year—

“(I) the adjusted gross income (as defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the student (and the student’s spouse, if applicable); plus

“(II) for Federal Pell Grant determinations made for academic years beginning on or after July 1, 2026, the foreign income (as described in section 480(b)(5)) of the student (and the student’s spouse, if applicable);”.

(2) SUNSET.—Section 401(b)(1)(D) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(1)(D)) is amended—

(A) by striking “A student” and inserting “For each academic year beginning before July 1, 2026, a student”; and

(B) by inserting “, as in effect for such academic year,” after “section 479A(b)(1)(B)(v)”.

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 479A(b)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087tt(b)(1)(B)) is amended—

(i) by striking clause (v); and

(ii) by redesignating clauses (vi) and (vii) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subparagraph (A) shall take effect on July 1, 2026.

(b) FEDERAL PELL GRANT INELIGIBILITY DUE TO A HIGH STUDENT AID INDEX.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 401(b)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(F) INELIGIBILITY OF STUDENTS WITH A HIGH STUDENT AID INDEX.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), a student shall not be eligible for a Federal Pell Grant under this subsection for an academic year in which the student has a student aid index that equals or exceeds twice the amount of the total maximum Federal Pell Grant for such academic year.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall take effect on July 1, 2026.

SEC. 83002. WORKFORCE PELL GRANTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 401 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(k) WORKFORCE PELL GRANT PROGRAM.—“(1) IN GENERAL.—For the award year beginning on July 1, 2026, and each subsequent award year, the Secretary shall award grants (to be known as ‘Workforce Pell Grants’) to eligible students under paragraph (2) in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.—To be eligible to receive a Workforce Pell Grant under this subsection for any period of enrollment, a student shall meet the eligibility requirements for a Federal Pell Grant under this section, except that the student—

“(A) shall be enrolled, or accepted for enrollment, in an eligible program under section 481(b)(3) (hereinafter referred to as an ‘eligible workforce program’); and

“(B) may not—

“(i) be enrolled, or accepted for enrollment, in a program of study that leads to a graduate credential; or

“(ii) have attained such a credential.

“(3) TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF AWARDS.—The Secretary shall award Workforce Pell Grants under this subsection in the same manner and with the same terms and conditions as the Secretary awards Federal Pell Grants under this section, except that—

“(A) each use of the term ‘eligible program’ (except in subsection (b)(9)(A)) shall be substituted by ‘eligible workforce program under section 481(b)(3)’;

“(B) the provisions of subsection (d)(2) shall not be applicable to eligible workforce programs; and

“(C) a student who is eligible for a grant equal to less than the amount of the minimum Federal Pell Grant because the eligible workforce program in which the student is enrolled or accepted for enrollment is less than an academic year (in hours of instruction or weeks of duration) may still be eligible for a Workforce Pell Grant in an amount that is prorated based on the length of the program.

“(4) PREVENTION OF DOUBLE BENEFITS.—No eligible student described in paragraph (2) may concurrently receive a grant under both this subsection and—

“(A) subsection (b); or

“(B) subsection (c).

“(5) DURATION LIMIT.—Any period of study covered by a Workforce Pell Grant awarded under this subsection shall be included in determining a student’s duration limit under subsection (d)(5).”.

(b) PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY FOR WORKFORCE PELL GRANTS.—Section 481(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1088(b)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3)(A) A program is an eligible program for purposes of the Workforce Pell Grant program under section 401(k) only if—

“(i) it is a program of at least 150 clock hours of instruction, but less than 600 clock hours of instruction, or an equivalent number of credit hours, offered by an eligible institution during a minimum of 8 weeks, but less than 15 weeks;

“(ii) it is not offered as a correspondence course, as defined in 600.2 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on July 1, 2021);

“(iii) the Governor of a State, after consultation with the State board, determines that the program—

“(I) provides an education aligned with the requirements of high-skill, high-wage (as identified by the State pursuant to section 122 of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Tech-

nical Education Act (20 U.S.C. 2342)), or in-demand industry sectors or occupations;

“(II) meets the hiring requirements of potential employers in the sectors or occupations described in subclause (I);

“(III) either—

“(aa) leads to a recognized postsecondary credential that is stackable and portable across more than one employer; or

“(bb) with respect to students enrolled in the program—

“(AA) prepares such students for employment in an occupation for which there is only one recognized postsecondary credential; and

“(BB) provides such students with such a credential upon completion of such program; and

“(IV) prepares students to pursue 1 or more certificate or degree programs at 1 or more institutions of higher education (which may include the eligible institution providing the program), including by ensuring—

“(aa) that a student, upon completion of the program and enrollment in such a related certificate or degree program, will receive academic credit for the Workforce Pell program that will be accepted toward meeting such certificate or degree program requirements; and

“(bb) the acceptability of such credit toward meeting such certificate or degree program requirements; and

“(iv) after the Governor of such State makes the determination that the program meets the requirements under clause (iii), the Secretary determines that—

“(I) the program has been offered by the eligible institution for not less than 1 year prior to the date on which the Secretary makes a determination under this clause;

“(II) for each award year, the program has a verified completion rate of at least 70 percent, within 150 percent of the normal time for completion;

“(III) for each award year, the program has a verified job placement rate of at least 70 percent, measured 180 days after completion; and

“(IV) for each award year, the total amount of the published tuition and fees of the program for such year is an amount that does not exceed the value-added earnings of students who received Federal financial aid under this title and who completed the program 3 years prior to the award year, as such earnings are determined by calculating the difference between—

“(aa) the median earnings of such students, as adjusted by the State and metropolitan area regional price parities of the Bureau of Economic Analysis based on the location of such program; and

“(bb) 150 percent of the poverty line applicable to a single individual as determined under section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)) for such year.

“(B) In this paragraph:

“(i) The term ‘eligible institution’ means an eligible institution for purposes of section 401.

“(ii) The term ‘Governor’ means the chief executive of a State.

“(iii) The terms ‘in-demand industry sector or occupation’, ‘recognized postsecondary credential’, and ‘State board’ have the meanings given such terms in section 3 of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE; APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026–2027 and each succeeding award year.

SEC. 83003. PELL SHORTFALL.

Section 401(b)(7)(A)(iii) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C.

1070a(b)(7)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking “\$2,170,000,000” and inserting “\$12,670,000,000”.

SEC. 83004. FEDERAL PELL GRANT EXCLUSION RELATING TO OTHER GRANT AID.

Section 401(d) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—Beginning on July 1, 2026, and notwithstanding this subsection or subsection (b), a student shall not be eligible for a Federal Pell Grant under subsection (b) during any period for which the student receives grant aid from non-Federal sources, including States, institutions of higher education, or private sources, in an amount that equals or exceeds the student’s cost of attendance for such period.”.

Subtitle E—Accountability**SEC. 84001. INELIGIBILITY BASED ON LOW EARNING OUTCOMES.**

Section 454 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087(d)) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) provide assurances that, beginning July 1, 2026, the institution will comply with all requirements of subsection (c); and”;

(2) in subsection (b)(2), by striking “and (6)” and inserting “(6), and (7)”;

(3) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d); and

(4) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

“(c) INELIGIBILITY FOR CERTAIN PROGRAMS BASED ON LOW EARNING OUTCOMES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 481(b), an institution of higher education subject to this subsection shall not use funds under this part for student enrollment in an educational program offered by the institution that is described in paragraph (2).

“(2) LOW-EARNING OUTCOME PROGRAMS DESCRIBED.—An educational program at an institution is described in this paragraph if the program awards an undergraduate degree, graduate or professional degree, or graduate certificate, for which the median earnings (as determined by the Secretary) of the programmatic cohort of students who received funds under this title for enrollment in such program, who completed such program during the academic year that is 4 years before the year of the determination, who are not enrolled in any institution of higher education, and who are working, are, for not less than 2 of the 3 years immediately preceding the date of the determination, less than the median earnings of a working adult described in paragraph (3) for the corresponding year.

“(3) CALCULATION OF MEDIAN EARNINGS.—

“(A) WORKING ADULT.—For purposes of applying paragraph (2) to an educational program at an institution, a working adult described in this paragraph is a working adult who, for the corresponding year—

“(i) is aged 25 to 34;

“(ii) is not enrolled in an institution of higher education; and

“(iii)(I) in the case of a determination made for an educational program that awards a baccalaureate or lesser degree, has only a high school diploma or its recognized equivalent; or

“(II) in the case of a determination made for a graduate or professional program, has only a baccalaureate degree.

“(B) SOURCE OF DATA.—For purposes of applying paragraph (2) to an educational program at an institution, the median earnings

of a working adult, as described in subparagraph (A), shall be based on data from the Bureau of the Census—

“(i) with respect to an educational program that awards a baccalaureate or lesser degree—

“(I) for the State in which the institution is located; or

“(II) if fewer than 50 percent of the students enrolled in the institution reside in the State where the institution is located, for the entire United States; and

“(ii) with respect to an educational program that is a graduate or professional program—

“(I) for the lowest median earnings of—

“(aa) a working adult in the State in which the institution is located;

“(bb) a working adult in the same field of study (as determined by the Secretary, such as by using the 2-digit CIP code) in the State in which the institution is located; and

“(cc) a working adult in the same field of study (as so determined) in the entire United States; or

“(II) if fewer than 50 percent of the students enrolled in the institution reside in the State where the institution is located, for the lower median earnings of—

“(aa) a working adult in the entire United States; or

“(bb) a working adult in the same field of study (as so determined) in the entire United States.

“(4) **SMALL PROGRAMMATIC COHORTS.**—For any year for which the programmatic cohort described in paragraph (2) for an educational program of an institution is fewer than 30 individuals, the Secretary shall—

“(A) first, aggregate additional years of programmatic data in order to achieve a cohort of at least 30 individuals; and

“(B) second, in cases in which the cohort (including the individuals added under subparagraph (A)) is still fewer than 30 individuals, aggregate additional cohort years of programmatic data for educational programs of equivalent length in order to achieve a cohort of at least 30 individuals.

“(5) **APPEALS PROCESS.**—An educational program shall not lose eligibility under this subsection unless the institution has had the opportunity to appeal the programmatic median earnings of students working and not enrolled determination under paragraph (2), through a process established by the Secretary. During such appeal, the Secretary may permit the educational program to continue to participate in the program under this part.

“(6) **NOTICE TO STUDENTS.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—If an educational program of an institution of higher education subject to this subsection does not meet the cohort median earning requirements, as described in paragraph (2), for one year during the applicable covered period but has not yet failed to meet such requirements for 2 years during such covered period, the institution shall promptly inform each student enrolled in the educational program of the eligible program’s low cohort median earnings and that the educational program is at risk of losing its eligibility for funds under this part.

“(B) **COVERED PERIOD.**—In this paragraph, the term ‘covered period’ means the period of the 3 years immediately preceding the date of a determination made under paragraph (2).

“(7) **REGAINING PROGRAMMATIC ELIGIBILITY.**—The Secretary shall establish a process by which an institution of higher education that has an educational program that has lost eligibility under this subsection may, after a period of not less than 2 years of such program’s ineligibility, apply to regain such eligibility, subject to the re-

quirements established by the Secretary that further the purpose of this subsection.”

Subtitle F—Regulatory Relief

SEC. 85001. DELAY OF RULE RELATING TO BORROWER DEFENSE TO REPAYMENT.

(a) **DELAY.**—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, for loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the provisions of subpart D of part 685 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (relating to borrower defense to repayment), as added or amended by the final regulations published by the Department of Education on November 1, 2022, and titled “Institutional Eligibility Under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as Amended; Student Assistance General Provisions; Federal Perkins Loan Program; Federal Family Education Loan Program; and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program” (87 Fed. Reg. 65904) shall not be in effect.

(b) **EFFECT.**—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, with respect to loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, any regulations relating to borrower defense to repayment that took effect on July 1, 2020, are restored and revived as such regulations were in effect on such date.

SEC. 85002. DELAY OF RULE RELATING TO CLOSED SCHOOL DISCHARGES.

(a) **DELAY.**—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, for loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the provisions of sections 674.33(g), 682.402(d), and 685.214 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (relating to closed school discharges), as added or amended by the final regulations published by the Department of Education on November 1, 2022, and titled “Institutional Eligibility Under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as Amended; Student Assistance General Provisions; Federal Perkins Loan Program; Federal Family Education Loan Program; and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program” (87 Fed. Reg. 65904), shall not be in effect.

(b) **EFFECT.**—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, with respect to loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the portions of the Code of Federal Regulations described in subsection (a) and amended by the final regulations described in subsection (a) shall be in effect as if the amendments made by such final regulations had not been made.

Subtitle G—Limitation on Authority

SEC. 86001. LIMITATION ON PROPOSING OR ISSUING REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.

Part G of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1088 et seq.) is amended by inserting after section 492 the following:

“SEC. 492A. LIMITATION ON PROPOSING OR ISSUING REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.

“(a) **PROPOSED OR FINAL REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.**—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary may not issue a proposed regulation, final regulation, or executive action to implement this title if the Secretary determines that the regulation or executive action will increase the subsidy cost (as ‘cost’ is defined in section 502 of the Federal Credit Reform Act of 1990 (2 U.S.C. 661a)) of a loan program under this title by more than \$100,000,000.

“(b) **RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER REQUIREMENTS.**—The requirements of subsection (a) shall not be construed to affect any other cost analysis required under any source of law for a regulation implementing this title.”

Subtitle H—Garden of Heroes

SEC. 87001. GARDEN OF HEROES.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the National Endowment for the Humanities for fiscal

year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available through fiscal year 2028, \$40,000,000 for the procurement of statues as described in Executive Order 13934 (85 Fed. Reg. 41165; relating to building and rebuilding monuments to American heroes), Executive Order 13978 (86 Fed. Reg. 6809; relating to building the National Garden of American Heroes), and Executive Order 14189 (90 Fed. Reg. 8849; relating to celebrating America’s birthday).

Subtitle I—Office of Refugee Resettlement

SEC. 88001. POTENTIAL SPONSOR VETTING FOR UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN APPROPRIATION.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Refugee Resettlement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$300,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for the purposes described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The funds made available under subsection (a) may only be used for the Office of Refugee Resettlement to support costs associated with—

(1) background checks on potential sponsors, which shall include—

(A) the name of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(B) the social security number or tax payer identification number of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(C) the date of birth of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(D) the validated location of the residence at which the unaccompanied alien child will be placed;

(E) an in-person or virtual interview with, and suitability study concerning, the potential sponsor and all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(F) contact information for the potential sponsor and for all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household; and

(G) the results of all background and criminal records checks for the potential sponsor and for all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household, which shall include, at a minimum, an investigation of the public records sex offender registry, a public records background check, and a national criminal history check based on fingerprints;

(2) home studies of potential sponsors of unaccompanied alien children;

(3) determining whether an unaccompanied alien child poses a danger to self or others by conducting an examination of the unaccompanied alien child for gang-related tattoos and other gang-related markings and covering such tattoos or markings while the child is in the care of the Office of Refugee Resettlement;

(4) data systems improvement and sharing that supports the health, safety, and well being of unaccompanied alien children by determining the appropriateness of potential sponsors of unaccompanied alien children and of adults residing in the household of the potential sponsor and by assisting with the identification and investigation of child labor exploitation and child trafficking; and

(5) coordinating and communicating with State child welfare agencies regarding the placement of unaccompanied alien children in such States by the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

(c) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

(1) **POTENTIAL SPONSOR.**—The term “potential sponsor” means an individual or entity who applies for the custody of an unaccompanied alien child.

(2) UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILD.—The term “unaccompanied alien child” has the meaning given such term in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)).

TITLE IX—COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Subtitle A—Homeland Security Provisions

SEC. 90001. BORDER INFRASTRUCTURE AND WALL SYSTEM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$46,550,000,000 for necessary expenses relating to the following elements of the border infrastructure and wall system:

(1) Construction, installation, or improvement of new or replacement primary, waterborne, and secondary barriers.

(2) Access roads.

(3) Barrier system attributes, including cameras, lights, sensors, and other detection technology.

(4) Any work necessary to prepare the ground at or near the border to allow U.S. Customs and Border Protection to conduct its operations, including the construction and maintenance of the barrier system.

SEC. 90002. U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION PERSONNEL, FLEET VEHICLES, AND FACILITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the following:

(1) PERSONNEL.—\$4,100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to hire and train additional Border Patrol agents, Office of Field Operations officers, Air and Marine agents, rehired annuitants, and U.S. Customs and Border Protection field support personnel.

(2) RETENTION, HIRING, AND PERFORMANCE BONUSES.—\$2,052,630,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to provide recruitment bonuses, performance awards, or annual retention bonuses to eligible Border Patrol agents, Office of Field Operations officers, and Air and Marine agents.

(3) VEHICLES.—\$855,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the repair of existing patrol units and the lease or acquisition of additional patrol units.

(4) FACILITIES.—\$5,000,000,000 for necessary expenses relating to lease, acquisition, construction, design, or improvement of facilities and checkpoints owned, leased, or operated by U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

(b) RESTRICTION.—None of the funds made available by subsection (a) may be used to recruit, hire, or train personnel for the duties of processing coordinators after October 31, 2028.

SEC. 90003. DETENTION CAPACITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated, there is appropriated to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$45,000,000,000, for single adult alien detention capacity and family residential center capacity.

(b) DURATION AND STANDARDS.—Aliens may be detained at family residential centers, as described in subsection (a), pending a decision, under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.), on whether the aliens are to be removed from the United States and, if such aliens are ordered removed from the United States, until such aliens are removed. The detention standards

for the single adult detention capacity described in subsection (a) shall be set in the discretion of the Secretary of Homeland Security, consistent with applicable law.

(c) DEFINITION OF FAMILY RESIDENTIAL CENTER.—In this section, the term “family residential center” means a facility used by the Department of Homeland Security to detain family units of aliens (including alien children who are not unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)))) who are encountered or apprehended by the Department of Homeland Security, regardless whether the facility is licensed by the State or a political subdivision of the State in which the facility is located.

SEC. 90004. BORDER SECURITY, TECHNOLOGY, AND SCREENING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$6,168,000,000 for the following:

(1) Procurement and integration of new nonintrusive inspection equipment and associated civil works, including artificial intelligence, machine learning, and other innovative technologies, as well as other mission support, to combat the entry or exit of illicit narcotics at ports of entry and along the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(2) Air and Marine operations’ upgrading and procurement of new platforms for rapid air and marine response capabilities.

(3) Upgrades and procurement of border surveillance technologies along the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(4) Necessary expenses, including the deployment of technology, relating to the biometric entry and exit system under section 7208 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (8 U.S.C. 1365b).

(5) Screening persons entering or exiting the United States.

(6) Initial screenings of unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))), consistent with the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (Public Law 110-457; 122 Stat. 5044).

(7) Enhancing border security by combating drug trafficking, including fentanyl and its precursor chemicals, at the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(8) Commemorating efforts and events related to border security.

(b) RESTRICTIONS.—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for the procurement or deployment of surveillance towers along the southwest border and northern border that have not been tested and accepted by U.S. Customs and Border Protection to deliver autonomous capabilities.

(c) DEFINITION OF AUTONOMOUS.—In this section, with respect to capabilities, the term “autonomous” means a system designed to apply artificial intelligence, machine learning, computer vision, or other algorithms to accurately detect, identify, classify, and track items of interest in real time such that the system can make operational adjustments without the active engagement of personnel or continuous human command or control.

SEC. 90005. STATE AND LOCAL ASSISTANCE.

(a) STATE HOMELAND SECURITY GRANT PROGRAMS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out

of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to be administered under the State Homeland Security Grant Program authorized under section 2004 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 605), to enhance State, local, and Tribal security through grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other activities—

(A) \$500,000,000 for State and local capabilities to detect, identify, track, or monitor threats from unmanned aircraft systems (as such term is defined in section 44801 of title 49, United States Code), consistent with titles 18 and 49 of the United States Code;

(B) \$625,000,000 for security and other costs related to the 2026 FIFA World Cup;

(C) \$1,000,000,000 for security, planning, and other costs related to the 2028 Olympics; and

(D) \$450,000,000 for the Operation Stonegarden Grant Program.

(2) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—None of the funds made available under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) shall be subject to the requirements of section 2004(e)(1) or section 2008(a)(12) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 605(e)(1), 609(a)(12)).

(b) STATE BORDER SECURITY REINFORCEMENT FUND.—

(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established, in the Department of Homeland Security, a fund to be known as the “State Border Security Reinforcement Fund.”

(2) PURPOSES.—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the Fund for grants to eligible States and units of local government for any of the following purposes:

(A) Construction or installation of a border wall, border fencing or other barrier, or buoys along the southern border of the United States, which may include planning, procurement of materials, and personnel costs related to such construction or installation.

(B) Any work necessary to prepare the ground at or near land borders to allow construction and maintenance of a border wall or other barrier fencing.

(C) Detection and interdiction of illicit substances and aliens who have unlawfully entered the United States and have committed a crime under Federal, State, or local law, and transfer or referral of such aliens to the Department of Homeland Security as provided by law.

(D) Relocation of aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States from small population centers to other domestic locations.

(3) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in paragraph (2), there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Department of Homeland Security for the State Border Security Reinforcement Fund established by paragraph (1), \$10,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2034, for qualified expenses for such purposes.

(4) ELIGIBILITY.—The Secretary of Homeland Security may provide grants from the fund established by paragraph (1) to State agencies and units of local governments for expenditures made for completed, ongoing, or new activities, in accordance with law, that occurred on or after January 20, 2021.

(5) APPLICATION.—Each State desiring to apply for a grant under this subsection shall submit an application to the Secretary containing such information in support of the application as the Secretary may require. The Secretary shall require that each State include in its application the purposes for which the State seeks the funds and a description of how the State plans to allocate

the funds. The Secretary shall begin to accept applications not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(6) **TERMS AND CONDITIONS.**—Nothing in this subsection shall authorize any State or local government to exercise immigration or border security authorities reserved exclusively to the Federal Government under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.) or the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 101 et seq.). The Federal Emergency Management Agency may use not more than 1 percent of the funds made available under this subsection for the purpose of administering grants provided for in this section.

SEC. 90006. PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE PROTECTION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$300,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the reimbursement of extraordinary law enforcement personnel costs for protection activities directly and demonstrably associated with any residence of the President designated pursuant to section 3 or 4 of the Presidential Protection Assistance Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-524; 18 U.S.C. 3056 note) to be secured by the United States Secret Service.

(b) **AVAILABILITY.**—Funds appropriated under this section shall be available only for costs that a State or local agency—

(1) incurred or incurs on or after July 1, 2024;

(2) demonstrates to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency as being—

(A) in excess of typical law enforcement operation costs;

(B) directly attributable to the provision of protection described in this section; and

(C) associated with a nongovernmental property designated pursuant to section 3 or 4 of the Presidential Protection Assistance Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-524; 18 U.S.C. 3056 note) to be secured by the United States Secret Service; and

(3) certifies to the Administrator as compensating protection activities requested by the United States Secret Service.

(c) **TERMS AND CONDITIONS.**—The Federal Emergency Management Agency may use not more than 3 percent of the funds made available under this section for the purpose of administering grants provided for in this section.

SEC. 90007. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS FOR BORDER SUPPORT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for reimbursement of costs incurred in undertaking activities in support of the Department of Homeland Security's mission to safeguard the borders of the United States.

Subtitle B—Governmental Affairs Provisions

SEC. 90101. FEHB IMPROVEMENTS.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This section may be cited as the “FEHB Protection Act of 2025”.

(b) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

(1) **DIRECTOR.**—The term “Director” means the Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

(2) **HEALTH BENEFITS PLAN; MEMBER OF FAMILY.**—The terms “health benefits plan” and “member of family” have the meanings given those terms in section 8901 of title 5, United States Code.

(3) **OPEN SEASON.**—The term “open season” means an open season described in section

890.301(f) of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation.

(4) **PROGRAM.**—The term “Program” means the health insurance programs carried out under chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code, including the program carried out under section 8903c of that title.

(5) **QUALIFYING LIFE EVENT.**—The term “qualifying life event” has the meaning given the term in section 892.101 of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation.

(c) **VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.**—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall issue regulations and implement a process to verify—

(1) the veracity of any qualifying life event through which an enrollee in the Program seeks to add a member of family with respect to the enrollee to a health benefits plan under the Program; and

(2) that, when an enrollee in the Program seeks to add a member of family with respect to the enrollee to the health benefits plan of the enrollee under the Program, including during any open season, the individual so added is a qualifying member of family with respect to the enrollee.

(d) **FRAUD RISK ASSESSMENT.**—In any fraud risk assessment conducted with respect to the Program on or after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall include an assessment of individuals who are enrolled in, or covered under, a health benefits plan under the Program even though those individuals are not eligible to be so enrolled or covered.

(e) **FAMILY MEMBER ELIGIBILITY VERIFICATION AUDIT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—During the 3-year period beginning on the date that is 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall carry out a comprehensive audit regarding members of family who are covered under an enrollment in a health benefits plan under the Program.

(2) **CONTENTS.**—With respect to the audit carried out under paragraph (1), the Director shall review marriage certificates, birth certificates, and other appropriate documents that are necessary to determine eligibility to enroll in a health benefits plan under the Program.

(f) **DISENROLLMENT OR REMOVAL.**—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall develop a process by which any individual enrolled in, or covered under, a health benefits plan under the Program who is not eligible to be so enrolled or covered shall be disenrolled or removed from enrollment in, or coverage under, that health benefits plan.

(g) **EARNED BENEFITS AND HEALTH CARE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES ASSOCIATED OVERSIGHT AND AUDIT FUNDING.**—Section 8909 of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, except that the amounts required to be set aside under subsection (b)(2) shall not be subject to the limitations that may be specified annually by Congress”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3); and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

“(2) In fiscal year 2026, \$66,000,000, to be derived from all contributions, and to remain available until the end of fiscal year 2035, for the Director of the Office to carry out subsections (c) through (f) of the FEHB Protection Act of 2025.”

SEC. 90102. PANDEMIC RESPONSE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE.

(a) **PANDEMIC RESPONSE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE FUNDING AVAILABILITY.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is

appropriated for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$88,000,000, to remain available until expended, for the Pandemic Response Accountability Committee to support oversight of the Coronavirus response and of funds provided in this Act or any other Act pertaining to the Coronavirus pandemic.

(b) **CARES ACT.**—Section 15010 of the CARES Act (Public Law 116-136; 134 Stat. 533) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(6)—

(A) in subparagraph (E), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (F), by striking “and” at the end and inserting “or”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(G) the Act titled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’; and”

(2) in subsection (k), by striking “2025” and inserting “2034”.

SEC. 90103. APPROPRIATION FOR THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Management and Budget for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for purposes of finding budget and accounting efficiencies in the executive branch.

TITLE X—COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Subtitle A—Immigration and Law

Enforcement Matters

PART I—IMMIGRATION FEES

SEC. 100001. APPLICABILITY OF THE IMMIGRATION LAWS.

(a) **APPLICABILITY.**—The fees under this subtitle shall apply to aliens in the circumstances described in this subtitle.

(b) **TERMS.**—The terms used under this subtitle shall have the meanings given such terms in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101).

(c) **REFERENCES TO IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT.**—Except as otherwise expressly provided, any reference in this subtitle to a section or other provision shall be considered to be to a section or other provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

SEC. 100002. ASYLUM FEE.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security or the Attorney General, as applicable, shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section, by any alien who files an application for asylum under section 208 (8 U.S.C. 1158) at the time such application is filed.

(b) **INITIAL AMOUNT.**—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$100; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary or the Attorney General, as applicable, may establish, by rule.

(c) **ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.**—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this section for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(d) **DISPOSITION OF ASYLUM FEE PROCEEDS.**—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees received from aliens filing applications with the Attorney General—

(A) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review; and

(B) may be retained and expended without further appropriation;

(2) 50 percent of fees received from aliens filing applications with the Secretary of Homeland Security—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended without further appropriation; and

(3) any amounts received in fees required under this section that were not credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review pursuant to paragraph (1) or to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to paragraph (2) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100003. EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION DOCUMENT FEES.

(a) ASYLUM APPLICANTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien who files an initial application for employment authorization under section 208(d)(2) (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(2)) at the time such initial employment authorization application is filed.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this section for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION DOCUMENT FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(ii) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(iii) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation, provided that not less than 50 percent is used to detect and prevent immigration benefit fraud; and

(B) any amounts collected pursuant to this subsection that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(b) PAROLEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of

Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien paroled into the United States for any initial application for employment authorization at the time such initial application is filed. Each initial employment authorization shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the alien's parole, whichever is shorter.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF PAROLEE EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATION FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(c) TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien who files an initial application for employment authorization under section 244(a)(1)(B) (8 U.S.C. 1254a(a)(1)(B)) at the time such initial application is filed. Each initial employment authorization shall be valid for a period of 1 year, or for the duration of the alien's temporary protected status, whichever is shorter.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATION FEES COLLECTED FROM ALIENS GRANTED TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100004. IMMIGRATION PAROLE FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided under subsection (b), the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section and in addition to any other fee authorized by law, by any alien who is paroled into the United States.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—An alien shall not be subject to the fee otherwise required under subsection (a) if the alien establishes, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Homeland Security, on an individual, case-by-case basis, that the alien is being paroled because—

(1)(A) the alien has a medical emergency; and

(B)(i) the alien cannot obtain necessary treatment in the foreign state in which the alien is residing; or

(ii) the medical emergency is life-threatening and there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(2)(A) the alien is the parent or legal guardian of an alien described in paragraph (1); and

(B) the alien described in paragraph (1) is a minor;

(3)(A) the alien is needed in the United States to donate an organ or other tissue for transplant; and

(B) there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(4)(A) the alien has a close family member in the United States whose death is imminent; and

(B) the alien could not arrive in the United States in time to see such family member alive if the alien were to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(5)(A) the alien is seeking to attend the funeral of a close family member; and

(B) the alien could not arrive in the United States in time to attend such funeral if the alien were to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(6) the alien is an adopted child—

(A) who has an urgent medical condition;

(B) who is in the legal custody of the petitioner for a final adoption-related visa; and

(C) whose medical treatment is required before the expected award of a final adoption-related visa;

(7) the alien—

(A) is a lawful applicant for adjustment of status under section 245 (8 U.S.C. 1255); and

(B) is returning to the United States after temporary travel abroad;

(8) the alien—

(A) has been returned to a contiguous country pursuant to section 235(b)(2)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(2)(C)); and

(B) is being paroled into the United States to allow the alien to attend the alien's immigration hearing;

(9) the alien has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant (as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422; 8 U.S.C. 1522 note); or

(10) the Secretary of Homeland Security determines that a significant public benefit has resulted or will result from the parole of an alien—

(A) who has assisted or will assist the United States Government in a law enforcement matter;

(B) whose presence is required by the United States Government in furtherance of such law enforcement matter; and

(C)(i) who is inadmissible or does not satisfy the eligibility requirements for admission as a nonimmigrant; or

(ii) for which there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process.

(c) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

- (1) \$1,000; or
- (2) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(d) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(e) DISPOSITION OF FEES COLLECTED FROM ALIENS GRANTED PAROLE.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(f) NO FEE WAIVER.—Except as provided in subsection (b), fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100005. SPECIAL IMMIGRANT JUVENILE FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section, by any alien, parent, or legal guardian of an alien applying for special immigrant juvenile status under section 101(a)(27)(J) (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(27)(J)).

(b) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

- (1) \$250; or
- (2) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(c) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(d) DISPOSITION OF SPECIAL IMMIGRANT JUVENILE FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 100006. TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS FEE.

Section 244(c)(1)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1254a(c)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The Attorney General” and inserting the following:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General”;

(2) in clause (1), as redesignated, by striking “\$50” and inserting “\$500, subject to the adjustments required under clause (ii)”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(ii) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the maximum amount of the fee authorized under clause (1) shall be equal to the sum of—

“(I) the maximum amount of the fee authorized under this subparagraph for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

“(II) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subclause (I) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

“(iii) DISPOSITION OF TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subparagraph shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

“(iv) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subparagraph shall not be waived or reduced.”.

SEC. 100007. VISA INTEGRITY FEE.

(a) VISA INTEGRITY FEE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien issued a nonimmigrant visa at the time of such issuance.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

- (A) \$250; or
- (B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(4) DISPOSITION OF VISA INTEGRITY FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section that are not reimbursed pursuant to subsection (b) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(b) FEE REIMBURSEMENT.—The Secretary of Homeland Security may provide a reimbursement to an alien of the fee required under subsection (a) for the issuance of a nonimmigrant visa after the expiration of such nonimmigrant visa’s period of validity if such alien demonstrates that he or she—

(1) after admission to the United States pursuant to such nonimmigrant visa, complied with all conditions of such nonimmigrant visa, including the condition that an alien shall not accept unauthorized employment; and

(2)(A) has not sought to extend his or her period of admission during such period of validity and departed the United States not later than 5 days after the last day of such period; or

(B) during such period of validity, was granted an extension of such nonimmigrant status or an adjustment to the status of a lawful permanent resident.

SEC. 100008. FORM I-94 FEE.

(a) FEE AUTHORIZED.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien who submits an application for a Form I-94 Arrival/Departure Record.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

- (A) \$24; or
- (B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FORM I-94 FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 20 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be deposited into the Land Border Inspection Fee Account in accordance with section 286(q)(2) (8 U.S.C. 1356(q)(2)); and

(B) shall be made available to U.S. Customs and Border Protection to retain and spend without further appropriation for the purpose of processing Form I-94; and

(2) any amounts not deposited into the Land Border Inspection Fee Account pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100009. ANNUAL ASYLUM FEE.

(a) FEE AUTHORIZED.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, for each calendar year that an alien’s application for asylum remains pending, the Secretary of Homeland Security or the Attorney General, as applicable, shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by such alien.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

- (A) \$100; or
- (B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(c) DISPOSITION OF ANNUAL ASYLUM FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100010. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR PAROLEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of

Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), for any parolee who seeks a renewal or extension of employment authorization based on a grant of parole. The employment authorization for each alien paroled into the United States, or any renewal or extension of such parole, shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the alien's parole, whichever is shorter.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$275; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR PAROLEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100011. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL OR EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee of not less than \$275 by any alien who has applied for asylum for each renewal or extension of employment authorization based on such application.

(b) TERMINATION.—Each initial employment authorization, or renewal or extension of such authorization, shall terminate—

(1) immediately following the denial of an asylum application by an asylum officer, unless the case is referred to an immigration judge;

(2) on the date that is 30 days after the date on which an immigration judge denies an asylum application, unless the alien makes a timely appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals; or

(3) immediately following the denial by the Board of Immigration Appeals of an appeal of a denial of an asylum application.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100012. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ALIENS GRANTED TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien at the time such alien seeks a renewal or extension of employment authorization based on a grant of temporary protected status. Any employment authorization for an alien granted temporary protected status, or any renewal or extension of such employment authorization, shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the designation of temporary protected status, whichever is shorter.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$275; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICANTS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100013. FEES RELATING TO APPLICATIONS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS.

(a) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION TO ADJUST STATUS TO THAT OF A LAWFUL PERMANENT RESIDENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to

the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien who files an application with an immigration court to adjust the alien's status to that of a lawful permanent resident, or whose application to adjust his or her status to that of a lawful permanent resident is adjudicated in immigration court. Such fee shall be paid at the time such application is filed or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(b) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR WAIVER OF GROUNDS OF INADMISSIBILITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for a waiver of a ground of inadmissibility, or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,050; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF WAIVER OF GROUND OF ADMISSIBILITY APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(C) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for temporary protected status, or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(D) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL OF A DECISION OF AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), the Attorney General shall require, in addition to any other fees authorized by law, the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an appeal from a decision of an immigration judge.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) EXCEPTION.—The fee required under paragraph (1) shall not apply to the appeal of a bond decision.

(4) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING IMMIGRATION JUDGE DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(E) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL FROM A DECISION OF AN OFFICER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an appeal of a decision of an officer of the Department of Homeland Security.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY OFFICER DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(F) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL FROM A DECISION OF AN ADJUDICATING OFFICIAL IN A PRACTITIONER DISCIPLINARY CASE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any practitioner at the time such practitioner files an appeal from a decision of an adjudicating official in a practitioner disciplinary case.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,325; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY OFFICER DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(G) FEE FOR FILING A MOTION TO REOPEN OR A MOTION TO RECONSIDER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files a motion to reopen or motion to reconsider a decision of an immigration judge or the Board of Immigration Appeals.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) EXCEPTIONS.—The fee required under paragraph (1) shall not apply to—

(A) a motion to reopen a removal order entered in absentia if such motion is filed in accordance with section 240(b)(5)(C)(ii) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)(ii)); or

(B) a motion to reopen a deportation order entered in absentia if such motion is filed in accordance with section 242B(c)(3)(B) prior to April 1, 1997.

(4) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING CERTAIN MOTIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(h) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for suspension of deportation.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$600; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(i) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL FOR CERTAIN PERMANENT RESIDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court an application for cancellation of removal for an alien who is a lawful permanent resident.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$600; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(j) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL AND ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS FOR CERTAIN NONPERMANENT RESIDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien who is not a lawful permanent resident at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for cancellation of removal and adjustment of status for any alien.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(k) LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.—No fees collected pursuant to this section may be expended by the Executive Office for Immigration Review for the Legal Orientation Program, or for any successor program.

SEC. 100014. ELECTRONIC SYSTEM FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION FEE.

Section 217(h)(3)(B) (8 U.S.C. 1187(h)(3)(B)) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by inserting “of not less than \$10” after “an amount”; and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(III) not less than \$13 per travel authorization.”;

(2) in clause (iii), by striking “October 31, 2028” and inserting “October 31, 2034”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) SUBSEQUENT ADJUSTMENT.—During fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in clause (i)(II) for a fiscal year shall be equal to the sum of—

“(I) the amount of the fee required under this subparagraph during the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

“(II) the product of the amount referred to in subclause (I) multiplied by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year.”.

SEC. 100015. ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, in the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien subject to the Electronic Visa Update System at the time of such alien’s enrollment in such system.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$30; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection during the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$0.25.

(c) DISPOSITION OF ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM FEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 286 (8 U.S.C. 1356) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(w) CBP ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM ACCOUNT.—

“(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established in the general fund of the Treasury a separate account, which shall be known as the ‘CBP Electronic Visa Update System Account’ (referred to in this subsection as the ‘Account’).

“(2) DEPOSITS.—There shall be deposited into the Account an amount equal to the difference between—

“(A) all of the fees received pursuant to section 100015 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress); and

“(B) an amount equal to \$5 multiplied by the number of payments collected pursuant to such section.

“(3) APPROPRIATION.—Amounts deposited in the Account—

“(A) are hereby appropriated to make payments and offset program costs in accordance with section 100015 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress), without further appropriation; and

“(B) shall remain available until expended for any U.S. Customs and Border Protection costs associated with administering the CBP Electronic Visa Update System.”

(2) REMAINING FEES.—Of the fees collected pursuant to this section, an amount equal to \$5 multiplied by the number of payments collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited to the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100016. FEE FOR ALIENS ORDERED REMOVED IN ABSENTIA.

(a) IN GENERAL.—As partial reimbursement for the cost of arresting an alien described in this section, the Secretary of Homeland Security, except as provided in subsection (c), shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b) on any alien who—

(1) is ordered removed in absentia pursuant to section 240(b)(5) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)); and

(2) is subsequently arrested by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$5,000; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) EXCEPTION.—The fee described in this section shall not apply to any alien who was ordered removed in absentia if such order was rescinded pursuant to section 240(b)(5)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)).

(d) DISPOSITION OF REMOVAL IN ABSENTIA FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

(B) shall be deposited into the Detention and Removal Office Fee Account; and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100017. INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of

Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any inadmissible alien at the time such alien is apprehended between ports of entry.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$5,000; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

(B) shall be deposited into the Detention and Removal Office Fee Account; and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) DISPOSITION OF INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 100018. AMENDMENT TO AUTHORITY TO APPLY FOR ASYLUM.

Section 208(d)(3) (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(3)) is amended—

(1) in the first sentence, by striking “may” and inserting “shall”;

(2) by striking “Such fees shall not exceed” and all that follows and inserting the following: “Nothing in this paragraph may be construed to limit the authority of the Attorney General to set additional adjudication and naturalization fees in accordance with section 286(m).”

PART II—IMMIGRATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING

SEC. 100051. APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$2,055,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) IMMIGRATION AND ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—Hiring and training of additional U.S. Customs and Border Protection agents, and the necessary support staff, to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(2) DEPARTURES AND REMOVALS.—Funding for transportation costs and related costs associated with the departure or removal of aliens.

(3) PERSONNEL ASSIGNMENTS.—Funding for the assignment of Department of Homeland Security employees and State officers to carry out immigration enforcement activities pursuant to sections 103(a) and 287(g) of

the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1103(a) and 1357(g)).

(4) BACKGROUND CHECKS.—Hiring additional staff and investing the necessary resources to enhance screening and vetting of all aliens seeking entry into United States, consistent with section 212 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1182), or intending to remain in the United States, consistent with section 237 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1227).

(5) PROTECTING ALIEN CHILDREN FROM EXPLOITATION.—In instances of aliens and alien children entering the United States without a valid visa, funding is provided for the purposes of—

(A) collecting fingerprints, in accordance with section 262 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1302) and subsections (a)(3) and (b) of section 235 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1225); and

(B) collecting DNA, in accordance with sections 235(d) and 287(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(d) and 1357(b)).

(6) TRANSPORTING AND RETURN OF ALIENS FROM CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY.—Transporting and facilitating the return, pursuant to section 235(b)(2)(C) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(2)(C)), of aliens arriving from contiguous territory.

(7) STATE AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION.—Funding for State and local participation in homeland security efforts for purposes of—

(A) ending the presence of criminal gangs and criminal organizations throughout the United States;

(B) addressing crime and public safety threats;

(C) combating human smuggling and trafficking networks throughout the United States;

(D) supporting immigration enforcement activities; and

(E) providing reimbursement for State and local participation in such efforts.

(8) REMOVAL OF SPECIFIED UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Funding removal operations for specified unaccompanied alien children.

(B) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts made available under this paragraph shall only be used for permitting a specified unaccompanied alien child to withdraw the application for admission of the child pursuant to section 235(a)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(a)(4)).

(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

(i) SPECIFIED UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILD.—The term “specified unaccompanied alien child” means an unaccompanied alien child (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who the Secretary of Homeland Security determines on a case-by-case basis—

(I) has been found by an immigration officer at a land border or port of entry of the United States and is inadmissible under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.);

(II) has not been a victim of severe forms of trafficking in persons, and there is no credible evidence that such child is at risk of being trafficked upon return of the child to the child’s country of nationality or country of last habitual residence; and

(III) does not have a fear of returning to the child’s country of nationality or country of last habitual residence owing to a credible fear of persecution.

(ii) SEVERE FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS.—The term “severe forms of trafficking in persons” has the meaning given such term in section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

(9) EXPEDITED REMOVAL OF CRIMINAL ALIENS.—Funding for the expedited removal of criminal aliens, in accordance with the

provisions of section 235(b)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(1)).

(10) REMOVAL OF CERTAIN CRIMINAL ALIENS WITHOUT FURTHER HEARINGS.—Funding for the removal of certain criminal aliens without further hearings, in accordance with the provisions of section 235(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(c)).

(11) CRIMINAL AND GANG CHECKS FOR UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN.—Funding for criminal and gang checks of unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who are 12 years of age and older, including the examination of such unaccompanied alien children for gang-related tattoos and other gang-related markings.

(12) INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY.—Information technology investments to support immigration purposes, including improvements to fee and revenue collections.

SEC. 100052. APPROPRIATION FOR U.S. IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$29,850,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) HIRING AND TRAINING.—Hiring and training additional U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel, including officers, agents, investigators, and support staff, to carry out immigration enforcement activities and prioritizing and streamlining the hiring of retired U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel.

(2) PERFORMANCE, RETENTION, AND SIGNING BONUSES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Providing performance, retention, and signing bonuses for qualified U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel in accordance with this subsection.

(B) PERFORMANCE BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, at the Director's discretion, may provide performance bonuses to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who demonstrates exemplary service.

(C) RETENTION BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement may provide retention bonuses to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who commits to 2 years of additional service with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(D) SIGNING BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement may provide a signing bonus to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who—

(i) is hired on or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(ii) who commits to 5 years of service with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(E) SERVICE AGREEMENT.—In providing a retention or signing bonus under this paragraph, the Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement shall provide each qualifying individual with a written service agreement that includes—

(i) the commencement and termination dates of the required service period (or provisions for the determination of such dates);

(ii) the amount of the bonus; and

(iii) any other term or condition under which the bonus is payable, subject to the requirements of this paragraph, including—

(I) the conditions under which the agreement may be terminated before the agreed-upon service period has been completed; and

(II) the effect of a termination described in subsection (I).

(3) RECRUITMENT, HIRING, AND ONBOARDING.—Facilitating the recruitment, hiring, and onboarding of additional U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel to carry out immigration enforcement activities, including by—

(A) investing in information technology, recruitment, and marketing; and

(B) hiring staff necessary to carry out information technology, recruitment, and marketing activities.

(4) TRANSPORTATION.—Funding for transportation costs and related costs associated with alien departure or removal operations.

(5) INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY.—Funding for information technology investments to support enforcement and removal operations, including improvements to fee collections.

(6) FACILITY UPGRADES.—Funding for facility upgrades to support enforcement and removal operations.

(7) FLEET MODERNIZATION.—Funding for fleet modernization to support enforcement and removal operations.

(8) FAMILY UNITY.—Promoting family unity by—

(A) maintaining the care and custody, during the period in which a charge described in clause (i) is pending, in accordance with applicable laws, of an alien who—

(i) is charged only with a misdemeanor offense under section 275(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1325(a)); and

(ii) entered the United States with the alien's child who has not attained 18 years of age; and

(B) detaining such an alien with the alien's child.

(9) 287(g) AGREEMENTS.—Expanding, facilitating, and implementing agreements under section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1357(g)).

(10) VICTIMS OF IMMIGRATION CRIME ENGAGEMENT OFFICE.—Hiring and training additional staff to carry out the mission of the Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement Office and for providing nonfinancial assistance to the victims of crimes perpetrated by aliens who are present in the United States without authorization.

(11) OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEGAL ADVISOR.—Hiring additional attorneys and the necessary support staff within the Office of the Principal Legal Advisor to represent the Department of Homeland Security in immigration enforcement and removal proceedings.

SEC. 100053. APPROPRIATION FOR FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING CENTERS.

(a) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$750,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsections (b) and (c).

(b) TRAINING.—Not less than \$285,000,000 of the amounts available under subsection (a) shall be for supporting the training of newly hired Federal law enforcement personnel employed by the Department of Homeland Security and State and local law enforcement agencies operating in support of the Department of Homeland Security.

(c) FACILITIES.—Not more than \$465,000,000 of the amounts available under subsection (a) shall be for procurement, construction and maintenance of, improvements to, training equipment for, and related expenses, of facilities of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers.

SEC. 100054. APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Attorney General for the Department of Justice for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$3,330,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR IMMIGRATION REVIEW.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Hiring immigration judges and necessary support staff for the Executive Office for Immigration Review to address the backlog of petitions, cases, and removals.

(B) STAFFING LEVEL.—Effective November 1, 2028, the Executive Office for Immigration Review shall be comprised of not more than 800 immigration judges, along with the necessary support staff.

(2) COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING.—Funding efforts to combat drug trafficking (including trafficking of fentanyl and its precursor chemicals) and illegal drug use.

(3) PROSECUTION OF IMMIGRATION MATTERS.—Funding efforts to investigate and prosecute immigration matters, gang-related crimes involving aliens, child trafficking and smuggling involving aliens within the United States, unlawful voting by aliens, violations of the Alien Registration Act, 1940 (54 Stat., chapter 439), and violations of or fraud relating to title IV of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-193; 110 Stat. 2277), including hiring additional Department of Justice personnel to investigate and prosecute such matters.

(4) NONPARTY OR OTHER INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.—Hiring additional attorneys and necessary support staff for the purpose of continuing implementation of assignments by the Attorney General pursuant to sections 516, 517, and 518 of title 28, United States Code, to conduct litigation and attend to the interests of the United States in suits pending in a court of the United States or in a court of a State in suits seeking nonparty or other injunctive relief against the Federal Governmenties.nt.

(5) EDWARD BYRNE MEMORIAL JUSTICE ASSISTANCE GRANT PROGRAM AND OFFICE OF COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Increasing funding for the Edward Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant Program and the Office of Community Oriented Policing for initiatives associated with—

(i) investigating and prosecuting violent crime;

(ii) criminal enforcement initiatives; and

(iii) immigration enforcement and removal efforts.

(B) LIMITATIONS.—No funds made available under this subsection shall be made available to community violence intervention and prevention initiative programs.

(C) ELIGIBILITY.—To be eligible to receive funds made available under this subsection, a State or local government shall be in full compliance, as determined by the Attorney General, with section 642 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1373).

(6) FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE LAWSUIT SETTLEMENTS.—Hiring additional attorneys and necessary support staff for the purpose of maximizing lawsuit settlements that require the payment of fines and penalties to the Treasury of the United States in lieu of providing for the payment to any person or entity other than the United States, other than a payment that provides restitution or otherwise directly remedies actual harm directly and proximately caused by the party making the payment, or constitutes payment for

services rendered in connection with the case.

(7) **COMPENSATION FOR INCARCERATION OF CRIMINAL ALIENS.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—Providing compensation to a State or political subdivision of a State for the incarceration of criminal aliens.

(B) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The amounts made available under subparagraph (A) shall only be used to compensate a State or political subdivision of a State, as appropriate, with respect to the incarceration of an alien who—

(i) has been convicted of a felony or 2 or more misdemeanors; and

(ii) (I) entered the United States without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Secretary of Homeland Security;

(II) was the subject of removal proceedings at the time the alien was taken into custody by the State or a political subdivision of the State; or

(III) was admitted as a nonimmigrant and, at the time the alien was taken into custody by the State or a political subdivision of the State, has failed to maintain the non-immigrant status in which the alien was admitted, or to which it was changed, or to comply with the conditions of any such status.

(C) **LIMITATION.**—Amounts made available under this subsection shall be distributed to more than 1 State. The amounts made available under subparagraph (A) may not be used to compensate any State or political subdivision of a State if the State or political subdivision of the State prohibits or in any way restricts a Federal, State, or local government entity, official, or other personnel from doing any of the following:

(i) Complying with the immigration laws (as defined in section 101(a)(17) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(17))).

(ii) Assisting or cooperating with Federal law enforcement entities, officials, or other personnel regarding the enforcement of the immigration laws.

(iii) Undertaking any of the following law enforcement activities as such activities relate to information regarding the citizenship or immigration status, lawful or unlawful, the inadmissibility or deportability, and the custody status, of any individual:

(I) Making inquiries to any individual to obtain such information regarding such individual or any other individuals.

(II) Notifying the Federal Government regarding the presence of individuals who are encountered by law enforcement officials or other personnel of a State or political subdivision of a State.

(III) Complying with requests for such information from Federal law enforcement entities, officials, or other personnel.

SEC. 100055. BRIDGING IMMIGRATION-RELATED DEFICITS EXPERIENCED NATIONWIDE REIMBURSEMENT FUND.

(a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established within the Department of Justice a fund, to be known as the “Bridging Immigration-related Deficits Experienced Nationwide (BIDEN) Reimbursement Fund” (referred to in this section as the “Fund”).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The Attorney General shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the Fund for grants to eligible States, State agencies, and units of local government, pursuant to their existing statutory authorities, for any of the following purposes:

(1) Locating and apprehending aliens who have committed a crime under Federal, State, or local law, in addition to being unlawfully present in the United States.

(2) Collection and analysis of law enforcement investigative information within the

United States to counter gang or other criminal activity.

(3) **Investigating and prosecuting—**

(A) crimes committed by aliens within the United States; and

(B) drug and human trafficking crimes committed within the United States.

(4) Court operations related to the prosecution of—

(A) crimes committed by aliens; and

(B) drug and human trafficking crimes.

(5) Temporary criminal detention of aliens.

(6) Transporting aliens described in paragraph (1) within the United States to locations related to the apprehension, detention, and prosecution of such aliens.

(7) Vehicle maintenance, logistics, transportation, and other support provided to law enforcement agencies by a State agency to enhance the ability to locate and apprehend aliens who have committed crimes under Federal, State, or local law, in addition to being unlawfully present in the United States.

(c) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in subsection (b), there is appropriated to the Attorney General for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, not to exceed \$3,500,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for the Fund for qualified and documented expenses that achieve any such purpose.

(d) **GRANT ELIGIBILITY OF COMPLETED, ONGOING, OR NEW ACTIVITIES.**—The Attorney General may provide grants under this section to State agencies and units of local government for expenditures made by State agencies or units of local government for completed, ongoing, or new activities determined to be eligible for such grant funding that occurred on or after January 20, 2021. Amounts made available under this section shall be distributed to more than 1 State.

SEC. 100056. APPROPRIATION FOR THE BUREAU OF PRISONS.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Bureau of Prisons for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$5,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsections (b) and (c).

(b) **SALARIES AND BENEFITS.**—Not less than \$3,000,000,000 of the amounts made available under subsection (a) shall be for hiring and training of new employees, including correctional officers, medical professionals, and facilities and maintenance employees, the necessary support staff, and for additional funding for salaries and benefits for the current workforce of the Bureau of Prisons.

(c) **FACILITIES.**—Not more than \$2,000,000,000 of the amounts made available under subsection (a) shall be for addressing maintenance and repairs to facilities maintained or operated by the Bureau of Prisons.

SEC. 100057. APPROPRIATION FOR THE UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the United States Secret Service (referred to in this section as the “Director”) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,170,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—Amounts made available under subsection (a) may only be used for—

(1) additional United States Secret Service resources, including personnel, training facilities, programming, and technology; and

(2) performance, retention, and signing bonuses for qualified United States Secret

Service personnel in accordance with subsection (c).

(c) **PERFORMANCE, RETENTION, AND SIGNING BONUSES.**—

(1) **PERFORMANCE BONUSES.**—The Director, at the Director’s discretion, may provide performance bonuses to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who demonstrates exemplary service.

(2) **RETENTION BONUSES.**—The Director may provide retention bonuses to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who commits to 2 years of additional service with the Secret Service.

(3) **SIGNING BONUSES.**—The Director may provide a signing bonus to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who—

(A) is hired on or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(B) commits to 5 years of service with the United States Secret Service.

(4) **SERVICE AGREEMENT.**—In providing a retention or signing bonus under this subsection, the Director shall provide each qualifying individual with a written service agreement that includes—

(A) the commencement and termination dates of the required service period (or provisions for the determination of such dates);

(B) the amount of the bonus; and

(C) any other term or condition under which the bonus is payable, subject to the requirements under this subsection, including—

(i) the conditions under which the agreement may be terminated before the agreed-upon service period has been completed; and

(ii) the effect of a termination described in clause (i).

Subtitle B—Judiciary Matters

SEC. 100101. APPROPRIATION TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES COURTS.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,250,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2028, for the purpose of continuing analyses and reporting pursuant to section 604(a)(2) of title 28, United States Code, to examine the state of the dockets of the courts and to prepare and transmit statistical data and reports as to the business of the courts, including an assessment of the number, frequency, and related metrics of judicial orders issuing non-party relief against the Federal Government and their aggregate cost impact on the taxpayers of the United States, as determined by each court when imposing securities for the issuance of preliminary injunctions or temporary restraining orders against the Federal Government pursuant to rule 65(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SEC. 100102. APPROPRIATION TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Federal Judicial Center, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2028, for the purpose described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The Federal Judicial Center shall use the amounts appropriated under subsection (a) for the continued implementation of programs pursuant to section 620(b)(3) of title 28, United States Code, to stimulate, create, develop, and conduct programs of continuing education and training for personnel of the judicial branch, including training on the absence of constitutional and statutory authority supporting legal claims that seek non-party relief against the Federal Government, and strategic approaches for mitigating the aggregate cost

impact of such legal claims on the taxpayers of the United States.

Subtitle C—Radiation Exposure Compensation Matters

SEC. 100201. EXTENSION OF FUND.

Section 3(d) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by striking the first sentence and inserting “The Fund shall terminate on December 31, 2028.”; and

(2) by striking “the end of that 2-year period” and inserting “such date”.

SEC. 100202. CLAIMS RELATING TO ATMOSPHERIC TESTING.

(a) LEUKEMIA CLAIMS RELATING TO TRINITY TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND TESTS AT THE NEVADA SITE.—Section 4(a)(1)(A) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “October 31, 1958” and inserting “November 6, 1962”;

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”; and

(ii) by striking “or” after the semicolon;

(C) by redesignating subclause (III) as subclause (IV); and

(D) by inserting after subclause (II) the following:

“(III) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 1 year during the period beginning on September 24, 1944, and ending on November 6, 1962; or”;

(2) in clause (ii)(I), by striking “physical presence described in subclause (I) or (II) of clause (i) or onsite participation described in clause (i)(III)” and inserting “physical presence described in subclause (I), (II), or (III) of clause (i) or onsite participation described in clause (i)(IV)”.

(b) AMOUNTS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO LEUKEMIA.—Section 4(a)(1) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “an amount” and inserting “the amount”;

(2) by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) AMOUNT.—If the conditions described in subparagraph (C) are met, an individual who is described in subparagraph (A) shall receive \$100,000.”; and

(3) in subparagraph (C), by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) No payment under this paragraph previously has been made to the individual, on behalf of the individual, or to a survivor of the individual.”.

(c) CONDITIONS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO LEUKEMIA.—Section 4(a)(1)(C) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by striking clause (i); and

(2) by redesignating clauses (ii) and (iii) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively.

(d) SPECIFIED DISEASES CLAIMS RELATING TO TRINITY TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND TESTS AT THE NEVADA SITE.—Section 4(a)(2) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”;

(B) by striking “2 years” and inserting “1 year”; and

(C) by striking “October 31, 1958,” and inserting “November 6, 1962.”;

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”; and

(B) by striking “, or” at the end and inserting a semicolon;

(3) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D); and

(4) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following:

“(C) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 1 year during the period beginning on September 24, 1944, and ending on November 6, 1962; or”.

(e) AMOUNTS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO SPECIFIED DISEASES.—Section 4(a)(2) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended in the matter following subparagraph (D) (as redesignated by subsection (d) of this section)—

(1) by striking “\$50,000 (in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (A) or (B)) or \$75,000 (in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (C))” and inserting “\$100,000”;

(2) in clause (i), by striking “, and” and inserting a semicolon;

(3) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(4) by adding at the end the following:

“(iii) no payment under this paragraph previously has been made to the individual, on behalf of the individual, or to a survivor of the individual.”.

(f) DOWNWIND STATES.—Section 4(b)(1) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) ‘affected area’ means—

“(A) except as provided under subparagraph (B)—

“(i) the States of New Mexico, Utah, and Idaho;

“(ii) in the State of Nevada, the counties of White Pine, Nye, Lander, Lincoln, Eureka, and that portion of Clark County that consists of townships 13 through 16 at ranges 63 through 71; and

“(iii) in the State of Arizona, the counties of Coconino, Yavapai, Navajo, Apache, and Gila, and Mohave; and

“(B) with respect to a claim by an individual under subsection (a)(1)(A)(i)(III) or subsection (a)(2)(C), only New Mexico; and”.

SEC. 100203. CLAIMS RELATING TO URANIUM MINING.

(a) EMPLOYEES OF MINES AND MILLS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(i) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended to read as follows:

“(i)(I) was employed in a uranium mine or uranium mill (including any individual who was employed in the transport of uranium ore or vanadium-uranium ore from such mine or mill) located in Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, South Dakota, Washington, Utah, Idaho, North Dakota, Oregon, or Texas at any time during the period beginning on January 1, 1942, and ending on December 31, 1990; or

“(II) was employed as a core driller in a State referred to in subclause (I) during the period described in such subclause; and”.

(b) MINERS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii)(I) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by inserting “or renal cancer or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury” after “non-malignant respiratory disease”.

(c) MILLERS, CORE DRILLERS, AND ORE TRANSPORTERS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii)(II) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by inserting “, core driller,” after “was a miller”;

(2) by inserting “, or was involved in remediation efforts at such a uranium mine or uranium mill,” after “ore transporter”;

(3) by inserting “(I)” after “clause (i)”;

(4) by striking “or renal cancers” and all that follows and inserting “or renal cancer or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury; or”.

(d) COMBINED WORK HISTORIES.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note), as amended by subsection (c), is further amended—

(1) in subclause (I), by striking “or” at the end; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(III)(aa) does not meet the conditions of subclause (I) or (II);

“(bb) worked, during the period described in clause (i)(I), in 2 or more of the following positions: miner, miller, core driller, and ore transporter;

“(cc) meets the requirements under paragraph (4) or (5); and

“(dd) submits written medical documentation that the individual developed lung cancer, a nonmalignant respiratory disease, renal cancer, or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury after exposure to radiation through work in one or more of the positions referred to in item (bb);”.

(e) SPECIAL RULES RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES.—Section 5(a) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH AT LEAST ONE YEAR OF EXPERIENCE.—An individual meets the requirements under this paragraph if the individual worked in one or more of the positions referred to in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(III)(bb) for a period of at least one year during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I).

“(5) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES FOR MINERS.—An individual meets the requirements of this paragraph if the individual, during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I), worked as a miner and was exposed to such number of working level months that the Attorney General determines, when combined with the exposure of such individual to radiation through work as a miller, core driller, or ore transporter during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I), results in such individual being exposed to a total level of radiation that is greater or equal to the level of exposure of an individual described in paragraph (4).”.

(f) DEFINITION OF CORE DRILLER.—Section 5(b) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(9) the term ‘core driller’ means any individual employed to engage in the act or process of obtaining cylindrical rock samples of uranium or vanadium by means of a borehole drilling machine for the purpose of mining uranium or vanadium.”.

SEC. 100204. CLAIMS RELATING TO MANHATTAN PROJECT WASTE.—

The Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by inserting after section 5 the following:

“SEC. 5A. CLAIMS RELATING TO MANHATTAN PROJECT WASTE.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A claimant shall receive compensation for a claim made under this Act, as described in subsection (b) or (c), if—

“(1) a claim for compensation is filed with the Attorney General—

“(A) by an individual described in paragraph (2); or

“(B) on behalf of that individual by an authorized agent of that individual, if the individual is deceased or incapacitated, such as—

“(i) an executor of estate of that individual; or

“(i) a legal guardian or conservator of that individual;

“(2) that individual, or if applicable, an authorized agent of that individual, demonstrates that such individual—

“(A) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 2 years after January 1, 1949; and

“(B) contracted a specified disease after such period of physical presence;

“(3) the Attorney General certifies that the identity of that individual, and if applicable, the authorized agent of that individual, is not fraudulent or otherwise misrepresented; and

“(4) the Attorney General determines that the claimant has satisfied the applicable requirements of this Act.

“(b) LOSSES AVAILABLE TO LIVING AFFECTED INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the event of a claim qualifying for compensation under subsection (a) that is submitted to the Attorney General to be eligible for compensation under this section at a time when the individual described in subsection (a)(2) is living, the amount of compensation under this section shall be in an amount that is the greater of \$50,000 or the total amount of compensation for which the individual is eligible under paragraph (2).

“(2) LOSSES DUE TO MEDICAL EXPENSES.—A claimant described in paragraph (1) shall be eligible to receive, upon submission of contemporaneous written medical records, reports, or billing statements created by or at the direction of a licensed medical professional who provided contemporaneous medical care to the claimant, additional compensation in the amount of all documented out-of-pocket medical expenses incurred as a result of the specified disease suffered by that claimant, such as any medical expenses not covered, paid for, or reimbursed through—

“(A) any public or private health insurance;

“(B) any employee health insurance;

“(C) any workers' compensation program; or

“(D) any other public, private, or employee health program or benefit.

“(3) LIMITATION.—No claimant is eligible to receive compensation under this subsection with respect to medical expenses unless the submissions described in paragraph (2) with respect to such expenses are submitted on or before December 31, 2028.

“(c) PAYMENTS TO BENEFICIARIES OF DECEASED INDIVIDUALS.—In the event that an individual described in subsection (a)(2) who qualifies for compensation under subsection (a) is deceased at the time of submission of the claim—

“(1) a surviving spouse may, upon submission of a claim and records sufficient to satisfy the requirements of subsection (a) with respect to the deceased individual, receive compensation in the amount of \$25,000; or

“(2) in the event that there is no surviving spouse, the surviving children, minor or otherwise, of the deceased individual may, upon submission of a claim and records sufficient to satisfy the requirements of subsection (a) with respect to the deceased individual, receive compensation in the total amount of \$25,000, paid in equal shares to each surviving child.

“(d) AFFECTED AREAS.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘affected area’ means—

“(1) in the State of Missouri, the ZIP Codes of 63031, 63033, 63034, 63042, 63045, 63074, 63114, 63135, 63138, 63044, 63121, 63140, 63145, 63147, 63102, 63304, 63134, 63043, 63341, 63368, and 63367;

“(2) in the State of Tennessee, the ZIP Codes of 37716, 37840, 37719, 37748, 37763, 37828, 37769, 37710, 37845, 37887, 37829, 37854, 37830, and 37831;

“(3) in the State of Alaska, the ZIP Codes of 99546 and 99547; and

“(4) in the State of Kentucky, the ZIP Codes of 42001, 42003, and 42086.

“(e) SPECIFIED DISEASE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘specified disease’ means any of the following:

“(1) Any leukemia, provided that the initial exposure occurred after 20 years of age and the onset of the disease was at least 2 years after first exposure.

“(2) Any of the following diseases, provided that the onset was at least 2 years after the initial exposure:

“(A) Multiple myeloma.

“(B) Lymphoma, other than Hodgkin's disease.

“(C) Primary cancer of the—

“(i) thyroid;

“(ii) male or female breast;

“(iii) esophagus;

“(iv) stomach;

“(v) pharynx;

“(vi) small intestine;

“(vii) pancreas;

“(viii) bile ducts;

“(ix) gall bladder;

“(x) salivary gland;

“(xi) urinary bladder;

“(xii) brain;

“(xiii) colon;

“(xiv) ovary;

“(xv) bone;

“(xvi) renal;

“(xvii) liver, except if cirrhosis or hepatitis B is indicated; or

“(xviii) lung.

“(f) PHYSICAL PRESENCE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the Attorney General may not determine that a claimant has satisfied the requirements under subsection (a) unless demonstrated by submission of—

“(A) contemporaneous written residential documentation or at least 1 additional employer-issued or government-issued document or record that the claimant, for at least 2 years after January 1, 1949, was physically present in an affected area; or

“(B) other documentation determined by the Attorney General to demonstrate that the claimant, for at least 2 years after January 1, 1949, was physically present in an affected area.

“(2) TYPES OF PHYSICAL PRESENCE.—For purposes of determining physical presence under this section, a claimant shall be considered to have been physically present in an affected area if—

“(A) the claimant's primary residence was in the affected area;

“(B) the claimant's place of employment was in the affected area; or

“(C) the claimant attended school in the affected area.

“(g) DISEASE CONTRACTION IN AFFECTED AREAS.—For purposes of this section, the Attorney General may not determine that a claimant has satisfied the requirements under subsection (a) unless the claimant submits—

“(1) written medical records or reports created by or at the direction of a licensed medical professional, created contemporaneously with the provision of medical care to the claimant, that the claimant, after a period of physical presence in an affected area, contracted a specified disease; or

“(2) other documentation determined by the Attorney General to demonstrate that the claimant contracted a specified disease after a period of physical presence in an affected area.”

SEC. 10205. LIMITATIONS ON CLAIMS.

Section 8(a) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by striking “2

years after the date of enactment of the RECA Extension Act of 2022” and inserting “December 31, 2027”.

SA 2361. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ FUNDING TO INCREASE THE TOTAL MAXIMUM FEDERAL PELL GRANT AWARD PER STUDENT.

Section 401(b)(5)(A)(i) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(5)(A)(i)) is amended by inserting “for award years 2024–2025 and 2025–2026, and \$8,460 for award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year” after “\$1,060”.

SA 2362. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ FUNDING TO INCREASE THE TOTAL MAXIMUM FEDERAL PELL GRANT AWARD PER STUDENT.

Section 401(b)(5)(A)(i) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(5)(A)(i)) is amended by inserting “for award years 2024–2025 and 2025–2026, and \$20,060 for award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year” after “\$1,060”.

SA 2363. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 72001, strike “\$5,000,000,000,000” and insert “\$500,000,000,000”.

SA 2364. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70106 and insert the following:

SEC. 70106. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED ESTATE AND GIFT TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2010(c)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking “\$5,000,000” and inserting “\$30,000,000”,

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the mater preceding clause (i), by striking “2011” and inserting “2026”, and

(B) in clause (ii), by striking “calendar year 2010” and inserting “calendar year 2025”, and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to estates of decedents dying and gifts made after December 31, 2025.

SA 2365. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr.

THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70106 and insert the following:

SEC. 70106. REPEAL OF ESTATE AND GENERATION-SKIPPING TRANSFER TAXES.

(a) ESTATE TAX REPEAL.—Subchapter C of chapter 11 of subtitle B is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 2210. TERMINATION.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection (b), this chapter shall not apply to the estates of decedents dying on or after the date of the enactment of this section.

“(b) CERTAIN DISTRIBUTIONS FROM QUALIFIED DOMESTIC TRUSTS.—In applying section 2056A with respect to the surviving spouse of a decedent dying before the date of the enactment of this section—

“(1) section 2056A(b)(1)(A) shall not apply to distributions made after the 10-year period beginning on such date, and

“(2) section 2056A(b)(1)(B) shall not apply on or after such date.”.

(b) GENERATION-SKIPPING TRANSFER TAX REPEAL.—Subchapter G of chapter 13 of subtitle B is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 2664. TERMINATION.

“This chapter shall not apply to generation-skipping transfers on or after the date of the enactment of this section.”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for subchapter C of chapter 11 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 2210. Termination.”.

(2) The table of sections for subchapter G of chapter 13 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 2664. Termination.”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to the estates of decedents dying, and generation-skipping transfers, after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SA 2366. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . . . 15-PERCENT CORPORATE TAX RATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) is amended by striking “21 percent” and inserting “15 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) NORMALIZATION REQUIREMENTS.—Rules similar to the rules of section 13001(d) of Public Law 115-97 shall apply.

SA 2367. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 72001.

SA 2368. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to

amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike all after the first word clause and insert the following:

SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “One Big Beautiful Bill Act”.

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title.
- Sec. 2. Table of contents.

TITLE I—COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Subtitle A—Nutrition

- Sec. 10101. Re-evaluation of thrifty food plan.
- Sec. 10102. Modifications to SNAP work requirements for able-bodied adults.
- Sec. 10103. Availability of standard utility allowances based on receipt of energy assistance.
- Sec. 10104. Restrictions on internet expenses.
- Sec. 10105. Matching funds requirements.
- Sec. 10106. Administrative cost sharing.
- Sec. 10107. National education and obesity prevention grant program.
- Sec. 10108. Alien SNAP eligibility.

Subtitle B—Forestry

- Sec. 10201. Rescission of amounts for forestry.

Subtitle C—Commodities

- Sec. 10301. Effective reference price; reference price.
- Sec. 10302. Base acres.
- Sec. 10303. Producer election.
- Sec. 10304. Price loss coverage.
- Sec. 10305. Agriculture risk coverage.
- Sec. 10306. Equitable treatment of certain entities.
- Sec. 10307. Payment limitations.
- Sec. 10308. Adjusted gross income limitation.
- Sec. 10309. Marketing loans.
- Sec. 10310. Repayment of marketing loans.
- Sec. 10311. Economic adjustment assistance for textile mills.
- Sec. 10312. Sugar program updates.
- Sec. 10313. Dairy policy updates.
- Sec. 10314. Implementation.

Subtitle D—Disaster Assistance Programs

- Sec. 10401. Supplemental agricultural disaster assistance.

Subtitle E—Crop Insurance

- Sec. 10501. Beginning farmer and rancher benefit.
- Sec. 10502. Area-based crop insurance coverage and affordability.
- Sec. 10503. Administrative and operating expense adjustments.
- Sec. 10504. Premium support.
- Sec. 10505. Program compliance and integrity.
- Sec. 10506. Reviews, compliance, and integrity.
- Sec. 10507. Poultry insurance pilot program.

Subtitle F—Additional Investments in Rural America

- Sec. 10601. Conservation.
- Sec. 10602. Supplemental agricultural trade promotion program.
- Sec. 10603. Nutrition.
- Sec. 10604. Research.
- Sec. 10605. Energy.
- Sec. 10606. Horticulture.
- Sec. 10607. Miscellaneous.

TITLE II—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

- Sec. 20001. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the quality of life for military personnel.
- Sec. 20002. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for shipbuilding.
- Sec. 20003. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for integrated air and missile defense.
- Sec. 20004. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for munitions and defense supply chain resiliency.
- Sec. 20005. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for scaling low-cost weapons into production.
- Sec. 20006. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the efficiency and cybersecurity of the Department of Defense.
- Sec. 20007. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for air superiority.
- Sec. 20008. Enhancement of resources for nuclear forces.
- Sec. 20009. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources to improve capabilities of United States Indo-Pacific Command.
- Sec. 20010. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the readiness of the Department of Defense.
- Sec. 20011. Improving Department of Defense border support and counter-drug missions.
- Sec. 20012. Department of Defense oversight.
- Sec. 20013. Military construction projects authorized.
- Sec. 20014. Multi-year operational plan.

TITLE III—COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

- Sec. 30001. Funding cap for the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.
- Sec. 30002. Rescission of funds for Green and Resilient Retrofit Program for Multifamily Housing.
- Sec. 30003. Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund.
- Sec. 30004. Appropriations for Defense Production Act.

TITLE IV—COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

- Sec. 40001. Coast Guard mission readiness.
- Sec. 40002. Spectrum auctions.
- Sec. 40003. Air traffic control improvements.
- Sec. 40004. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees.
- Sec. 40005. Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program.
- Sec. 40006. Corporate average fuel economy civil penalties.
- Sec. 40007. Payments for lease of Metropolitan Washington Airports.
- Sec. 40008. Rescission of certain amounts for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.
- Sec. 40009. Reduction in annual transfers to Travel Promotion Fund.
- Sec. 40010. Treatment of unobligated funds for alternative fuel and low-emission aviation technology.
- Sec. 40011. Rescission of amounts appropriated to Public Wireless Supply Chain Innovation Fund.
- Sec. 40012. Support for artificial intelligence under the Broadband Equity, Access, and Deployment Program.

TITLE V—COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Subtitle A—Oil and Gas Leasing

- Sec. 50101. Onshore oil and gas leasing.
- Sec. 50102. Offshore oil and gas leasing.
- Sec. 50103. Royalties on extracted methane.
- Sec. 50104. Alaska oil and gas leasing.
- Sec. 50105. National Petroleum Reserve—Alaska.

Subtitle B—Mining

- Sec. 50201. Coal leasing.
- Sec. 50202. Coal royalty.
- Sec. 50203. Leases for known recoverable coal resources.
- Sec. 50204. Authorization to mine Federal coal.

Subtitle C—Lands

- Sec. 50301. Mandatory disposal of Bureau of Land management land for housing.
- Sec. 50302. Timber sales and long-term contracting for the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management.
- Sec. 50303. Renewable energy fees on Federal land.
- Sec. 50304. Renewable energy revenue sharing.
- Sec. 50305. Rescission of National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management funds.
- Sec. 50306. Celebrating America's 250th anniversary.

Subtitle D—Energy

- Sec. 50401. Strategic Petroleum Reserve.
- Sec. 50402. Repeals; rescissions.
- Sec. 50403. Energy dominance financing.
- Sec. 50404. Transformational artificial intelligence models.

Subtitle E—Water

- Sec. 50501. Water conveyance and surface water storage enhancement.

TITLE VI—COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

- Sec. 60001. Rescission of funding for clean heavy-duty vehicles.
- Sec. 60002. Repeal of Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund.
- Sec. 60003. Rescission of funding for diesel emissions reductions.
- Sec. 60004. Rescission of funding to address air pollution.
- Sec. 60005. Rescission of funding to address air pollution at schools.
- Sec. 60006. Rescission of funding for the low emissions electricity program.
- Sec. 60007. Rescission of funding for section 211(o) of the Clean Air Act.
- Sec. 60008. Rescission of funding for implementation of the American Innovation and Manufacturing Act.
- Sec. 60009. Rescission of funding for enforcement technology and public information.
- Sec. 60010. Rescission of funding for greenhouse gas corporate reporting.
- Sec. 60011. Rescission of funding for environmental product declaration assistance.
- Sec. 60012. Rescission of funding for methane emissions and waste reduction incentive program for petroleum and natural gas systems.
- Sec. 60013. Rescission of funding for greenhouse gas air pollution plans and implementation grants.
- Sec. 60014. Rescission of funding for environmental protection agency efficient, accurate, and timely reviews.
- Sec. 60015. Rescission of funding for low-embodied carbon labeling for construction materials.
- Sec. 60016. Rescission of funding for environmental and climate justice block grants.

Sec. 60017. Rescission of funding for ESA recovery plans.

Sec. 60018. Rescission of funding for environmental and climate data collection.

Sec. 60019. Rescission of neighborhood access and equity grant program.

Sec. 60020. Rescission of funding for Federal building assistance.

Sec. 60021. Rescission of funding for low-carbon materials for Federal buildings.

Sec. 60022. Rescission of funding for GSA emerging and sustainable technologies.

Sec. 60023. Rescission of environmental review implementation funds.

Sec. 60024. Rescission of low-carbon transportation materials grants.

Sec. 60025. John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Sec. 60026. Project sponsor opt-in fees for environmental reviews.

TITLE VII—FINANCE

Subtitle A—Tax

Sec. 70001. References to the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, etc.

CHAPTER 1—PROVIDING PERMANENT TAX RELIEF FOR MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES AND WORKERS

Sec. 70101. Extension and enhancement of reduced rates.

Sec. 70102. Extension and enhancement of increased standard deduction.

Sec. 70103. Termination of deduction for personal exemptions other than temporary senior deduction.

Sec. 70104. Extension and enhancement of increased child tax credit.

Sec. 70105. Extension and enhancement of deduction for qualified business income.

Sec. 70106. Extension and enhancement of increased estate and gift tax exemption amounts.

Sec. 70107. Extension of increased alternative minimum tax exemption amounts and modification of phaseout thresholds.

Sec. 70108. Extension and modification of limitation on deduction for qualified residence interest.

Sec. 70109. Extension and modification of limitation on casualty loss deduction.

Sec. 70110. Termination of miscellaneous itemized deductions other than educator expenses.

Sec. 70111. Limitation on tax benefit of itemized deductions.

Sec. 70112. Extension and modification of qualified transportation fringe benefits.

Sec. 70113. Extension and modification of limitation on deduction and exclusion for moving expenses.

Sec. 70114. Extension and modification of limitation on wagering losses.

Sec. 70115. Extension and enhancement of increased limitation on contributions to ABLE accounts.

Sec. 70116. Extension and enhancement of savers credit allowed for ABLE contributions.

Sec. 70117. Extension of rollovers from qualified tuition programs to ABLE accounts permitted.

Sec. 70118. Extension of treatment of certain individuals performing services in the Sinai Peninsula and enhancement to include additional areas.

Sec. 70119. Extension and modification of exclusion from gross income of student loans discharged on account of death or disability.

Sec. 70120. Limitation on individual deductions for certain state and local taxes, etc.

CHAPTER 2—DELIVERING ON PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES TO PROVIDE NEW MIDDLE-CLASS TAX RELIEF

Sec. 70201. No tax on tips.

Sec. 70202. No tax on overtime.

Sec. 70203. No tax on car loan interest.

Sec. 70204. Trump accounts and contribution pilot program.

CHAPTER 3—ESTABLISHING CERTAINTY AND COMPETITIVENESS FOR AMERICAN JOB CREATORS

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Sec. 70301. Full expensing for certain business property.

Sec. 70302. Full expensing of domestic research and experimental expenditures.

Sec. 70303. Modification of limitation on business interest.

Sec. 70304. Extension and enhancement of paid family and medical leave credit.

Sec. 70305. Exceptions from limitations on deduction for business meals.

Sec. 70306. Increased dollar limitations for expensing of certain depreciable business assets.

Sec. 70307. Special depreciation allowance for qualified production property.

Sec. 70308. Enhancement of advanced manufacturing investment credit.

Sec. 70309. Spaceports are treated like airports under exempt facility bond rules.

SUBCHAPTER B—PERMANENT AMERICA-FIRST INTERNATIONAL TAX REFORMS

PART I—FOREIGN TAX CREDIT

Sec. 70311. Modifications related to foreign tax credit limitation.

Sec. 70312. Modifications to determination of deemed paid credit for taxes properly attributable to tested income.

Sec. 70313. Sourcing certain income from the sale of inventory produced in the United States.

PART II—FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME

Sec. 70321. Modification of deduction for foreign-derived deduction eligible income and net CFC tested income.

Sec. 70322. Determination of deduction eligible income.

Sec. 70323. Rules related to deemed intangible income.

PART III—BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX

Sec. 70331. Extension and modification of base erosion minimum tax amount.

PART IV—BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION

Sec. 70341. Coordination of business interest limitation with interest capitalization provisions.

Sec. 70342. Definition of adjusted taxable income for business interest limitation.

PART V—OTHER INTERNATIONAL TAX REFORMS

Sec. 70351. Permanent extension of look-thru rule for related controlled foreign corporations.

Sec. 70352. Repeal of election for 1-month deferral in determination of taxable year of specified foreign corporations.

Sec. 70353. Restoration of limitation on downward attribution of stock ownership in applying constructive ownership rules.

- Sec. 70354. Modifications to pro rata share rules.
- CHAPTER 4—INVESTING IN AMERICAN FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, AND SMALL BUSINESSES
- SUBCHAPTER A—PERMANENT INVESTMENTS IN FAMILIES AND CHILDREN
- Sec. 70401. Enhancement of employer-provided child care credit.
- Sec. 70402. Enhancement of adoption credit.
- Sec. 70403. Recognizing Indian tribal governments for purposes of determining whether a child has special needs for purposes of the adoption credit.
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- SUBCHAPTER B—PERMANENT INVESTMENTS IN STUDENTS AND REFORMS TO TAX-EXEMPT INSTITUTIONS
- Sec. 70411. Tax credit for contributions of individuals to scholarship granting organizations.
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- Sec. 70413. Additional expenses treated as qualified higher education expenses for purposes of 529 accounts.
- Sec. 70414. Certain postsecondary credentialing expenses treated as qualified higher education expenses for purposes of 529 accounts.
- Sec. 70415. Modification of excise tax on investment income of certain private colleges and universities.
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- Sec. 70421. Permanent renewal and enhancement of opportunity zones.
- Sec. 70422. Permanent enhancement of low-income housing tax credit.
- Sec. 70423. Permanent extension of new markets tax credit.
- Sec. 70424. Permanent and expanded reinstatement of partial deduction for charitable contributions of individuals who do not elect to itemize.
- Sec. 70425. 0.5 percent floor on deduction of contributions made by individuals.
- Sec. 70426. 1-percent floor on deduction of charitable contributions made by corporations.
- Sec. 70427. Permanent increase in limitation on cover over of tax on distilled spirits.
- Sec. 70428. Nonprofit community development activities in remote native villages.
- Sec. 70429. Adjustment of charitable deduction for certain expenses incurred in support of Native Alaskan subsistence whaling.
- Sec. 70430. Exception to percentage of completion method of accounting for certain residential construction contracts.
- SUBCHAPTER D—PERMANENT INVESTMENTS IN SMALL BUSINESS AND RURAL AMERICA
- Sec. 70431. Expansion of qualified small business stock gain exclusion.
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- Sec. 70435. Exclusion of interest on loans secured by rural or agricultural real property.
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- CHAPTER 5—ENDING GREEN NEW DEAL SPENDING, PROMOTING AMERICA-FIRST ENERGY, AND OTHER REFORMS
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- Sec. 70501. Termination of previously-owned clean vehicle credit.
- Sec. 70502. Termination of clean vehicle credit.
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- Sec. 70505. Termination of energy efficient home improvement credit.
- Sec. 70506. Termination of residential clean energy credit.
- Sec. 70507. Termination of energy efficient commercial buildings deduction.
- Sec. 70508. Termination of new energy efficient home credit.
- Sec. 70509. Termination of cost recovery for energy property and qualified clean energy facilities, property, and technology.
- Sec. 70510. Modifications of zero-emission nuclear power production credit.
- Sec. 70511. Termination of clean hydrogen production credit.
- Sec. 70512. Termination and restrictions on clean electricity production credit.
- Sec. 70513. Termination and restrictions on clean electricity investment credit.
- Sec. 70514. Phase-out and restrictions on advanced manufacturing production credit.
- Sec. 70515. Restriction on the extension of advanced energy project credit program.
- SUBCHAPTER B—ENHANCEMENT OF AMERICA-FIRST ENERGY POLICY
- Sec. 70521. Extension and modification of clean fuel production credit.
- Sec. 70522. Restrictions on carbon oxide sequestration credit.
- Sec. 70523. Intangible drilling and development costs taken into account for purposes of computing adjusted financial statement income.
- Sec. 70524. Income from hydrogen storage, carbon capture, advanced nuclear, hydropower, and geothermal energy added to qualifying income of certain publicly traded partnerships.
- Sec. 70525. Allow for payments to certain individuals who dye fuel.
- SUBCHAPTER C—OTHER REFORMS
- Sec. 70531. Modifications to de minimis entry privilege for commercial shipments.
- CHAPTER 6—ENHANCING DEDUCTION AND INCOME TAX CREDIT GUARDRAILS, AND OTHER REFORMS
- Sec. 70601. Modification and extension of limitation on excess business losses of noncorporate taxpayers.
- Sec. 70602. Treatment of payments from partnerships to partners for property or services.
- Sec. 70603. Excessive employee remuneration from controlled group members and allocation of deduction.
- Sec. 70604. Third party litigation funding reform.
- Sec. 70605. Excise tax on certain remittance transfers.
- Sec. 70606. Enforcement provisions with respect to COVID-related employee retention credits.
- Sec. 70607. Social security number requirement for American Opportunity and Lifetime Learning credits.
- Sec. 70608. Task force on the replacement of Direct File.
- Subtitle B—Health
- CHAPTER 1—MEDICAID
- SUBCHAPTER A—REDUCING FRAUD AND IMPROVING ENROLLMENT PROCESSES
- Sec. 71101. Moratorium on implementation of rule relating to eligibility and enrollment in Medicare Savings Programs.
- Sec. 71102. Moratorium on implementation of rule relating to eligibility and enrollment for Medicaid, CHIP, and the Basic Health Program.
- Sec. 71103. Reducing duplicate enrollment under the Medicaid and CHIP programs.
- Sec. 71104. Ensuring deceased individuals do not remain enrolled.
- Sec. 71105. Ensuring deceased providers do not remain enrolled.
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- Subtitle A—Nutrition
- SEC. 10101. RE-EVALUATION OF THRIFTY FOOD PLAN.
- (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 3 of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012) is amended by striking subsection (u) and inserting the following:
- “(u) THRIFTY FOOD PLAN.—
- “(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘thrifty food plan’ means the diet required to feed a family of 4 persons consisting of a man and a woman ages 20 through 50, a child ages 6 through 8, and a child ages 9 through 11 using the items and quantities of food described in the report of the Department of Agriculture entitled ‘Thrifty Food Plan, 2021’, and each successor report updated pursuant to this subsection, subject to the conditions that—
- “(A) the relevant market baskets of the thrifty food plan shall only be changed pursuant to paragraph (4);
- “(B) the cost of the thrifty food plan shall be the basis for uniform allotments for all households, regardless of the actual composition of the household; and
- “(C) the cost of the thrifty food plan may only be adjusted in accordance with this subsection.
- “(2) HOUSEHOLD ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall make household adjustments using the following ratios of household size as a percentage of the maximum 4-person allotment:
- “(A) For a 1-person household, 30 percent.
- “(B) For a 2-person household, 55 percent.
- “(C) For a 3-person household, 79 percent.
- “(D) For a 4-person household, 100 percent.
- “(E) For a 5-person household, 119 percent.
- “(F) For a 6-person household, 143 percent.
- “(G) For a 7-person household, 158 percent.
- “(H) For an 8-person household, 180 percent.
- “(I) For a household of 9 persons or more, an additional 22 percent per person, which additional percentage shall not total more than 200 percent.
- “(3) ALLOWABLE COST ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall—

“(A) make cost adjustments in the thrifty food plan for Hawaii and the urban and rural parts of Alaska to reflect the cost of food in Hawaii and urban and rural Alaska;

“(B) make cost adjustments in the separate thrifty food plans for Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States to reflect the cost of food in those States, but not to exceed the cost of food in the 50 States and the District of Columbia; and

“(C) on October 1, 2025, and on each October 1 thereafter, adjust the cost of the thrifty food plan to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, for the most recent 12-month period ending in June.

“(4) RE-EVALUATION OF MARKET BASKETS.—

“(A) RE-EVALUATION.—Not earlier than October 1, 2027, the Secretary may re-evaluate the market baskets of the thrifty food plan based on current food prices, food composition data, consumption patterns, and dietary guidance.

“(B) COST NEUTRALITY.—The Secretary shall not increase the cost of the thrifty food plan based on a re-evaluation under this paragraph.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 16(c)(1)(A)(ii)(II) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(c)(1)(A)(ii)(II)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

(2) Section 19(a)(2)(A)(ii) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2028(a)(2)(A)(ii)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

(3) Section 27(a)(2) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2036(a)(2)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” each place it appears and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

SEC. 10102. MODIFICATIONS TO SNAP WORK REQUIREMENTS FOR ABLE-BODIED ADULTS.

(a) EXCEPTIONS.—Section 6(o) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)) is amended by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following:

“(3) EXCEPTIONS.—Paragraph (2) shall not apply to an individual if the individual is—

“(A) under 18, or over 65, years of age;

“(B) medically certified as physically or mentally unfit for employment;

“(C) a parent or other member of a household with responsibility for a dependent child under 14 years of age;

“(D) otherwise exempt under subsection (d)(2);

“(E) a pregnant woman;

“(F) an Indian or an Urban Indian (as such terms are defined in paragraphs (13) and (28) of section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act); or

“(G) a California Indian described in section 809(a) of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act.”

(b) STANDARDIZING ENFORCEMENT.—Section 6(o)(4) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (ii) and inserting the following:

“(ii) is in a noncontiguous State and has an unemployment rate that is at or above 1.5 times the national unemployment rate8 percent.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) DEFINITION OF NONCONTIGUOUS STATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ means a State that is not 1 of the contiguous 48 States or the District of Columbia.

“(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—The term ‘noncontiguous State’ does not include Gaum or the Virgin Islands of the United States.”.

(c) WAIVER FOR NONCONTIGUOUS STATES.—Section 6(o) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraph (7) as paragraph (8); and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (6) the following:

“(7) EXEMPTION FOR NONCONTIGUOUS STATES.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF NONCONTIGUOUS STATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ means a State that is not 1 of the contiguous 48 States or the District of Columbia.

“(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ does not include Guam or the Virgin Islands of the United States.

“(B) EXEMPTION.—Subject to subparagraph (D), the Secretary may exempt individuals in a noncontiguous State from compliance with the requirements of paragraph (2) if—

“(i) the State agency submits to the Secretary a request for that exemption, made in such form and at such time as the Secretary may require, and including the information described in subparagraph (C); and

“(ii) the Secretary determines that based on that request, the State agency is demonstrating a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of paragraph (2).

“(C) GOOD FAITH EFFORT DETERMINATION.—In determining whether a State agency is demonstrating a good faith effort for purposes of subparagraph (B)(ii), the Secretary shall consider—

“(i) any actions taken by the State agency toward compliance with the requirements of paragraph (2);

“(ii) any significant barriers to or challenges in meeting those requirements, including barriers or challenges relating to funding, design, development, procurement, or installation of necessary systems or resources;

“(iii) the detailed plan and timeline of the State agency for achieving full compliance with those requirements, including any milestones (as defined by the Secretary); and

“(iv) any other criteria determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(D) DURATION OF EXEMPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An exemption granted under subparagraph (B) shall expire not later than December 31, 2028, and may not be renewed beyond that date.

“(ii) EARLY TERMINATION.—The Secretary may terminate an exemption granted under subparagraph (B) prior to the expiration date of that exemption if the Secretary determines that the State agency—

“(I) has failed to comply with the reporting requirements described in subparagraph (E); or

“(II) based on the information provided pursuant to subparagraph (E), failed to make continued good faith efforts toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection.

“(E) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—A State agency granted an exemption under subparagraph (B) shall submit to the Secretary—

“(i) quarterly progress reports on the status of the State agency in achieving the milestones toward full compliance described in subparagraph (C)(iii); and

“(ii) information on specific risks or newly identified barriers or challenges to full compliance, including the plan of the State agency to mitigate those risks, barriers, or challenges.”.

SEC. 10103. AVAILABILITY OF STANDARD UTILITY ALLOWANCES BASED ON RECEIPT OF ENERGY ASSISTANCE.

(a) STANDARD UTILITY ALLOWANCE.—Section 5(e)(6)(C)(iv)(I) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(e)(6)(C)(iv)(I))

is amended by inserting “with an elderly or disabled member” after “households”.

(b) THIRD-PARTY ENERGY ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS.—Section 5(k)(4) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(k)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “without an elderly or disabled member” before “shall be”; and

(2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “with an elderly or disabled member” before “under a State law”.

SEC. 10104. RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNET EXPENSES.

Section 5(e)(6) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(e)(6)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(E) RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNET EXPENSES.—Any service fee associated with internet connection shall not be used in computing the excess shelter expense deduction under this paragraph.”.

SEC. 10105. MATCHING FUNDS REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4(a) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2013(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking “(a) Subject to” and inserting the following:

“(a) PROGRAM.—

“(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—Subject to”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) STATE QUALITY CONTROL INCENTIVE.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF PAYMENT ERROR RATE.—In this paragraph, the term ‘payment error rate’ has the meaning given the term in section 16(c)(2).

“(B) STATE COST SHARE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Beginning in fiscal year 2028, if the payment error rate of a State as determined under clause (ii) is—

“(I) less than 6 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 100 percent, and the State share shall be 0 percent;

“(II) equal to or greater than 6 percent but less than 8 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 95 percent, and the State share shall be 5 percent;

“(III) equal to or greater than 8 percent but less than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 90 percent, and the State share shall be 10 percent; and

“(IV) equal to or greater than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 85 percent, and the State share shall be 15 percent.

“(ii) ELECTIONS.—

“(I) FISCAL YEAR 2028.—For fiscal year 2028, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), a State may elect to use the payment error rate of the State from fiscal year 2025 or 2026.

“(II) FISCAL YEAR 2029 AND THEREAFTER.—For fiscal year 2029 and each fiscal year thereafter, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), the Secretary shall use the payment error rate of the State for the third fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the State share is being calculated.

“(3) MAXIMUM FEDERAL PAYMENT.—The Secretary may not pay towards the cost of an allotment described in paragraph (1) an amount that is greater than the applicable Federal share under paragraph (2).

“(4) WAIVER AUTHORITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may waive the requirement under paragraph (2) for a noncontiguous State (excluding Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States) for a period of not more than 2 years if—

“(i) the Secretary determines that the waiver is necessary; and

“(ii) the noncontiguous State is—

“(I) actively implementing a corrective action plan (as described in section 275.17 of title 7, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation)); and

“(II) carrying out any other activities determined necessary by the Secretary to reduce its payment error rate (as defined in paragraph (2)).

“(B) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.—The waiver authority under subparagraph (A) shall terminate on the date that is 4 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph.”

(b) LIMITATION ON AUTHORITY.—Section 13(a)(1) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2022(a)(1)) is amended in the matter preceding paragraph (1) by striking “agency an amount equal to 50 per centum” and inserting “agency, through fiscal year 2026, 50 percent, and for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter, 25 percent.”

SEC. 10106. ADMINISTRATIVE COST SHARING.

Section 16(a) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(a)) is amended in the matter preceding paragraph (1) by striking “agency an amount equal to 50 per centum” and inserting “agency, through fiscal year 2026, 50 percent, and for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter, 25 percent.”

SEC. 10107. NATIONAL EDUCATION AND OBESITY PREVENTION GRANT PROGRAM.

Section 28(d)(1)(F) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2036a(d)(1)(F)) is amended by striking “for fiscal year 2016 and each subsequent fiscal year” and inserting “for each of fiscal years 2016 through 2025”.

SEC. 10108. ALIEN SNAP ELIGIBILITY.

Section 6(f) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(f)) is amended to read as follows:

“(f) No individual who is a member of a household otherwise eligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program under this section shall be eligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program as a member of that or any other household unless he or she is—

“(1) a resident of the United States; and

“(2) either—

“(A) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(B) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding, among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country;

“(C) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(D) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

The income (less, at State option, a pro rata share) and financial resources of the individual rendered ineligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program under this subsection shall be considered in determining the eligibility and the value of the allotment of the household of which such individual is a member.”

Subtitle B—Forestry

SEC. 10201. RESCISSION OF AMOUNTS FOR FORESTRY.

The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated by the following provisions of Public Law 117-169 are rescinded:

(1) Paragraphs (3) and (4) of section 23001(a) (136 Stat. 2023).

(2) Paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 23002(a) (136 Stat. 2025).

(3) Section 23003(a)(2) (136 Stat. 2026).

(4) Section 23005 (136 Stat. 2027).

Subtitle C—Commodities

SEC. 10301. EFFECTIVE REFERENCE PRICE; REFERENCE PRICE.

(a) EFFECTIVE REFERENCE PRICE.—Section 1111(8)(B)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(8)(B)(ii)) is amended by striking “85” and inserting “beginning with the crop year 2025, 88”.

(b) REFERENCE PRICE.—Section 1111 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011) is amended by striking paragraph (19) and inserting the following:

“(19) REFERENCE PRICE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, subject to subparagraphs (B) and (C), the term ‘reference price’, with respect to a covered commodity for a crop year, means the following:

“(i) For wheat, \$6.35 per bushel.

“(ii) For corn, \$4.10 per bushel.

“(iii) For grain sorghum, \$4.40 per bushel.

“(iv) For barley, \$5.45 per bushel.

“(v) For oats, \$2.65 per bushel.

“(vi) For long grain rice, \$16.90 per hundredweight.

“(vii) For medium grain rice, \$16.90 per hundredweight.

“(viii) For soybeans, \$10.00 per bushel.

“(ix) For other oilseeds, \$23.75 per hundredweight.

“(x) For peanuts, \$630.00 per ton.

“(xi) For dry peas, \$13.10 per hundredweight.

“(xii) For lentils, \$23.75 per hundredweight.

“(xiii) For small chickpeas, \$22.65 per hundredweight.

“(xiv) For large chickpeas, \$25.65 per hundredweight.

“(xv) For seed cotton, \$0.42 per pound.

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2031 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price in the previous crop year multiplied by 1.005.

“(C) LIMITATION.—In no case shall a reference price for a covered commodity exceed 113 percent of the reference price for such covered commodity listed in subparagraph (A).”

SEC. 10302. BASE ACRES.

Section 1112 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9012) is amended—

(1) in subsection (d)(3)(A), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) ADDITIONAL BASE ACRES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this subsection, and notwithstanding subsection (a), the Secretary shall provide notice to owners of eligible farms pursuant to paragraph (3) and allocate to those eligible farms a total of not more than an additional 30,000,000 base acres in the manner provided in this subsection. An owner of a farm that is eligible to receive an allocation of base acres may elect to not receive that allocation by notifying the Secretary not later than 90 days after receipt of the notice provided by the Secretary under this paragraph.

“(2) CONTENT OF NOTICE.—The notice under paragraph (1) shall include the following:

“(A) Information that the allocation is occurring.

“(B) Information regarding the eligibility of the farm for an allocation of base acres under paragraph (3).

“(C) Information regarding how an owner may appeal a determination of ineligibility for an allocation of base acres under paragraph (3) through an appeals process established by the Secretary.

“(3) ELIGIBILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (D), effective beginning with the 2026 crop

year, a farm is eligible to receive an allocation of base acres if, with respect to the farm, the amount described in subparagraph (B) exceeds the amount described in subparagraph (C).

“(B) 5-YEAR AVERAGE SUM.—The amount described in this subparagraph, with respect to a farm, is the sum of—

“(i) the 5-year average of—

“(I) the acreage planted on the farm to all covered commodities for harvest, grazing, haying, silage or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(II) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to covered commodities because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary; plus

“(ii) the lesser of—

“(I) 15 percent of the total acres on the farm; and

“(II) the 5-year average of—

“(aa) the acreage planted on the farm to eligible noncovered commodities for harvest, grazing, haying, silage, or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(bb) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to eligible noncovered commodities because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary.

“(C) TOTAL NUMBER OF BASE ACRES FOR COVERED COMMODITIES.—The amount described in this subparagraph, with respect to a farm, is the total number of base acres for covered commodities on the farm (excluding unassigned crop base), as in effect on September 30, 2024.

“(D) EFFECT OF NO RECENT PLANTINGS OF COVERED COMMODITIES.—In the case of a farm for which the amount determined under clause (i) of subparagraph (B) is equal to zero, that farm shall be ineligible to receive an allocation of base acres under this subsection.

“(E) ACREAGE PLANTED ON THE FARM TO ELIGIBLE NONCOVERED COMMODITIES DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘acreage planted on the farm to eligible noncovered commodities’ means acreage planted on a farm to commodities other than covered commodities, trees, bushes, vines, grass, or pasture (including cropland that was idle or fallow), as determined by the Secretary.

“(4) NUMBER OF BASE ACRES.—Subject to paragraphs (3) and (8), the number of base acres allocated to an eligible farm shall—

“(A) be equal to the difference obtained by subtracting the amount determined under subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3) from the amount determined under subparagraph (B) of that paragraph; and

“(B) include unassigned crop base.

“(5) ALLOCATION OF ACRES.—

“(A) ALLOCATION.—The Secretary shall allocate the number of base acres under paragraph (4) among those covered commodities planted on the farm at any time during the 2019 through 2023 crop years.

“(B) ALLOCATION FORMULA.—The allocation of additional base acres for covered commodities shall be in proportion to the ratio of—

“(i) the 5-year average of—

“(I) the acreage planted on the farm to each covered commodity for harvest, grazing, haying, silage, or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(II) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to that covered commodity because of drought, flood, or

other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary; to

“(ii) the 5-year average determined under paragraph (3)(B)(i).

“(C) INCLUSION OF ALL 5 YEARS IN AVERAGE.—For the purpose of determining a 5-year acreage average under subparagraph (B) for a farm, the Secretary shall not exclude any crop year in which a covered commodity was not planted.

“(D) TREATMENT OF MULTIPLE PLANTING OR PREVENTED PLANTING.—For the purpose of determining under subparagraph (B) the acreage on a farm that producers planted or were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to covered commodities, if the acreage that was planted or prevented from being planted was devoted to another covered commodity in the same crop year (other than a covered commodity produced under an established practice of double cropping), the owner may elect the covered commodity to be used for that crop year in determining the 5-year average, but may not include both the initial covered commodity and the subsequent covered commodity.

“(E) LIMITATION.—The allocation of additional base acres among covered commodities on a farm under this paragraph may not result in a total number of base acres for the farm in excess of the total number of acres on the farm.

“(6) REDUCTION BY THE SECRETARY.—In carrying out this subsection, if the total number of eligible acres allocated to base acres across all farms in the United States under this subsection would exceed 30,000,000 acres, the Secretary shall apply an across-the-board, pro-rata reduction to the number of eligible acres to ensure the number of allocated base acres under this subsection is equal to 30,000,000 acres.

“(7) PAYMENT YIELD.—Beginning with crop year 2026, for the purpose of making price loss coverage payments under section 1116, the Secretary shall establish payment yields to base acres allocated under this subsection equal to—

“(A) the payment yield established on the farm for the applicable covered commodity; and

“(B) if no such payment yield for the applicable covered commodity exists, a payment yield—

“(i) equal to the average payment yield for the covered commodity for the county in which the farm is situated; or

“(ii) determined pursuant to section 1113(c).

“(8) TREATMENT OF NEW OWNERS.—In the case of a farm for which the owner on the date of enactment of this subsection was not the owner for the 2019 through 2023 crop years, the Secretary shall use the planting history of the prior owner or owners of that farm for purposes of determining—

“(A) eligibility under paragraph (3);

“(B) eligible acres under paragraph (4); and

“(C) the allocation of acres under paragraph (5).”

SEC. 10303. PRODUCER ELECTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1115 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9015) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “crop year or” and inserting “crop year.”; and

(ii) by inserting “or the 2026 crop year,” after “2019 crop year.”;

(B) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “crop year or” and inserting “crop year.”; and

(ii) by inserting “or the 2026 crop year,” after “2019 crop year.”; and

(C) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(iii) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) the same coverage for each covered commodity on the farm for the 2027 through 2031 crop years as was applicable for the 2025 crop year.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(i) HIGHER OF PRICE LOSS COVERAGE PAYMENTS AND AGRICULTURE RISK COVERAGE PAYMENTS.—For the 2025 crop year, the Secretary shall, on a covered commodity-by-covered commodity basis, make the higher of price loss coverage payments under section 1116 and agriculture risk coverage county coverage payments under section 1117 to the producers on a farm for the payment acres for each covered commodity on the farm.”

(b) FEDERAL CROP INSURANCE SUPPLEMENTAL COVERAGE OPTION.—Section 508(c)(4)(C)(iv) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(c)(4)(C)(iv)) is amended by striking “Crops for which the producer has elected under section 1116 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 to receive agriculture risk coverage and acres” and inserting “Acres”.

SEC. 10304. PRICE LOSS COVERAGE.

Section 1116 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9016) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)(1)(B)—

(A) in the subparagraph heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(3) in subsection (d), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2025” and inserting “2031”;

(4) in subsection (g)—

(A) by striking “subparagraph (F) of section 1111(19)” and inserting “paragraph (19)(A)(vi) of section 1111”;

(B) by striking “2012 through 2016” each place it appears and inserting “2017 through 2021”.

SEC. 10305. AGRICULTURE RISK COVERAGE.

Section 1117 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9017) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “for each of the 2014 through 2024 crop years and 90 percent of the benchmark revenue for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years” before the period at the end;

(B) by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”;

(C) in paragraph (4)(B), in the subparagraph heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(3) in subsection (d)(1), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) for each of the 2014 through 2024 crop years, 10 percent of the benchmark revenue for the crop year applicable under subsection (c); and

“(ii) for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years, 12 percent of the benchmark revenue for the crop year applicable under subsection (c).”;

(4) in subsections (e), (g)(5), and (i)(5), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10306. EQUITABLE TREATMENT OF CERTAIN ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (6); and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (4) the following:

“(5) QUALIFIED PASS-THROUGH ENTITY.—The term ‘qualified pass-through entity’ means—

“(A) a partnership (within the meaning of subchapter K of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986);

“(B) an S corporation (as defined in section 1361 of that Code);

“(C) a limited liability company that does not affirmatively elect to be treated as a corporation; and

“(D) a joint venture or general partnership.”;

(2) in subsections (b) and (c), by striking “except a joint venture or general partnership” each place it appears and inserting “except a qualified pass-through entity”;

(3) in subsection (d), by striking “subtitle B of title I of the Agricultural Act of 2014 or”.

(b) ATTRIBUTION OF PAYMENTS.—Section 1001(e)(3)(B)(ii) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308(e)(3)(B)(ii)) is amended—

(1) in the clause heading, by striking “JOINT VENTURES AND GENERAL PARTNERSHIPS” and inserting “QUALIFIED PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES”;

(2) by striking “a joint venture or a general partnership” and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity”;

(3) by striking “joint ventures and general partnerships” and inserting “qualified pass-through entities”; and

(4) by striking “the joint venture or general partnership” and inserting “the qualified pass-through entity”.

(c) PERSONS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FARMING.—Section 1001A(b)(2) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-1(b)(2)) is amended—

(1) subparagraphs (A) and (B), by striking “a general partnership, a participant in a joint venture” each place it appears and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking “a general partnership, joint venture, or similar entity” and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity or a similar entity”.

(d) JOINT AND SEVERAL LIABILITY.—Section 1001B(d) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-2(d)) is amended by striking “partnerships and joint ventures” and inserting “qualified pass-through entities”.

(e) EXCLUSION FROM AGI CALCULATION.—Section 1001D(d) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-3a(d)) is amended by striking “, general partnership, or joint venture” each place it appears.

SEC. 10307. PAYMENT LIMITATIONS.

Section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) by striking “The” and inserting “Subject to subsection (i), the”; and

(B) by striking “\$125,000” and inserting “\$155,000”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking “The” and inserting “Subject to subsection (i), the”; and

(B) by striking “\$125,000” and inserting “\$155,000”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(i) ADJUSTMENT.—For the 2025 crop year and each crop year thereafter, the Secretary shall annually adjust the amounts described in subsections (b) and (c) for inflation based on the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.”.

SEC. 10308. ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME LIMITATION.

Section 1001D(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-3a(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “paragraph (3)” and inserting “paragraphs (3) and (4)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN OPERATIONS.—

“(A) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) EXCEPTED PAYMENT OR BENEFIT.—The term ‘excepted payment or benefit’ means—
“(I) a payment or benefit under subtitle E of title I of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081 et seq.);

“(II) a payment or benefit under section 196 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7333); and

“(III) a payment or benefit described in paragraph (2)(C) received on or after October 1, 2024.

“(ii) FARMING, RANCHING, OR SILVICULTURE ACTIVITIES.—The term ‘farming, ranching, or silviculture activities’ includes agri-tourism, direct-to-consumer marketing of agricultural products, the sale of agricultural equipment owned by the person or legal entity, and other agriculture-related activities, as determined by the Secretary.

“(B) EXCEPTION.—In the case of an excepted payment or benefit, the limitation established by paragraph (1) shall not apply to a person or legal entity during a crop, fiscal, or program year, as appropriate, if greater than or equal to 75 percent of the average gross income of the person or legal entity derives from farming, ranching, or silviculture activities.”.

SEC. 10309. MARKETING LOANS.

(a) AVAILABILITY OF NONRECOURSE MARKETING ASSISTANCE LOANS FOR LOAN COMMODITIES.—Section 1201(b)(1) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9031(b)(1)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(b) LOAN RATES FOR NONRECOURSE MARKETING ASSISTANCE LOANS.—Section 1202 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9032) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”; and

(B) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”;

(2) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (d) and (e), respectively;

(3) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

“(c) 2026 THROUGH 2031 CROP YEARS.—For purposes of each of the 2026 through 2031 crop years, the loan rate for a marketing assistance loan under section 1201 for a loan commodity shall be equal to the following:

“(1) In the case of wheat, \$3.72 per bushel.

“(2) In the case of corn, \$2.42 per bushel.

“(3) In the case of grain sorghum, \$2.42 per bushel.

“(4) In the case of barley, \$2.75 per bushel.

“(5) In the case of oats, \$2.20 per bushel.

“(6) In the case of upland cotton, \$0.55 per pound.

“(7) In the case of extra long staple cotton, \$1.00 per pound.

“(8) In the case of long grain rice, \$7.70 per hundredweight.

“(9) In the case of medium grain rice, \$7.70 per hundredweight.

“(10) In the case of soybeans, \$6.82 per bushel.

“(11) In the case of other oilseeds, \$11.10 per hundredweight for each of the following kinds of oilseeds:

“(A) Sunflower seed.

“(B) Rapeseed.

“(C) Canola.

“(D) Safflower.

“(E) Flaxseed.

“(F) Mustard seed.

“(G) Crambe.

“(H) Sesame seed.

“(I) Other oilseeds designated by the Secretary.

“(12) In the case of dry peas, \$6.87 per hundredweight.

“(13) In the case of lentils, \$14.30 per hundredweight.

“(14) In the case of small chickpeas, \$11.00 per hundredweight.

“(15) In the case of large chickpeas, \$15.40 per hundredweight.

“(16) In the case of graded wool, \$1.60 per pound.

“(17) In the case of nongraded wool, \$0.55 per pound.

“(18) In the case of mohair, \$5.00 per pound.

“(19) In the case of honey, \$1.50 per pound.

“(20) In the case of peanuts, \$390 per ton.”;

(4) in subsection (d) (as so redesignated), by striking “(a)(11) and (b)(11)” and inserting “(a)(11), (b)(11), and (c)(11)”; and

(5) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated), in paragraph (1), by striking “\$0.25” and inserting “\$0.30”.

(c) PAYMENT OF COTTON STORAGE COSTS.—Section 1204(g) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9034(g)) is amended—

(1) by striking “Effective” and inserting the following:

“(1) CROP YEARS 2014 THROUGH 2025.—Effective”;

(2) in paragraph (1) (as so designated), by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) PAYMENT OF COTTON STORAGE COSTS.—Effective for each of the 2026 through 2031 crop years, the Secretary shall make cotton storage payments for upland cotton and extra long staple cotton available in the same manner as the Secretary provided storage payments for the 2006 crop of upland cotton, except that the payment rate shall be equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the submitted storage charge for the current marketing year; and

“(B) in the case of storage in—

“(i) California or Arizona, a payment rate of \$4.90; and

“(ii) any other State, a payment rate of \$3.00”.

(d) LOAN DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS.—

(1) CONTINUATION.—Section 1205(a)(2)(B) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9035(a)(2)(B)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(2) PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF LDPS.—Section 1206 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9036) is amended, in subsections (a) and (d), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(e) SPECIAL COMPETITIVE PROVISIONS FOR EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON.—Section 1208(a) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9038(a)) is amended, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2026” and inserting “2032”.

(f) AVAILABILITY OF RECOURSE LOANS.—Section 1209 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9039) is amended, in subsections (a)(2), (b), and (c), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10310. REPAYMENT OF MARKETING LOANS.

Section 1204 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9034) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (1) as subparagraph (A) and indenting appropriately;

(B) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) (as so redesignated), by striking “The Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary”; and

(C) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) in the case of long grain rice and medium grain rice, the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section; or

“(ii) in the case of upland cotton, the prevailing world market price for the com-

modity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section.

“(2) REFUND FOR UPLAND COTTON.—In the case of a repayment for a marketing assistance loan for upland cotton at a rate described in paragraph (1)(B)(ii), the Secretary shall provide to the producer a refund (if any) in an amount equal to the difference between the lowest prevailing world market price, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section, during the 30-day period following the date on which the producer repays the marketing assistance loan and the repayment rate.”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(B) by striking “at the loan rate” and inserting the following: “at a rate that is the lesser of—

“(1) the loan rate”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section.”;

(3) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “and medium grain rice” and inserting “medium grain rice, and extra long staple cotton”;

(B) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(C) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) (as so redesignated), by striking “For purposes” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) UPLAND COTTON.—In the case of upland cotton, for any period when price quotations for Middling (M) 1³/₃₂-inch cotton are available, the formula under paragraph (1)(A) shall be based on the average of the 3 lowest-priced growths that are quoted.”; and

(4) in subsection (e)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by inserting “EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON,” after “UPLAND COTTON,”;

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by inserting “UPLAND” before “COTTON”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (B), in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2024” and inserting “2032”;

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (4); and

(D) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3) EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON.—The prevailing world market price for extra long staple cotton determined under subsection (d)—

“(A) shall be adjusted to United States quality and location, with the adjustment to include the average costs to market the commodity, including average transportation costs, as determined by the Secretary; and

“(B) may be further adjusted, during the period beginning on the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and ending on July 31, 2032, if the Secretary determines the adjustment is necessary—

“(i) to minimize potential loan forfeitures;

“(ii) to minimize the accumulation of stocks of extra long staple cotton by the Federal Government;

“(iii) to ensure that extra long staple cotton produced in the United States can be marketed freely and competitively; and

“(iv) to ensure an appropriate transition between current-crop and forward-crop price quotations, except that the Secretary may use forward-crop price quotations prior to July 31 of a marketing year only if—

“(I) there are insufficient current-crop price quotations; and

“(II) the forward-crop price quotation is the lowest such quotation available.”.

SEC. 10311. ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE FOR TEXTILE MILLS.

Section 1207(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9037(c)) is amended by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(2) VALUE OF ASSISTANCE.—The value of the assistance provided under paragraph (1) shall be—

“(A) for the period beginning on August 1, 2013, and ending on July 31, 2025, 3 cents per pound; and

“(B) beginning on August 1, 2025, 5 cents per pound.”.

SEC. 10312. SUGAR PROGRAM UPDATES.

(a) LOAN RATE MODIFICATIONS.—Section 156 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7272) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (4), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (5), by striking “2023 crop years.” and inserting “2024 crop years; and”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(6) 24.00 cents per pound for raw cane sugar for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years.”;

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “2023 crop years.” and inserting “2024 crop years; and”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) a rate that is equal to 136.55 percent of the loan rate per pound of raw cane sugar under subsection (a)(6) for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years.”; and

(3) in subsection (i), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(b) ADJUSTMENTS TO COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION STORAGE RATES.—Section 167 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7287) is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) IN GENERAL.—For the 2025 crop year and each subsequent crop year, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall establish rates for the storage of forfeited sugar in an amount that is not less than—

“(1) in the case of refined sugar, 34 cents per hundredweight per month; and

“(2) in the case of raw cane sugar, 27 cents per hundredweight per month.”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “SUBSEQUENT” and inserting “PRIOR”; and

(B) by striking “and subsequent” and inserting “through 2024”.

(c) MODERNIZING BEET SUGAR ALLOTMENTS.—

(1) SUGAR ESTIMATES.—Section 359b(a)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359bb(a)(1)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(2) ALLOCATION TO PROCESSORS.—Section 359c(g)(2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359cc(g)(2)) is amended—

(A) by striking “In the case” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), in the case”;

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EXCEPTION.—If the Secretary makes an upward adjustment under paragraph (1)(A), in adjusting allocations among beet sugar processors, the Secretary shall give priority to beet sugar processors with available sugar.”.

(3) TIMING OF REASSIGNMENT.—Section 359e(b)(2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359ee(b)(2)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (C) as clauses (i) through (iii), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “If the Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) TIMING.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall—

“(i) make an initial determination based on the World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates approved by the World Agricultural Outlook Board for January that shall be applicable to the crop year for which allotments are required; and

“(ii) provide for an initial reassignment under subparagraph (A)(i) not later than 30 days after the date on which the World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates described in clause (i) is released.”.

(d) REALLOCATIONS OF TARIFF-RATE QUOTA SHORTFALL.—Section 359k of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(c) REALLOCATION.—

“(1) INITIAL REALLOCATION.—Subject to paragraph (3), following the establishment of the tariff-rate quotas under subsection (a) for a quota year, the Secretary shall—

“(A) determine which countries do not intend to fulfill their allocation for the quota year; and

“(B) reallocate any forecasted shortfall in the fulfillment of the tariff-rate quotas as soon as practicable.

“(2) SUBSEQUENT REALLOCATION.—Subject to paragraph (3), not later than March 1 of a quota year, the Secretary shall reallocate any additional forecasted shortfall in the fulfillment of the tariff-rate quotas for raw cane sugar established under subsection (a)(1) for that quota year.

“(3) CESSATION OF EFFECTIVENESS.—Paragraphs (1) and (2) shall cease to be in effect if—

“(A) the Agreement Suspending the Countervailing Duty Investigation on Sugar from Mexico, signed December 19, 2014, is terminated; and

“(B) no countervailing duty order under subtitle A of title VII of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1671 et seq.) is in effect with respect to sugar from Mexico.

“(d) REFINED SUGAR.—

“(1) DEFINITION OF DOMESTIC SUGAR INDUSTRY.—In this subsection, the term ‘domestic sugar industry’ means domestic—

“(A) sugar beet producers and processors;

“(B) producers and processors of sugar cane; and

“(C) refiners of raw cane sugar.

“(2) STUDY REQUIRED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Secretary shall conduct a study on whether the establishment of additional terms and conditions with respect to refined sugar imports is necessary and appropriate.

“(B) ELEMENTS.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall examine the following:

“(i) The need for—

“(I) defining ‘refined sugar’ as having a minimum polarization of 99.8 degrees or higher;

“(II) establishing a standard for color- or reflectance-based units for refined sugar such as those utilized by the International Commission of Uniform Methods of Sugar Analysis;

“(III) prescribing specifications for packaging type for refined sugar;

“(IV) prescribing specifications for transportation modes for refined sugar;

“(V) requiring evidence that sugar imported as refined sugar will not undergo further refining in the United States;

“(VI) prescribing appropriate terms and conditions to avoid unlawful sugar imports; and

“(VII) establishing other definitions, terms and conditions, or other requirements.

“(ii) The potential impact of modifications described in each of subclauses (I) through (VII) of clause (i) on the domestic sugar industry.

“(iii) Whether, based on the needs described in clause (i) and the impact described in clause (ii), the establishment of additional terms and conditions is appropriate.

“(C) CONSULTATION.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall consult with representatives of the domestic sugar industry and users of refined sugar.

“(D) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate a report that describes the findings of the study conducted under subparagraph (A).

“(3) ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS PERMITTED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Based on the findings in the report submitted under paragraph (2)(D), and after providing notice to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate, the Secretary may issue regulations in accordance with subparagraph (B) to establish additional terms and conditions with respect to refined sugar imports that are necessary and appropriate.

“(B) PROMULGATION OF REGULATIONS.—The Secretary may issue regulations under subparagraph (A) if the regulations—

“(i) do not have an adverse impact on the domestic sugar industry; and

“(ii) are consistent with the requirements of this part, section 156 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7272), and obligations under international trade agreements that have been approved by Congress.”.

(e) CLARIFICATION OF TARIFF-RATE QUOTA ADJUSTMENTS.—Section 359k(b)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk(b)(1)) is amended, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “if there is an” and inserting “for the sole purpose of responding directly to an”.

(f) PERIOD OF EFFECTIVENESS.—Section 359l(a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359ll(a)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10313. DAIRY POLICY UPDATES.

(a) DAIRY MARGIN COVERAGE PRODUCTION HISTORY.—

(1) DEFINITION.—Section 1401(8) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9051(8)) is amended by striking “when the participating dairy operation first registers to participate in dairy margin coverage”.

(2) PRODUCTION HISTORY OF PARTICIPATING DAIRY OPERATIONS.—Section 1405 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9055) is amended by striking subsections (a) and (b) and inserting the following:

“(a) PRODUCTION HISTORY.—Except as provided in subsection (b), the production history of a dairy operation for dairy margin coverage is equal to the highest annual milk marketings of the participating dairy operation during any 1 of the 2021, 2022, or 2023 calendar years.

“(b) ELECTION BY NEW DAIRY OPERATIONS.—In the case of a participating dairy operation that has been in operation for less than a

year, the participating dairy operation shall elect 1 of the following methods for the Secretary to determine the production history of the participating dairy operation:

“(1) The volume of the actual milk marketings for the months the participating dairy operation has been in operation extrapolated to a yearly amount.

“(2) An estimate of the actual milk marketings of the participating dairy operation based on the herd size of the participating dairy operation relative to the national rolling herd average data published by the Secretary.”

(b) DAIRY MARGIN COVERAGE PAYMENTS.—Section 1406(a)(1)(C) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9056(a)(1)(C)) is amended by striking “5,000,000” each place it appears and inserting “6,000,000”.

(c) PREMIUMS FOR DAIRY MARGINS.—

(1) TIER I.—Section 1407(b) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(b)) is amended—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”.

(2) TIER II.—Section 1407(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(c)) is amended—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”.

(3) PREMIUM DISCOUNTS.—Section 1407(g) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(g)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “2019 through 2023” and inserting “2026 through 2031”; and

(ii) by striking “January 2019” and inserting “January 2026”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(d) DURATION.—Section 1409 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9059) is amended by striking “2025” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10314. IMPLEMENTATION.

Section 1614(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9097(c)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) FURTHER FUNDING.—The Secretary shall make available to carry out subtitle C of title I of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and the amendments made by that subtitle \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended, of which—

“(A) not less than \$5,000,000 shall be used to carry out paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (b);

“(B) \$3,000,000 shall be used for activities described in paragraph (3)(A);

“(C) \$3,000,000 shall be used for activities described in paragraph (3)(B);

“(D) \$9,000,000 shall be used—

“(i) to carry out mandatory surveys of dairy production cost and product yield information to be reported by manufacturers required to report under section 273 of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1637b), for all products processed in the same facility or facilities; and

“(ii) to publish the results of such surveys biennially; and

“(E) \$1,000,000 shall be used to conduct the study under subsection (d) of section 359k of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk).”

Subtitle D—Disaster Assistance Programs

SEC. 10401. SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.

(a) LIVESTOCK INDEMNITY PAYMENTS.—Section 1501(b) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(b)) is amended—

(1) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(2) PAYMENT RATES.—

“(A) LOSSES DUE TO PREDATION.—Indemnity payments to an eligible producer on a farm under paragraph (1)(A) shall be made at a rate of 100 percent of the market value of the affected livestock on the applicable date, as determined by the Secretary.

“(B) LOSSES DUE TO ADVERSE WEATHER OR DISEASE.—Indemnity payments to an eligible producer on a farm under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) shall be made at a rate of 75 percent of the market value of the affected livestock on the applicable date, as determined by the Secretary.

“(C) DETERMINATION OF MARKET VALUE.—In determining the market value described in subparagraphs (A) and (B), the Secretary may consider the ability of eligible producers to document regional price premiums for affected livestock that exceed the national average market price for those livestock.

“(D) APPLICABLE DATE DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘applicable date’ means, with respect to livestock, as applicable—

“(i) the day before the date of death of the livestock; or

“(ii) the day before the date of the event that caused the harm to the livestock that resulted in a reduced sale price.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(5) ADDITIONAL PAYMENT FOR UNBORN LIVESTOCK.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of unborn livestock death losses incurred on or after January 1, 2024, the Secretary shall make an additional payment to eligible producers on farms that have incurred such losses in excess of the normal mortality due to a condition specified in paragraph (1).

“(B) PAYMENT RATE.—Additional payments under subparagraph (A) shall be made at a rate—

“(i) determined by the Secretary; and

“(ii) less than or equal to 85 percent of the payment rate established with respect to the lowest weight class of the livestock, as determined by the Secretary, acting through the Administrator of the Farm Service Agency.

“(C) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The amount of a payment to an eligible producer that has incurred unborn livestock death losses shall be equal to the payment rate determined under subparagraph (B) multiplied, in the case of livestock described in—

“(i) subparagraph (A), (B), or (F) of subsection (a)(4), by 1;

“(ii) subparagraph (D) of such subsection, by 2;

“(iii) subparagraph (E) of such subsection, by 12; and

“(iv) subparagraph (G) of such subsection, by the average number of birthed animals (for one gestation cycle) for the species of each such livestock, as determined by the Secretary.

“(D) UNBORN LIVESTOCK DEATH LOSSES DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘unborn livestock death losses’ means losses of any livestock described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), (E), (F), or (G) of subsection (a)(4) that was gestating on the date of the death of the livestock.”

(b) LIVESTOCK FORAGE DISASTER PROGRAM.—Section 1501(c)(3)(D)(ii)(I) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(c)(3)(D)(ii)(I)) is amended—

(1) by striking “1 monthly payment” and inserting “2 monthly payments”; and

(2) by striking “county for at least 8 consecutive” and inserting the following: “county for not less than—

“(aa) 4 consecutive weeks during the normal grazing period for the county, as determined by the Secretary, shall be eligible to receive assistance under this paragraph in an amount equal to 1 monthly payment using

the monthly payment rate determined under subparagraph (B); or

“(bb) 7 of the previous 8 consecutive”.

(c) EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR LIVESTOCK, HONEY BEES, AND FARM-RAISED FISH.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1501(d) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) ASSISTANCE FOR LOSSES DUE TO BIRD DEPREDATION.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF FARM-RAISED FISH.—In this paragraph, the term ‘farm-raised fish’ means fish propagated and reared in a controlled fresh water environment.

“(B) PAYMENTS.—Eligible producers of farm-raised fish, including fish grown as food for human consumption, shall be eligible to receive payments under this subsection to aid in the reduction of losses due to piscivorous birds.

“(C) PAYMENT RATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The payment rate for payments under subparagraph (B) shall be determined by the Secretary, taking into account—

“(I) costs associated with the deterrence of piscivorous birds;

“(II) the value of lost fish and revenue due to bird depredation; and

“(III) costs associated with disease loss from bird depredation.

“(ii) MINIMUM RATE.—The payment rate for payments under subparagraph (B) shall be not less than \$600 per acre of farm-raised fish.

“(D) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The amount of a payment under subparagraph (B) shall be the product obtained by multiplying—

“(i) the applicable payment rate under subparagraph (C); and

“(ii) 85 percent of the total number of acres of farm-raised fish farms that the eligible producer has in production for the calendar year.”

(2) EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR HONEYBEES.—In determining honeybee colony losses eligible for assistance under section 1501(d) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(d)), the Secretary shall utilize a normal mortality rate of 15 percent.

(d) TREE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—Section 1501(e) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “15 percent (adjusted for normal mortality)” and inserting “normal mortality”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)(i), by striking “15 percent mortality (adjusted for normal mortality)” and inserting “normal mortality”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) by striking “50” and inserting “65”; and

(ii) by striking “15 percent damage or mortality (adjusted for normal tree damage and mortality)” and inserting “normal tree damage or mortality”.

Subtitle E—Crop Insurance

SEC. 10501. BEGINNING FARMER AND RANCHER BENEFIT.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 502(b)(3) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1502(b)(3)) is amended by striking “5” and inserting “10”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 522(c)(7) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1522(c)(7)) is amended by striking subparagraph (F).

(b) INCREASE IN ASSISTANCE.—Section 508(e) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(9) ADDITIONAL SUPPORT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other provision of this subsection (except paragraph (2)(A)) regarding payment of a portion

of premiums, a beginning farmer or rancher shall receive additional premium assistance that is the number of percentage points specified in subparagraph (B) greater than the premium assistance that would otherwise be available for the applicable policy, plan of insurance, and coverage level selected by the beginning farmer or rancher.

“(B) PERCENTAGE POINTS ADJUSTMENTS.—The percentage points referred to in subparagraph (A) are the following:

“(i) For each of the first and second reinsurance years that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 5 percentage points.

“(ii) For the third reinsurance year that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 3 percentage points.

“(iii) For the fourth reinsurance year that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 1 percentage point.”.

SEC. 10502. AREA-BASED CROP INSURANCE COVERAGE AND AFFORDABILITY.

(a) COVERAGE LEVEL.—Section 508(c)(4) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(c)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (ii) and inserting the following:

“(ii) may be purchased at any level not to exceed—

“(I) in the case of the individual yield or revenue coverage, 85 percent;

“(II) in the case of individual yield or revenue coverage aggregated across multiple commodities, 90 percent; and

“(III) in the case of area yield or revenue coverage (as determined by the Corporation), 95 percent.”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “14” and inserting “10”; and

(B) in clause (iii)(I), by striking “86” and inserting “90”.

(b) PREMIUM SUBSIDY.—Section 508(e)(2)(H)(i) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)(2)(H)(i)) is amended by striking “65” and inserting “80”.

SEC. 10503. ADMINISTRATIVE AND OPERATING EXPENSE ADJUSTMENTS.

Section 508(k) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(k)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(10) ADDITIONAL EXPENSES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, in addition to the terms and conditions of the Standard Reinsurance Agreement, to cover additional expenses for loss adjustment procedures, the Corporation shall pay an additional administrative and operating expense subsidy to approved insurance providers for eligible contracts.

“(B) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—In the case of an eligible contract, the payment to an approved insurance provider required under subparagraph (A) shall be the amount equal to 6 percent of the net book premium.

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) ELIGIBLE CONTRACT.—The term ‘eligible contract’—

“(I) means a crop insurance contract entered into by an approved insurance provider in an eligible State; and

“(II) does not include a contract for—

“(aa) catastrophic risk protection under subsection (b);

“(bb) an area-based plan of insurance or similar plan of insurance, as determined by the Corporation; or

“(cc) a policy under which an approved insurance provider does not incur loss adjustment expenses, as determined by the Corporation.

“(ii) ELIGIBLE STATE.—The term ‘eligible State’ means a State in which, with respect to an insurance year, the loss ratio for eligible contracts is greater than 120 percent of the total net book premium written by all approved insurance providers.

“(11) SPECIALTY CROPS.—

“(A) MINIMUM REIMBURSEMENT.—Beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, the rate of reimbursement to approved insurance providers and agents for administrative and operating expenses with respect to crop insurance contracts covering agricultural commodities described in section 101 of the Specialty Crops Competitiveness Act of 2004 (7 U.S.C. 1621 note; Public Law 108-465) shall be equal to or greater than the percentage that is the greater of the following:

“(i) 17 percent of the premium used to define loss ratio.

“(ii) The percent of the premium used to define loss ratio that is otherwise applicable for the reinsurance year under the terms of the Standard Reinsurance Agreement in effect for the reinsurance year.

“(B) OTHER CONTRACTS.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Corporation shall not reduce, with respect to any reinsurance year, the amount or the rate of reimbursement to approved insurance providers and agents under the Standard Reinsurance Agreement described in clause (ii) of such subparagraph for administrative and operating expenses with respect to contracts covering agricultural commodities that are not subject to such subparagraph.

“(C) ADMINISTRATION.—The requirements of this paragraph and the adjustments made pursuant to this paragraph shall not be considered a renegotiation under paragraph (8)(A).

“(12) A&O INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, the Corporation shall increase the total administrative and operating expense reimbursements otherwise required under the Standard Reinsurance Agreement in effect for the reinsurance year in order to account for inflation, in a manner consistent with the increases provided with respect to the 2011 through 2015 reinsurance years under the enclosure included in Risk Management Agency Bulletin numbered MGR-10-007 and dated June 30, 2010.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR 2026 REINSURANCE YEAR.—The increase under subparagraph (A) for the 2026 reinsurance year shall not exceed the percentage change for the preceding reinsurance year included in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

“(C) ADMINISTRATION.—An increase under subparagraph (A)—

“(i) shall apply with respect to all contracts covering agricultural commodities that were subject to an increase during the period of the 2011 through 2015 reinsurance years under the enclosure referred to in that subparagraph; and

“(ii) shall not be considered a renegotiation under paragraph (8)(A).”.

SEC. 10504. PREMIUM SUPPORT.

Section 508(e)(2) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)(2)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)(i), by striking “64” and inserting “69”;

(2) in subparagraph (D)(i), by striking “59” and inserting “64”;

(3) in subparagraph (E)(i), by striking “55” and inserting “60”;

(4) in subparagraph (F)(i), by striking “48” and inserting “51”;

(5) in subparagraph (G)(i), by striking “38” and inserting “41”.

SEC. 10505. PROGRAM COMPLIANCE AND INTEGRITY.

Section 515(1)(2) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1515(1)(2)) is amended by striking “than” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting the following: “than—

“(A) \$4,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2009 through 2025; and

“(B) \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year.”.

SEC. 10506. REVIEWS, COMPLIANCE, AND INTEGRITY.

Section 516(b)(2)(C)(i) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1516(b)(2)(C)(i)) is amended, in the matter preceding subclause (I), by striking “for each fiscal year” and inserting “for each of fiscal years 2014 through 2025 and \$10,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter”.

SEC. 10507. POULTRY INSURANCE PILOT PROGRAM.

Section 523 of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1523) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(j) POULTRY INSURANCE PILOT PROGRAM.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding subsection (a)(2), the Corporation shall establish a pilot program under which contract poultry growers, including growers of broilers and laying hens, may elect to receive index-based insurance from extreme weather-related risk resulting in increased utility costs (including costs of natural gas, propane, electricity, water, and other appropriate costs, as determined by the Corporation) associated with poultry production.

“(2) STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT.—The Corporation shall engage with poultry industry stakeholders in establishing the pilot program under paragraph (1).

“(3) LOCATION.—The pilot program established under paragraph (1) shall be conducted in a sufficient number of counties to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the feasibility, effectiveness, and demand among producers in the top poultry producing States, as determined by the Corporation.

“(4) APPROVAL OF POLICY OR PLAN.—Notwithstanding section 508(1), the Board shall approve a policy or plan of insurance based on the pilot program under paragraph (1)—

“(A) in accordance with section 508(h); and

“(B) not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this subsection.”.

Subtitle F—Additional Investments in Rural America

SEC. 10601. CONSERVATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1241(a) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3841(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking subparagraphs (A) through (F) and inserting the following:

“(A) \$625,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;

“(B) \$650,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;

“(C) \$675,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;

“(D) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;

“(E) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and

“(F) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking clauses (i) through (v) and inserting the following:

“(i) \$2,655,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;

“(ii) \$2,855,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;

“(iii) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;

“(iv) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;

“(v) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and

“(vi) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2031; and”;

and

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking clauses (i) through (v) and inserting the following:

“(i) \$1,300,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;

“(ii) \$1,325,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;

“(iii) \$1,350,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;

“(iv) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
“(v) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
“(vi) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”

(b) REGIONAL CONSERVATION PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM.—Section 1271D of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3871d) is amended by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out the program, to the maximum extent practicable—

“(1) \$425,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
“(2) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
“(3) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
“(4) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
“(5) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
“(6) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”

(c) GRASSROOTS SOURCE WATER PROTECTION PROGRAM.—Section 12400(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3839bb–2(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) \$1,000,000 beginning in fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”

(d) VOLUNTARY PUBLIC ACCESS AND HABITAT INCENTIVE PROGRAM.—Section 1240R(f)(1) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3839bb–5(f)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “2023, and” and inserting “2023;” and

(2) by inserting “, and \$70,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2031” before the period at the end.

(e) WATERSHED PROTECTION AND FLOOD PREVENTION.—Section 15 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (16 U.S.C. 1012a) is amended by striking “\$50,000,000 for fiscal year 2019 and each fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “\$150,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter, to remain available until expended”.

(f) PERAL SWINE ERADICATION AND CONTROL PILOT PROGRAM.—Section 2408(g)(1) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (7 U.S.C. 8351 note; Public Law 115–334) is amended—

(1) by striking “2023 and” and inserting “2023;” and

(2) by inserting “, and \$105,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2031” before the period at the end.

(g) RESCISSION.—The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated by section 21001(a) of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2015) are rescinded.

SEC. 10602. SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURAL TRADE PROMOTION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Agriculture shall carry out a program to encourage the accessibility, development, maintenance, and expansion of commercial export markets for United States agricultural commodities.

(b) FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary of Agriculture shall make available to carry out this section \$285,000,000 for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter.

SEC. 10603. NUTRITION.

Section 203D(d)(5) of the Emergency Food Assistance Act of 1983 (7 U.S.C. 7507(d)(5)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10604. RESEARCH.

(a) URBAN, INDOOR, AND OTHER EMERGING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND EXTENSION INITIATIVE.—Section 1672E(d)(1)(B) of the Food, Agriculture, Con-

servation, and Trade Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 5925g(d)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “fiscal year 2024, to remain available until expended” and inserting “each of fiscal years 2024 through 2031”.

(b) FOUNDATION FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE RESEARCH.—Section 7601(g)(1)(A) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 5939(g)(1)(A)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) FURTHER FUNDING.—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this clause, of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall transfer to the Foundation to carry out this section \$37,000,000, to remain available until expended.”

(c) SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDENTS AT 1890 INSTITUTIONS.—Section 1446(b)(1) of the National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 (7 U.S.C. 3222a(b)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(C) FURTHER FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$60,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”

(d) ASSISTIVE TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM FOR FARMERS WITH DISABILITIES.—Section 1680 of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 5933) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(2), by inserting “and subsection (d)” after “paragraph (1)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(d) MANDATORY FUNDING.—Subject to subsection (c)(2), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out this section \$8,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”

(e) SPECIALTY CROP RESEARCH INITIATIVE.—Section 412(k)(1)(B) of the Agricultural Research, Extension, and Education Reform Act of 1998 (7 U.S.C. 7632(k)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “section \$80,000,000 for fiscal year 2014” and inserting the following: “section—

“(i) \$80,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2014 through 2025; and

“(ii) \$175,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(f) RESEARCH FACILITIES ACT.—Section 6 of the Research Facilities Act (7 U.S.C. 390d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c), by striking “subsection (a)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (e)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) MANDATORY FUNDING.—Subject to subsections (b), (c), and (d), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out the competitive grant program under section 4 \$125,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter.”

SEC. 10605. ENERGY.

Section 9005(g)(1)(F) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 8105(g)(1)(F)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10606. HORTICULTURE.

(a) PLANT PEST AND DISEASE MANAGEMENT AND DISASTER PREVENTION.—Section 420(f) of the Plant Protection Act (7 U.S.C. 7721(f)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7);

(3) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) \$75,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2018 through 2025; and”; and

(4) in paragraph (7) (as so redesignated), by striking “\$75,000,000 for fiscal year 2018” and inserting “\$90,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(b) SPECIALTY CROP BLOCK GRANTS.—Section 101(i)(1) of the Specialty Crops Competitiveness Act of 2004 (7 U.S.C. 1621 note; Public Law 108–465) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (E) as subparagraph (F);

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following:

“(E) \$85,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2018 through 2025; and”; and

(4) in subparagraph (F) (as so redesignated), by striking “\$85,000,000 for fiscal year 2018” and inserting “\$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(c) ORGANIC PRODUCTION AND MARKET DATA INITIATIVE.—Section 7407(d)(1) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 5925c(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(D) \$10,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2026 through 2031.”

(d) MODERNIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS AND DATA COLLECTION.—Section 2123(c)(4) of the Organic Foods Production Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 6522(c)(4)) is amended, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 2024” and inserting “, \$1,000,000 for fiscal years 2024 and 2025, and \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(e) NATIONAL ORGANIC CERTIFICATION COST-SHARE PROGRAM.—Section 10606(d)(1)(C) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 6523(d)(1)(C)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(f) MULTIPLE CROP AND PESTICIDE USE SURVEY.—Section 10109(c) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–334; 132 Stat. 4907) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(3) FURTHER MANDATORY FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out this section \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”

SEC. 10607. MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) ANIMAL DISEASE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT.—Section 10409A(d)(1) of the Animal Health Protection Act (7 U.S.C. 8308a(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the heading, by striking “SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS” and inserting “FISCAL YEARS 2023 THROUGH 2025”; and

(B) by striking “fiscal year 2023 and each fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “each of fiscal years 2023 through 2025”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) FISCAL YEARS 2026 THROUGH 2030.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$233,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2030, of which—

“(i) not less than \$10,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (a);

“(ii) not less than \$70,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (b); and

“(iii) not less than \$153,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (c).

“(D) SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$75,000,000 for fiscal year 2031 and each fiscal year thereafter, of which not less than \$45,000,000 shall be made available for each of those fiscal years to carry out subsection (b).”

(b) SHEEP PRODUCTION AND MARKETING GRANT PROGRAM.—Section 209(c) of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1627a(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking “2019, and” and inserting “2019;” and

(2) by inserting “and \$3,000,000 for fiscal year 2026,” after “fiscal year 2024.”

(c) **PIMA AGRICULTURE COTTON TRUST FUND.**—Section 12314 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 2101 note; Public Law 113–79) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) in subsection (h), by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(d) **AGRICULTURE WOOL APPAREL MANUFACTURERS TRUST FUND.**—Section 12315 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 7101 note; Public Law 113–79) is amended by striking “2024” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(e) **WOOL RESEARCH AND PROMOTION.**—Section 12316(a) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 7101 note; Public Law 113–79) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(f) **EMERGENCY CITRUS DISEASE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TRUST FUND.**—Section 12605(d) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (7 U.S.C. 7632 note; Public Law 115–334) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

TITLE II—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

SEC. 20001. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL.

(a) **APPROPRIATIONS.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$230,480,000 for restoration and modernization costs under the Marine Corps Barracks 2030 initiative;

(2) \$119,000,000 for base operating support costs under the Marine Corps;

(3) \$1,000,000,000 for Army, Navy, Air Force, and Space Force sustainment, restoration, and modernization of military unaccompanied housing;

(4) \$2,000,000,000 for the Defense Health Program;

(5) \$2,900,000,000 to supplement the basic allowance for housing payable to members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force, notwithstanding section 403 of title 37, United States Code;

(6) \$50,000,000 for bonuses, special pays, and incentive pays for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force pursuant to titles 10 and 37, United States Code;

(7) \$10,000,000 for the Defense Activity for Non-Traditional Education Support’s Online Academic Skills Course program for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force;

(8) \$100,000,000 for tuition assistance for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force pursuant to title 10, United States Code;

(9) \$100,000,000 for child care fee assistance for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force under part II of chapter 88 of title 10, United States Code;

(10) \$590,000,000 to increase the Temporary Lodging Expense Allowance under chapter 8 of title 37, United States Code, to 21 days;

(11) \$100,000,000 for Department of Defense Impact Aid payments to local educational agencies under section 2008 of title 10, United States Code;

(12) \$10,000,000 for military spouse professional licensure under section 1784 of title 10, United States Code;

(13) \$6,000,000 for Armed Forces Retirement Home facilities;

(14) \$100,000,000 for the Defense Community Infrastructure Program;

(15) \$100,000,000 for Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) casualty care research; and

(16) \$62,000,000 for modernization of Department of Defense childcare center staffing.

(b) **TEMPORARY INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE OF VALUE OF AUTHORIZED INVESTMENT IN CERTAIN PRIVATIZED MILITARY HOUSING PROJECTS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—During the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending on September 30, 2029, the Secretary concerned shall apply—

(A) paragraph (1) of subsection (c) of section 2875 of title 10, United States Code, by substituting “60 percent” for “33 ⅓ percent”; and

(B) paragraph (2) of such subsection by substituting “60 percent” for “45 percent”.

(2) **SECRETARY CONCERNED DEFINED.**—In this subsection, the term “Secretary concerned” has the meaning given such term in section 101 of title 10, United States Code.

(c) **TEMPORARY AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION OR CONSTRUCTION OF PRIVATIZED MILITARY UNACCOMPANIED HOUSING.**—Section 2881a of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking the heading and inserting “**Temporary authority for acquisition or construction of privatized military unaccompanied housing**”;

(2) by striking “Secretary of the Navy” each place it appears and inserting “Secretary concerned”;

(3) by striking “under the pilot projects” each place it appears and inserting “pursuant to this section”;

(4) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking the heading and inserting “**IN GENERAL**”; and

(B) by striking “carry out not more than three pilot projects under the authority of this section or another provision of this subchapter to use the private sector” and inserting “use the authority under this subchapter to enter into contracts with appropriate private sector entities”;

(5) in subsection (c), by striking “privatized housing” and inserting “privatized housing units”;

(6) by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (e); and

(7) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated)—

(A) by striking “under the pilot programs” and inserting “under this section”; and

(B) by striking “September 30, 2009” and inserting “September 30, 2029”.

SEC. 20002. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR SHIPBUILDING.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$250,000,000 for the expansion of accelerated Training in Defense Manufacturing program;

(2) \$250,000,000 for United States production of turbine generators for shipbuilding industrial base;

(3) \$450,000,000 for United States additive manufacturing for wire production and machining capacity for shipbuilding industrial base;

(4) \$492,000,000 for next-generation shipbuilding techniques;

(5) \$85,000,000 for United States-made steel plate for shipbuilding industrial base;

(6) \$50,000,000 for machining capacity for naval propellers for shipbuilding industrial base;

(7) \$110,000,000 for rolled steel and fabrication facility for shipbuilding industrial base;

(8) \$400,000,000 for expansion of collaborative campus for naval shipbuilding;

(9) \$450,000,000 for application of autonomy and artificial intelligence to naval shipbuilding;

(10) \$500,000,000 for the adoption of advanced manufacturing techniques in the shipbuilding industrial base;

(11) \$500,000,000 for additional dry-dock capability;

(12) \$50,000,000 for the expansion of cold spray repair technologies;

(13) \$450,000,000 for additional maritime industrial workforce development programs;

(14) \$750,000,000 for additional supplier development across the naval shipbuilding industrial base;

(15) \$250,000,000 for additional advanced manufacturing processes across the naval shipbuilding industrial base;

(16) \$4,600,000,000 for a second Virginia-class submarine in fiscal year 2026;

(17) \$5,400,000,000 for two additional Guided Missile Destroyer (DDG) ships;

(18) \$160,000,000 for advanced procurement for Landing Ship Medium;

(19) \$1,803,941,000 for procurement of Landing Ship Medium;

(20) \$295,000,000 for development of a second Landing Craft Utility shipyard and production of additional Landing Craft Utility;

(21) \$100,000,000 for advanced procurement for light replenishment oiler program;

(22) \$600,000,000 for the lease or purchase of new ships through the National Defense Sealift Fund;

(23) \$2,725,000,000 for the procurement of T-AO oilers;

(24) \$500,000,000 for cost-to-complete for rescue and salvage ships;

(25) \$300,000,000 for production of ship-to-shore connectors;

(26) \$1,470,000,000 for the implementation of a multi-ship amphibious warship contract;

(27) \$80,000,000 for accelerated development of vertical launch system reloading at sea;

(28) \$250,000,000 for expansion of Navy corrosion control programs;

(29) \$159,000,000 for leasing of ships for Marine Corps operations;

(30) \$1,534,000,000 for expansion of small unmanned surface vessel production;

(31) \$2,100,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of purpose-built medium unmanned surface vessels;

(32) \$1,300,000,000 for expansion of unmanned underwater vehicle production;

(33) \$188,360,000 for the development and testing of maritime robotic autonomous systems and enabling technologies;

(34) \$174,000,000 for the development of a Test Resource Management Center robotic autonomous systems proving ground;

(35) \$250,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of wave-powered unmanned underwater vehicles; and

(36) \$150,000,000 for retention of inactive reserve fleet ships.

SEC. 20003. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR INTEGRATED AIR AND MISSILE DEFENSE.

(a) **NEXT GENERATION MISSILE DEFENSE TECHNOLOGIES.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$250,000,000 for development and testing of directed energy capabilities by the Under Secretary for Research and Engineering;

(2) \$500,000,000 for national security space launch infrastructure;

(3) \$2,000,000,000 for air moving target indicator military satellites;

(4) \$400,000,000 for expansion of Multi-Service Advanced Capability Hypersonic Test Bed program;

(5) \$5,600,000,000 for development of space-based and boost phase intercept capabilities;

(6) \$7,200,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space-based sensors; and

(7) \$2,550,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military missile defense capabilities.

(b) LAYERED HOMELAND DEFENSE.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,200,000,000 for acceleration of hypersonic defense systems;

(2) \$800,000,000 for accelerated development and deployment of next-generation intercontinental ballistic missile defense systems;

(3) \$408,000,000 for Army space and strategic missile test range infrastructure restoration and modernization in the United States Indo-Pacific Command area of operations west of the international dateline;

(4) \$1,975,000,000 for improved ground-based missile defense radars; and

(5) \$530,000,000 for the design and construction of Missile Defense Agency missile instrumentation range safety ship.

SEC. 20004. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR MUNITIONS AND DEFENSE SUPPLY CHAIN RESILIENCY.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$400,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of Navy and Air Force long-range anti-ship missiles;

(2) \$380,000,000 for production capacity expansion for Navy and Air Force long-range anti-ship missiles;

(3) \$490,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of Navy and Air Force long-range air-to-surface missiles;

(4) \$94,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of alternative Navy and Air Force long-range air-to-surface missiles;

(5) \$630,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of long-range Navy air defense and anti-ship missiles;

(6) \$688,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of long-range multi-service cruise missiles;

(7) \$250,000,000 for production capacity expansion and supplier base strengthening of long-range multi-service cruise missiles;

(8) \$70,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of short-range Navy and Marine Corps anti-ship missiles;

(9) \$100,000,000 for the development of an anti-ship seeker for short-range Army ballistic missiles;

(10) \$175,000,000 for production capacity expansion for next-generation Army medium-range ballistic missiles;

(11) \$50,000,000 for the mitigation of diminishing manufacturing sources for medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(12) \$250,000,000 for the procurement of medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(13) \$225,000,000 for the expansion of production capacity for medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(14) \$50,000,000 for the development of second sources for components of short-range air-to-air missiles;

(15) \$325,000,000 for production capacity improvements for air-launched anti-radiation missiles;

(16) \$50,000,000 for the accelerated development of Army next-generation medium-range anti-ship ballistic missiles;

(17) \$114,000,000 for the production of Army next-generation medium-range ballistic missiles;

(18) \$300,000,000 for the production of Army medium-range ballistic missiles;

(19) \$85,000,000 for the accelerated development of Army long-range ballistic missiles;

(20) \$400,000,000 for the production of heavy-weight torpedoes;

(21) \$200,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of mass-producible autonomous underwater munitions;

(22) \$70,000,000 for the improvement of heavyweight torpedo maintenance activities;

(23) \$200,000,000 for the production of light-weight torpedoes;

(24) \$500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of maritime mines;

(25) \$50,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of new underwater explosives;

(26) \$55,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of lightweight multi-mission torpedoes;

(27) \$80,000,000 for the production of sonobuoys;

(28) \$150,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of air-delivered long-range maritime mines;

(29) \$61,000,000 for the acceleration of Navy expeditionary loitering munitions deployment;

(30) \$50,000,000 for the acceleration of one-way attack unmanned aerial systems with advanced autonomy;

(31) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion of the one-way attack unmanned aerial systems industrial base;

(32) \$200,000,000 for investments in solid rocket motor industrial base through the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code;

(33) \$400,000,000 for investments in the emerging solid rocket motor industrial base through the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code;

(34) \$42,000,000 for investments in second sources for large-diameter solid rocket motors for hypersonic missiles;

(35) \$1,000,000,000 for the creation of next-generation automated munitions production factories;

(36) \$170,000,000 for the development of advanced radar depot for repair, testing, and production of radar and electronic warfare systems;

(37) \$25,000,000 for the expansion of the Department of Defense industrial base policy analysis workforce;

(38) \$30,300,000 for the repair of Army missiles;

(39) \$100,000,000 for the production of small and medium ammunition;

(40) \$2,000,000,000 for additional activities to improve the United States stockpile of critical minerals through the National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund, authorized by subchapter III of chapter 5 of title 50, United States Code;

(41) \$10,000,000 for the expansion of the Department of Defense armaments cooperation workforce;

(42) \$500,000,000 for the expansion of the Defense Exportability Features program;

(43) \$350,000,000 for production of Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(44) \$93,000,000 for replacement of Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(45) \$100,000,000 for development of a second solid rocket motor source for Navy air defense and anti ship missiles;

(46) \$65,000,000 for expansion of production capacity of Missile Defense Agency long-range anti-ballistic missiles;

(47) \$225,000,000 for expansion of production capacity for Navy air defense and anti-ship missiles;

(48) \$103,300,000 for expansion of depot level maintenance facility for Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(49) \$18,000,000 for creation of domestic source for guidance section of Navy short-range air defense missiles;

(50) \$65,000,000 for integration of Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptor with Navy ships;

(51) \$176,100,000 for production of Army long-range movable missile defense radar;

(52) \$167,000,000 for accelerated fielding of Army short-range gun-based air and missile defense system;

(53) \$40,000,000 for development of low-cost alternatives to air and missile defense interceptors;

(54) \$50,000,000 for acceleration of Army next-generation shoulder-fired air defense system;

(55) \$91,000,000 for production of Army next-generation shoulder-fired air defense system;

(56) \$500,000,000 for development, production, and integration of counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(57) \$350,000,000 for development, production, and integration of non-kinetic counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(58) \$250,000,000 for development, production, and integration of land-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(59) \$200,000,000 for development, production, and integration of ship-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(60) \$400,000,000 for acceleration of hypersonic strike programs;

(61) \$167,000,000 for procurement of additional launchers for Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(62) \$500,000,000 for expansion of defense advanced manufacturing techniques;

(63) \$1,000,000 for establishment of the Joint Energetics Transition Office;

(64) \$200,000,000 for acceleration of Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(65) \$150,000,000 for additive manufacturing for propellant;

(66) \$250,000,000 for expansion and acceleration of penetrating munitions production; and

(67) \$50,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of precision extended-range artillery.

(b) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$3,300,000,000 for grants and purchase commitments made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code.

(c) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$5,000,000,000 for investments in critical minerals supply chains made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code.

(d) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$500,000,000 to the “Department of Defense Credit Program Account” to carry out the capital assistance program, including loans, loan guarantees, and technical assistance, established under section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code, for critical minerals and related industries and projects, including related Covered Technology Categories: *Provided, That—*

(1) such amounts are available to subsidize gross obligations for the principal amount of direct loans, and total loan principal, any part of which is to be guaranteed, not to exceed \$100,000,000,000; and

(2) such amounts are available to cover all costs and expenditures as provided under section 149(e)(5)(B) of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20005. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR SCALING LOW-COST WEAPONS INTO PRODUCTION.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$25,000,000 for the Office of Strategic Capital Global Technology Scout program;

(2) \$1,400,000,000 for the expansion of the small unmanned aerial system industrial base;

(3) \$400,000,000 for the development and deployment of the Joint Fires Network and associated joint battle management capabilities;

(4) \$400,000,000 for the expansion of advanced command-and-control tools to combatant commands and military departments;

(5) \$100,000,000 for the development of shared secure facilities for the defense industrial base;

(6) \$50,000,000 for the creation of additional Defense Innovation Unit OnRamp Hubs;

(7) \$600,000,000 for the acceleration of Strategic Capabilities Office programs;

(8) \$650,000,000 for the expansion of Mission Capabilities office joint prototyping and experimentation activities for military innovation;

(9) \$500,000,000 for the accelerated development and integration of advanced 5G/6G technologies for military use;

(10) \$25,000,000 for testing of simultaneous transmit and receive technology for military spectrum agility;

(11) \$50,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of high-altitude stratospheric balloons for military use;

(12) \$120,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of long-endurance unmanned aerial systems for surveillance;

(13) \$40,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of alternative positioning and navigation technology to enable military operations in contested electromagnetic environments;

(14) \$750,000,000 for the acceleration of innovative military logistics and energy capability development and deployment;

(15) \$125,000,000 for the acceleration of development of small, portable modular nuclear reactors for military use;

(16) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion of programs to accelerate the procurement and fielding of innovative technologies;

(17) \$90,000,000 for the development of reusable hypersonic technology for military strikes;

(18) \$2,000,000,000 for the expansion of Defense Innovation Unit scaling of commercial technology for military use;

(19) \$500,000,000 to prevent delays in delivery of attributable autonomous military capabilities;

(20) \$1,500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of low-cost cruise missiles;

(21) \$124,000,000 for improvements to Test Resource Management Center artificial intelligence capabilities;

(22) \$145,000,000 for the development of artificial intelligence to enable one-way attack unmanned aerial systems and naval systems;

(23) \$250,000,000 for the development of the Test Resource Management Center digital test environment;

(24) \$250,000,000 for the advancement of the artificial intelligence ecosystem;

(25) \$250,000,000 for the expansion of Cyber Command artificial intelligence lines of effort;

(26) \$250,000,000 for the acceleration of the Quantum Benchmarking Initiative;

(27) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion and acceleration of qualification activities and technical data management to enhance competition in defense industrial base;

(28) \$400,000,000 for the expansion of the defense manufacturing technology program;

(29) \$1,685,000,000 for military cryptographic modernization activities;

(30) \$90,000,000 for APEX Accelerators, the Mentor-Protege Program, and cybersecurity support to small non-traditional contractors;

(31) \$250,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Air Force low-cost counter-air capabilities;

(32) \$10,000,000 for additional Air Force wargaming activities; and

(33) \$20,000,000 for the Office of Strategic Capital workforce.

(b) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$1,000,000,000 to the “Department of Defense Credit Program Account” to carry out the capital assistance program, including loans, loan guarantees, and technical assistance, established under section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code: *Provided*, That—

(1) such amounts are available to subsidize gross obligations for the principal amount of direct loans, and total loan principal, any part of which is to be guaranteed, not to exceed \$100,000,000,000; and

(2) such amounts are available to cover all costs and expenditures as provided under section 149(e)(5)(B) of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20006. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY AND CYBERSECURITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$150,000,000 for business systems replacement to accelerate the audits of the financial statements of the Department of Defense pursuant to chapter 9A and section 2222 of title 10, United States Code;

(2) \$200,000,000 for the deployment of automation and artificial intelligence to accelerate the audits of the financial statements of the Department of Defense pursuant to chapter 9A and section 2222 of title 10, United States Code;

(3) \$10,000,000 for the improvement of the budgetary and programmatic infrastructure of the Office of the Secretary of Defense; and

(4) \$20,000,000 for defense cybersecurity programs of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency.

SEC. 20007. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR AIR SUPERIORITY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$3,150,000,000 to increase F-15EX aircraft production;

(2) \$361,220,000 to prevent the retirement of F-22 aircraft;

(3) \$127,460,000 to prevent the retirement of F-15E aircraft;

(4) \$187,000,000 to accelerate installation of F-16 electronic warfare capability;

(5) \$116,000,000 for C-17A Mobility Aircraft Connectivity;

(6) \$84,000,000 for KC-135 Mobility Aircraft Connectivity;

(7) \$440,000,000 to increase C-130J production;

(8) \$474,000,000 to increase EA-37B production;

(9) \$678,000,000 to accelerate the Collaborative Combat Aircraft program;

(10) \$400,000,000 to accelerate production of the F-47 aircraft;

(11) \$750,000,000 accelerate the FA/XX aircraft;

(12) \$100,000,000 for production of Advanced Aerial Sensors;

(13) \$160,000,000 to accelerate V-22 nacelle and reliability and safety improvements;

(14) \$100,000,000 to accelerate production of MQ-25 aircraft;

(15) \$270,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of Marine Corps unmanned combat aircraft;

(16) \$96,000,000 for the procurement and integration of infrared search and track pods;

(17) \$50,000,000 for the procurement and integration of additional F-15EX conformal fuel tanks;

(18) \$600,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Air Force long-range strike aircraft; and

(19) \$500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Navy long-range strike aircraft.

SEC. 20008. ENHANCEMENT OF RESOURCES FOR NUCLEAR FORCES.

(a) DOD APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,500,000,000 for risk reduction activities for the Sentinel intercontinental ballistic missile program;

(2) \$4,500,000,000 only for expansion of production capacity of B-21 long-range bomber aircraft and the purchase of aircraft only available through the expansion of production capacity;

(3) \$500,000,000 for improvements to the Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile system;

(4) \$100,000,000 for capability enhancements to intercontinental ballistic missile reentry vehicles;

(5) \$148,000,000 for the expansion of D5 missile motor production;

(6) \$400,000,000 to accelerate the development of Trident D5LE2 submarine-launched ballistic missiles;

(7) \$2,000,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile;

(8) \$62,000,000 to convert Ohio-class submarine tubes to accept additional missiles, not to be obligated before March 1, 2026;

(9) \$168,000,000 to accelerate the production of the Survivable Airborne Operations Center program;

(10) \$65,000,000 to accelerate the modernization of nuclear command, control, and communications;

(11) \$210,300,000 for the increased production of MH-139 helicopters; and

(12) \$150,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of military nuclear weapons delivery programs.

(b) NNSA APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the

Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$200,000,000 to perform National Nuclear Security Administration Phase 1 studies pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(2) \$540,000,000 to address deferred maintenance and repair needs of the National Nuclear Security Administration pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(3) \$1,000,000,000 to accelerate the construction of National Nuclear Security Administration facilities pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(4) \$400,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of the warhead for the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(5) \$750,000,000 to accelerate primary capability modernization pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(6) \$750,000,000 to accelerate secondary capability modernization pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(7) \$120,000,000 to accelerate domestic uranium enrichment centrifuge deployment for defense purposes pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(8) \$10,000,000 for National Nuclear Security Administration evaluation of spent fuel reprocessing technology; and

(9) \$115,000,000 for accelerating nuclear national security missions through artificial intelligence.

SEC. 20009. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES TO IMPROVE CAPABILITIES OF UNITED STATES INDO-PACIFIC COMMAND.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$365,000,000 for Army exercises and operations in the Western Pacific area of operations;

(2) \$53,000,000 for Special Operations Command exercises and operations in the Western Pacific area of operations;

(3) \$47,000,000 for Marine Corps exercises and operations in Western Pacific area of operations;

(4) \$90,000,000 for Air Force exercises and operations in Western Pacific area of operations;

(5) \$532,600,000 for the Pacific Air Force biennial large-scale exercise;

(6) \$19,000,000 for the development of naval small craft capabilities;

(7) \$35,000,000 for military additive manufacturing capabilities in the United States Indo-Pacific Command area of operations west of the international dateline;

(8) \$450,000,000 for the development of airfields within the area of operations of United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(9) \$1,100,000,000 for development of infrastructure within the area of operations of United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(10) \$124,000,000 for mission networks for United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(11) \$100,000,000 for Air Force regionally based cluster pre-position base kits;

(12) \$115,000,000 for exploration and development of existing Arctic infrastructure;

(13) \$90,000,000 for the accelerated development of non-kinetic capabilities;

(14) \$20,000,000 for United States Indo-Pacific Command military exercises;

(15) \$143,000,000 for anti-submarine sonar arrays;

(16) \$30,000,000 for surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities for United States Africa Command;

(17) \$30,000,000 for surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities for United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(18) \$500,000,000 for the development, coordination, and deployment of economic competition effects within the Department of Defense;

(19) \$10,000,000 for the expansion of Department of Defense workforce for economic competition;

(20) \$1,000,000,000 for offensive cyber operations;

(21) \$500,000,000 for personnel and operations costs associated with forces assigned to United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(22) \$300,000,000 for the procurement of mesh network communications capabilities for Special Operations Command Pacific;

(23) \$850,000,000 for the replenishment of military articles;

(24) \$200,000,000 for acceleration of Guam Defense System program;

(25) \$68,000,000 for Space Force facilities improvements;

(26) \$150,000,000 for ground moving target indicator military satellites;

(27) \$528,000,000 for DARC and SILENTBARKER military space situational awareness programs;

(28) \$80,000,000 for Navy Operational Support Division;

(29) \$1,000,000,000 for the X-37B military spacecraft program;

(30) \$3,650,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of United States military satellites and the protection of United States military satellites.

(31) \$125,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space communications.

(32) \$350,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space command and control systems.

SEC. 20010. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE READINESS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$1,400,000,000 for a pilot program on OPN-8 maritime spares and repair rotatable pool;

(2) \$700,000,000 for a pilot program on OPN-8 maritime spares and repair rotatable pool for amphibious ships;

(3) \$2,118,000,000 for spares and repairs to keep Air Force aircraft mission capable;

(4) \$1,500,000,000 for Army depot modernization and capacity enhancement;

(5) \$2,000,000,000 for Navy depot and shipyard modernization and capacity enhancement;

(6) \$250,000,000 for Air Force depot modernization and capacity enhancement;

(7) \$1,640,000,000 for Special Operations Command equipment, readiness, and operations;

(8) \$500,000,000 for National Guard unit readiness;

(9) \$400,000,000 for Marine Corps readiness and capabilities;

(10) \$20,000,000 for upgrades to Marine Corps utility helicopters;

(11) \$310,000,000 for next-generation vertical lift, assault, and intra-theater aeromedical evacuation aircraft;

(12) \$75,000,000 for the procurement of anti-lock braking systems for Army wheeled transport vehicles;

(13) \$230,000,000 for the procurement of Army wheeled combat vehicles;

(14) \$63,000,000 for the development of advanced rotary-wing engines;

(15) \$241,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Marine Corps amphibious vehicles;

(16) \$250,000,000 for the procurement of Army tracked combat transport vehicles;

(17) \$98,000,000 for additional Army light rotary-wing capabilities;

(18) \$1,500,000,000 for increased depot maintenance and shipyard maintenance activities;

(19) \$2,500,000,000 for Air Force facilities sustainment, restoration, and modernization;

(20) \$92,500,000 for the completion of Robotic Combat Vehicle prototyping;

(21) \$125,000,000 for Army operations;

(22) \$10,000,000 for the Air Force Concepts, Development, and Management Office; and

(23) \$320,000,000 for Joint Special Operations Command.

SEC. 20011. IMPROVING DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BORDER SUPPORT AND COUNTER-DRUG MISSIONS.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$1,000,000,000 for the deployment of military personnel in support of border operations, operations and maintenance activities in support of border operations, counter-narcotics and counter-transnational criminal organization mission support, the operation of national defense areas and construction in national defense areas, and the temporary detention of migrants on Department of Defense installations, in accordance with chapter 15 of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20012. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OVERSIGHT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Inspector General of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, to monitor Department of Defense activities for which funding is appropriated in this title, including—

(1) programs with mutual technological dependencies;

(2) programs with related data management and data ownership considerations; and

(3) programs particularly vulnerable to supply chain disruptions and long lead time components.

SEC. 20013. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS AUTHORIZED.

(a) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Funds are hereby authorized to be appropriated for military construction, land acquisition, and military family housing functions of each military department (as defined in section 101(a) of title 10, United States Code) as specified in this title.

(b) SPENDING PLAN.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this title, the Secretary of each military department shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives a detailed spending plan by project for all funds made available by this title to be expended on military construction projects.

SEC. 20014. MULTI-YEAR OPERATIONAL PLAN.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense and the Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives a plan detailing

how the funds appropriated to the Department of Defense and the National Nuclear Security Administration under the Act will be spent over the four-year period ending with fiscal year 2029.

(b) QUARTERLY UPDATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the last day of each calendar quarter beginning during the applicable period, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives a report on the plan established under subsection (a), including—

(A) any updates to the plan;

(B) progress made in implementing the plan; and

(C) any changes in circumstances or challenges in implementing the plan.

(2) APPLICABLE PERIOD.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable period is the period beginning one year after the date the plan required under subsection (a) is due and ending on September 30, 2029.

(c) REDUCTION IN APPROPRIATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any failure to submit a plan required under subsection (a) or a report required under subsection (b) by the date specified in paragraph (2), the amounts made available to the Department of Defense under this Act shall be reduced by \$100,000 for each day after such specified date that the report has not been submitted to Congress.

(2) SPECIFIED DATE.—For purposes of the reduction in appropriations under paragraph (1), the specified date is the date that is 60 days after the date the plan or report is required to be submitted under subsection (a) or (b), as the case may be.

TITLE III—COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SEC. 30001. FUNDING CAP FOR THE BUREAU OF CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTION.

Section 1017(a)(2)(A)(iii) of the Consumer Financial Protection Act of 2010 (12 U.S.C. 5497(a)(2)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking “12” and inserting “6.5”.

SEC. 30002. RESCISSION OF FUNDS FOR GREEN AND RESILIENT RETROFIT PROGRAM FOR MULTIFAMILY HOUSING.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available under section 30002(a) of the Act entitled “An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 14”, approved August 16, 2022 (Public Law 117-169; 136 Stat. 2027) are rescinded.

SEC. 30003. SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION RESERVE FUND.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78d) is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (i); and

(2) by redesignating subsections (j) and (k) as subsections (i) and (j), respectively.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 21F(g)(2) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78u-6(g)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) USE OF FUND.—The Fund shall be available to the Commission, without further appropriation or fiscal year limitation, for paying awards to whistleblowers as provided in subsection (b).”.

(c) TRANSITION PROVISION.—During the period beginning on the date of enactment of this Act and ending on October 1, 2025, the Securities and Exchange Commission may expend amounts in the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund that were obligated before the date of enactment of this Act for any program, project, or activity that is ongoing (as of the day before the date of enactment of this Act) in accordance with subsection (i) of section 4 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78d), as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) TRANSFER OF REMAINING AMOUNTS.—Effective on October 1, 2025, the obligated and unobligated balances of amounts in the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund shall be transferred to the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) CLOSING OF ACCOUNT.—For the purposes of section 1555 of title 31, United States Code, the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund shall be considered closed, and thereafter shall not be available for obligation or expenditure for any purpose, upon execution of the transfer required under subsection (d).

SEC. 30004. APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of amounts not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2027, to carry out the Defense Production Act (50 U.S.C. 4501 et seq.).

TITLE IV—COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

SEC. 40001. COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 11 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“Subchapter V—Coast Guard Mission Readiness

“§ 1181. Special appropriations

“In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Coast Guard for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$24,593,500,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 1105(a) and sections 1131, 1132, 1133, and 1156, to use expedited processes to procure or acquire new operational assets and systems, to maintain existing assets and systems, to design, construct, plan, engineer, and improve necessary shore infrastructure, and to enhance operational resilience for monitoring, search and rescue, interdiction, hardening of maritime approaches, and navigational safety, of which—

“(1) \$1,142,500,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of fixed-wing aircraft, equipment related to such aircraft and training simulators and program management for such aircraft, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(2) \$2,283,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of rotary-wing aircraft, equipment related to such aircraft and training simulators and program management for such aircraft, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(3) \$266,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of long-range unmanned aircraft and base stations, equipment related to such aircraft and base stations, and program management for such aircraft and base stations, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(4) \$4,300,000,000 is provided for procurement of Offshore Patrol Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to provide operational presence and security of the maritime border and for interdiction of persons and controlled substances;

“(5) \$1,000,000,000 is provided for procurement of Fast Response Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to provide operational presence and security of the maritime border and for interdiction of persons and controlled substances;

“(6) \$4,300,000,000 is provided for procurement of Polar Security Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to ensure timely presence of the Coast Guard in the Arctic and Antarctic regions;

“(7) \$3,500,000,000 is provided for procurement of Arctic Security Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to ensure timely presence of the Coast Guard in the Arctic and Antarctic regions;

“(8) \$816,000,000 is provided for procurement of light and medium icebreaking cutters, and equipment relating to such cutters, from shipyards that have demonstrated success in the cost-effective application of design standards and in delivering, on schedule and within budget, vessels of a size and tonnage that are not less than the size and tonnage of the cutters described in this paragraph, and for program management for such cutters, to expand domestic icebreaking capacity;

“(9) \$162,000,000 is provided for procurement of Waterways Commerce Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to support aids to navigation, waterways and coastal security, and search and rescue in inland waterways;

“(10) \$4,379,000,000 is provided for design, planning, engineering, recapitalization, construction, rebuilding, and improvement of, and program management for, shore facilities, of which—

“(A) \$425,000,000 is provided for design, planning, engineering, construction of, and program management for—

“(i) the enlisted boot camp barracks and multi-use training center; and

“(ii) other related facilities at the enlisted boot camp;

“(B) \$500,000,000 is provided for—

“(i) construction, improvement, and dredging at the Coast Guard Yard; and

“(ii) acquisition of a floating drydock for the Coast Guard Yard;

“(C) not more than \$2,729,500,000 is provided for homeports and hangars for cutters and aircraft for which funds are appropriated under paragraph (1) through (9); and

“(D) \$300,000,000 is provided for homeporting of the existing polar icebreaker commissioned into service in 2025;

“(11) \$2,200,000,000 is provided for aviation, cutter, and shore facility depot maintenance and maintenance of command, control, communication, computer, and cyber assets;

“(12) \$170,000,000 is provided for improving maritime domain awareness on the maritime border, at United States ports, at land-based facilities and in the cyber domain; and

“(13) \$75,000,000 is provided to contract the services of, acquire, or procure autonomous maritime systems.”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The analysis for chapter 11 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SUBCHAPTER V—COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS

“1181. Special appropriations.”.

SEC. 40002. SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The term “Assistant Secretary” means the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

(2) COMMISSION.—The term “Commission” means the Federal Communications Commission.

(3) COVERED BAND.—The term “covered band”—

(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), means the band of frequencies between 1.3 gigahertz and 10.5 gigahertz; and

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal; or

(ii) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal.

(4) FULL-POWER COMMERCIAL LICENSED USE CASES.—The term “full-power commercial licensed use cases” means flexible use wireless broadband services with base station power levels sufficient for high-power, high-density, and wide-area commercial mobile services, consistent with the service rules under part 27 of title 47, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulations, for wireless broadband deployments throughout the covered band.

(b) GENERAL AUCTION AUTHORITY.—

(1) AMENDMENT.—Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and inserting the following: “complete a system of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034, except that, with respect to the electromagnetic spectrum—

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply.”

(2) SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses through systems of competitive bidding, before the expiration of the general auction authority of the Commission under section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection, for not less than 300 megahertz, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz.

(c) IDENTIFICATION FOR REALLOCATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Assistant Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall identify 500 megahertz of frequencies in the covered band for reallocation to non-Federal use, shared Federal and non-Federal use, or a combination thereof, for full-power commercial licensed use cases, that—

(A) as of the date of enactment of this Act, are allocated for Federal use; and

(B) shall be in addition to the 300 megahertz of frequencies for which the Commission grants licenses under subsection (b)(2).

(2) SCHEDULE.—The Assistant Secretary shall identify the frequencies under paragraph (1) according to the following schedule:

(A) Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify not less than 200 megahertz of frequencies within the covered band.

(B) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify any remaining bandwidth required to be identified under paragraph (1).

(3) REQUIRED ANALYSIS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In determining under paragraph (1) which specific frequencies within the covered band to reallocate, the Assistant Secretary shall determine the feasibility of the reallocation of frequencies.

(B) REQUIREMENTS.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall assess net revenue potential, relocation or sharing costs, as applicable, and the feasibility of reallocating specific frequencies, with the goal of identifying the best approach to maximize net proceeds of systems of competitive bidding for the Treasury, consistent with section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)).

(d) AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses for the frequencies identified for reallocation under subsection (c) through sys-

tems of competitive bidding in accordance with the following schedule:

(1) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for not less than 200 megahertz of the frequencies.

(2) Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for any frequencies identified under subsection (c) that remain to be auctioned after compliance with paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(e) LIMITATION.—The President shall modify or withdraw any frequency proposed for reallocation under this section not later than 60 days before the commencement of a system of competitive bidding scheduled by the Commission with respect to that frequency, if the President determines that such modification or withdrawal is necessary to protect the national security of the United States.

(f) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of Commerce for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$50,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, to provide additional support to the Assistant Secretary to—

(1) conduct a timely spectrum analysis of the bands of frequencies—

(A) between 2.7 gigahertz and 2.9 gigahertz; (B) between 4.4 gigahertz and 4.9 gigahertz; and

(C) between 7.25 gigahertz and 7.4 gigahertz; and

(2) publish a biennial report, with the last report to be published not later than June 30, 2034, on the value of all spectrum used by Federal entities (as defined in section 113(1) of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration Organization Act (47 U.S.C. 923(1))), that assesses the value of bands of frequencies in increments of not more than 100 megahertz.

SEC. 40003. AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL IMPROVEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For the purpose of the acquisition, construction, sustainment, and improvement of facilities and equipment necessary to improve or maintain aviation safety, in addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$4,750,000,000 for telecommunications infrastructure modernization and systems upgrades;

(2) \$3,000,000,000 for radar systems replacement;

(3) \$500,000,000 for runway safety technologies, runway lighting systems, airport surface surveillance technologies, and to carry out section 347 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(4) \$300,000,000 for Enterprise Information Display Systems;

(5) \$80,000,000 to acquire and install not less than 50 Automated Weather Observing Systems, to acquire and install not less than 60 Visual Weather Observing Systems, to acquire and install not less than 64 weather camera sites, and to acquire and install weather stations;

(6) \$40,000,000 to carry out section 44745 of title 49, United States Code, (except for activities described in paragraph (5));

(7) \$1,900,000,000 for necessary actions to construct a new air route traffic control center (in this subsection referred to as

“ARTCC”): *Provided*, That not more than 2 percent of such amount is used for planning or administrative purposes: *Provided further*, That at least 3 existing ARTCCs are divested and integrated into the newly constructed ARTCC;

(8) \$100,000,000 to conduct an ARTCC Realignment and Consolidation Effort under which at least 10 existing ARTCCs are closed or consolidated to facilitate recapitalization of ARTCC facilities owned and operated by the Federal Aviation Administration;

(9) \$1,000,000,000 to support recapitalization and consolidation of terminal radar approach control facilities (in this subsection referred to as “TRACONS”), the analysis and identification of TRACONS for divestment, consolidation, or integration, planning, site selection, facility acquisition, and transition activities and other appropriate activities for carrying out such divestment, consolidation, or integration, and the establishment of brand new TRACONS;

(10) \$350,000,000 for unstaffed infrastructure sustainment and replacement;

(11) \$50,000,000 to carry out section 961 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(12) \$300,000,000 to carry out section 619 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(13) \$50,000,000 to carry out section 621 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024 and to deploy remote tower technology at untowered airports; and

(14) \$100,000,000 for air traffic controller advanced training technologies.

(b) QUARTERLY REPORTING.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 90 days thereafter, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration shall submit to Congress a report that describes any expenditures under this section.

SEC. 40004. SPACE LAUNCH AND REENTRY LICENSING AND PERMITTING USER FEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 509 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“§ 50924. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees

“(a) FEES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Transportation shall impose a fee, which shall be deposited in the account established under subsection (b), on each launch or reentry carried out under a license or permit issued under section 50904 during 2026 or a subsequent year, in an amount equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the amount specified in paragraph (2) for the year involved per pound of the weight of the payload; or

“(B) the amount specified in paragraph (3) for the year involved.

“(2) PARAGRAPH (2) SPECIFIED AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is—

“(A) for 2026, \$0.25;

“(B) for 2027, \$0.35;

“(C) for 2028, \$0.50;

“(D) for 2029, \$0.60;

“(E) for 2030, \$0.75;

“(F) for 2031, \$1;

“(G) for 2032, \$1.25;

“(H) for 2033, \$1.50; and

“(I) for 2034 and each subsequent year, the amount specified in this paragraph for the previous year increased by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (all items; United States city average) over the previous year.

“(3) PARAGRAPH (3) SPECIFIED AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is—

“(A) for 2026, \$30,000;

“(B) for 2027, \$40,000;

“(C) for 2028, \$50,000;

“(D) for 2029, \$75,000;

“(E) for 2030, \$100,000;

“(F) for 2031, \$125,000;

“(G) for 2032, \$170,000;

“(H) for 2033, \$200,000; and

“(I) for 2034 and each subsequent year, the amount specified in this paragraph for the previous year increased by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (all items; United States city average) over the previous year.

“(b) OFFICE OF COMMERCIAL SPACE TRANSPORTATION LAUNCH AND REENTRY LICENSING AND PERMITTING FUND.—There is established in the Treasury of the United States a separate account, which shall be known as the ‘Office of Commercial Space Transportation Launch and Reentry Licensing and Permitting Fund’, for the purposes of expenses of the Office of Commercial Space Transportation of the Federal Aviation Administration and to carry out section 630(b) of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024. 70 percent of the amounts deposited into the fund shall be available for such purposes and shall be available without further appropriation and without fiscal year limitation.”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 509 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 50923 the following:

“50924. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees.”

SEC. 40005. MARS MISSIONS, ARTEMIS MISSIONS, AND MOON TO MARS PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“§ 20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$9,995,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2032, to use as follows:

“(1) \$700,000,000, to be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026, for the procurement, using a competitively bid, firm fixed-price contract with a United States commercial provider (as defined in section 50101(7)), of a high-performance Mars telecommunications orbiter—

“(A) that—

“(i) is capable of providing robust, continuous communications for—

“(I) a Mars sample return mission, as described in section 432(3)(C) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 115–10); and

“(II) future Mars surface, orbital, and human exploration missions;

“(ii) supports autonomous operations, on-board processing, and extended mission duration capabilities; and

“(iii) is selected from among the commercial proposals that—

“(I) received funding from the Administration in fiscal year 2024 or 2025 for commercial design studies for Mars Sample Return; and

“(II) proposed a separate, independently launched Mars telecommunication orbiter supporting an end-to-end Mars sample return mission; and

“(B) which shall be delivered to the Administration not later than December 31, 2028.

“(2) \$2,600,000,000 to meet the requirements of section 20302(a) using the program of record known, as of the date of the enactment of this section, as ‘Gateway’, and as described in section 10811(b)(2)(B)(iv) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 117–167), of which not less than \$750,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, and 2028.

“(3) \$4,100,000,000 for expenses related to meeting the requirements of section 10812 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20301; Public Law 117–167) for the procurement, transportation, integration, operation, and other necessary expenses of the Space Launch System for Artemis Missions IV and V, of which not less than \$1,025,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(4) \$20,000,000 for expenses related to the continued procurement of the multi-purpose crew vehicle described in section 303 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18323), known as the ‘Orion’, for use with the Space Launch System on the Artemis IV Mission and reuse in subsequent Artemis Missions, of which not less than \$20,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026.

“(5) \$1,250,000,000 for expenses related to the operation of the International Space Station and for the purpose of meeting the requirement under section 503(a) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18353(a)), of which not less than \$250,000,000 shall be obligated for such expenses for each of fiscal years 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(6) \$1,000,000,000 for infrastructure improvements at the manned spaceflight centers of the Administration, of which not less than—

“(A) \$120,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 12641 (53 Fed. Reg. 18816; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the State of Mississippi as the John C. Stennis Space Center);

“(B) \$250,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 11129 (28 Fed. Reg. 12787; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and of the Department of Defense, in the State of Florida, as the John F. Kennedy Space Center);

“(C) \$300,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in the Joint Resolution entitled ‘Joint Resolution to designate the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas, as the ‘Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center’ in honor of the late President’, approved February 17, 1973 (Public Law 93–8; 87 Stat. 7);

“(D) \$100,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 10870 (25 Fed. Reg. 2197; relating to designating the facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration at Huntsville, Alabama, as the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center);

“(E) \$30,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the Michoud Assembly Facility in New Orleans, Louisiana; and

“(F) \$85,000,000 shall be obligated to carry out subsection (b), of which not less than \$5,000,000 shall be obligated for the transportation of the space vehicle described in that subsection, with the remainder transferred not later than the date that is 18 months

after the date of the enactment of this section to the entity designated under that subsection, for the purpose of construction of a facility to house the space vehicle referred to in that subsection.

“(7) \$325,000,000 to fulfill contract number 80JSC024CA002 issued by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on June 26, 2024.

“(b) SPACE VEHICLE TRANSFER.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this section, the Administrator shall identify a space vehicle described in paragraph (2) to be—

“(A) transferred to a field center of the Administration that is involved in the administration of the Commercial Crew Program (as described in section 302 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 50111 note; Public Law 115–10)); and

“(B) placed on public exhibition at an entity within the Metropolitan Statistical Area where such center is located.

“(2) SPACE VEHICLE DESCRIBED.—A space vehicle described in this paragraph is a vessel that—

“(A) has flown into space;

“(B) has carried astronauts; and

“(C) is selected with the concurrence of an entity designated by the Administrator.

“(3) TRANSFER.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section, the space vehicle identified under paragraph (1) shall be transferred to an entity designated by the Administrator.

“(B) TITLE.—Not later than 1 year after the date on which a space vehicle is identified under paragraph (1), the Federal Government shall, as applicable, transfer the title to the space vehicle to the entity designated by the Administrator.

“(C) RESPONSIBILITY.—The transfer under this paragraph shall be carried out under the Administrator or acting Administrator.

“(c) OBLIGATION OF FUNDS.—Funds appropriated under subsection (a) shall be obligated as follows:

“(1) Not less than 50 percent of the total funds in subsection (a) shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2028.

“(2) 100 percent of funds shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2029.

“(3) All associated outlays shall occur not later than September 30, 2034.”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program.”

SEC. 40006. CORPORATE AVERAGE FUEL ECONOMY CIVIL PENALTIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 32912 of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “\$5” and inserting “\$0.00”; and

(2) in subsection (c)(1)(B), by striking “\$10” and inserting “\$0.00”.

(b) EFFECT; APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall—

(1) take effect on the date of enactment of this section; and

(2) apply to all model years of a manufacturer for which the Secretary of Transportation has not provided a notification pursuant to section 32903(b)(2)(B) of title 49, United States Code, specifying the penalty due for the average fuel economy of that manufacturer being less than the applicable standard prescribed under section 32902 of that title.

SEC. 40007. PAYMENTS FOR LEASE OF METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON AIRPORTS.

Section 49104(b) of title 49, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“(b) PAYMENTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), under the lease, the Airports Authority must pay to the general fund of the Treasury annually an amount, computed using the GNP Price Deflator—

“(A) during the period from 1987 to 2026, equal to \$3,000,000 in 1987 dollars; and

“(B) for 2027 and subsequent years, equal to \$15,000,000 in 2027 dollars.

“(2) RENEGOTIATION.—The Secretary and the Airports Authority shall renegotiate the level of lease payments at least once every 10 years to ensure that in no year the amount specified in paragraph (1)(B) is less than \$15,000,000 in 2027 dollars.”.

SEC. 40008. RESCISSION OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS FOR THE NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION.

Any unobligated balances of amounts appropriated or otherwise made available by sections 40001, 40002, 40003, and 40004 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2028) are hereby rescinded.

SEC. 40009. REDUCTION IN ANNUAL TRANSFERS TO TRAVEL PROMOTION FUND.

Subsection (d)(2)(B) of the Travel Promotion Act of 2009 (22 U.S.C. 2131(d)(2)(B)) is amended by striking “\$100,000,000” and inserting “\$20,000,000”.

SEC. 40010. TREATMENT OF UNOBLIGATED FUNDS FOR ALTERNATIVE FUEL AND LOW-EMISSION AVIATION TECHNOLOGY.

Out of the amounts made available by section 40007(a) of title IV of Public Law 117-169 (49 U.S.C. 44504 note), any unobligated balances of such amounts are hereby rescinded.

SEC. 40011. RESCISSION OF AMOUNTS APPROPRIATED TO PUBLIC WIRELESS SUPPLY CHAIN INNOVATION FUND.

Of the unobligated balances of amounts made available under section 106(a) of the CHIPS Act of 2022 (Public Law 117-167; 136 Stat. 1392), \$850,000,000 are permanently rescinded.

SEC. 40012. SUPPORT FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE UNDER THE BROADBAND EQUITY, ACCESS, AND DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 60102 of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) through (N) as subparagraphs (F) through (R), respectively;

(B) by redesignating subparagraph (A) as subparagraph (D);

(C) by inserting before subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(A) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term ‘artificial intelligence’ has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

“(B) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODEL.—The term ‘artificial intelligence model’ means a software component of an information system that implements artificial intelligence technology and uses computational, statistical, or machine-learning techniques to produce outputs from a defined set of inputs.

“(C) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM.—The term ‘artificial intelligence system’ means any data system, software, hardware, application, tool, or utility that operates, in whole or in part, using artificial intelligence.”;

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(E) AUTOMATED DECISION SYSTEM.—The term ‘automated decision system’ means any computational process derived from machine

learning, statistical modeling, data analytics, or artificial intelligence that issues a simplified output, including a score, classification, or recommendation, to materially influence or replace human decision making.”; and

(E) by striking subparagraph (O), as so redesignated, and inserting the following:

“(O) PROJECT.—The term ‘project’ means an undertaking by a subgrantee under this section to construct and deploy infrastructure for the provision of—

“(i) broadband service; or

“(ii) artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems.”;

(2) in subsection (b), by adding at the end the following:

“(5) APPROPRIATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated to the Program, there is appropriated to the Assistant Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$500,000,000, to remain available until expended, to carry out the Program.

“(B) SET-ASIDE FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE INFRASTRUCTURE MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—Of the amount appropriated under subparagraph (A), \$25,000,000 shall be used by the Assistant Secretary for the purpose of negotiating master services agreements on behalf of subgrantees of an eligible entity or political subdivision to enable access to quantity purchasing and licensing discounts for the construction, acquisition, and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems funded under this section.”;

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) the construction and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; and”;

(4) in subsection (g)(3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) may, in addition to other authority under applicable law, deobligate grant funds awarded to an eligible entity that—

“(i) violates paragraph (2);

“(ii) demonstrates an insufficient level of performance, or wasteful or fraudulent spending, as defined in advance by the Assistant Secretary; or

“(iii) if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is not in compliance with subsection (q) or (r); and”;

(5) in subsection (j)(1)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(C) in subparagraph (C)—

(i) by redesignating clauses (iv) and (v) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively; and

(ii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r);”;

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(p) RECEIPT OF FUNDS CONDITIONED ON TEMPORARY PAUSE AND EFFICIENCIES.—On and after the date of enactment of this subsection, no funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) may be obligated to an eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof that is not in compliance with subsections (q) and (r).

“(q) TEMPORARY PAUSE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), no eligible entity or political subdivision thereof to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection may enforce, during the 10-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this subsection, any law or regulation of that eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof limiting, restricting, or otherwise regulating artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems entered into interstate commerce.

“(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Paragraph (1) may not be construed to prohibit the enforcement of any law or regulation—

“(A) the primary purpose and effect of which is to—

“(i) remove legal impediments to, or facilitate the deployment or operation of, an artificial intelligence model, artificial intelligence system, or automated decision system; or

“(ii) streamline licensing, permitting, routing, zoning, procurement, or reporting procedures in a manner that facilitates the adoption of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; or

“(B) that does not impose any substantive design, performance, data-handling, documentation, civil liability, taxation, fee, or other requirement on artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems unless that requirement is imposed under—

“(i) Federal law; or

“(ii) a generally applicable law, such as a body of common law; and

“(C) that does not impose a fee or bond unless—

“(i) the fee or bond is reasonable and cost-based; and

“(ii) under the fee or bond, artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, and automated decision systems are treated in the same manner as other models and systems that perform comparable functions.

“(r) MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—An eligible entity, or political subdivision thereof, to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection shall certify to the Assistant Secretary either that—

“(1) each subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision is utilizing applicable master services agreements negotiated using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B); or

“(2) each contract, license, purchase order, or services agreement entered into, procured, or made by a subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision for purposes described in subsection (b)(5)(B) is at least as cost-effective as the terms of executable master services agreements, as applicable, negotiated by the Assistant Secretary using

amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B).”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 60102(a)(1) of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(1)”;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(1)”.

TITLE V—COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Subtitle A—Oil and Gas Leasing

SEC. 50101. ONSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) REPEAL OF INFLATION REDUCTION ACT PROVISIONS.—

(1) ONSHORE OIL AND GAS ROYALTY RATES.—Subsection (a) of section 50262 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2056) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that subsection is restored or revived as if that subsection had not been enacted into law.

(2) NONCOMPETITIVE LEASING.—Subsection (e) of section 50262 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2057) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that subsection is restored or revived as if that subsection had not been enacted into law.

(b) REQUIREMENT TO IMMEDIATELY RESUME ONSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASE SALES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior shall immediately resume quarterly onshore oil and gas lease sales in compliance with the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.).

(2) REQUIREMENT.—The Secretary of the Interior shall ensure—

(A) that any oil and gas lease sale required under paragraph (1) is conducted immediately on completion of all applicable scoping, public comment, and environmental analysis requirements under the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.) and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.); and

(B) that the processes described in subparagraph (A) are conducted in a timely manner to ensure compliance with subsection (b)(1).

(3) LEASE OF OIL AND GAS LANDS.—Section 17(b)(1)(A) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226(b)(1)(A)), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by inserting “For purposes of the previous sentence, the term ‘eligible lands’ means all lands that are subject to leasing under this Act and are not excluded from leasing by a statutory prohibition, and the term ‘available’, with respect to eligible lands, means those lands that have been designated as open for leasing under a land use plan developed under section 202 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712) and that have been nominated for leasing through the submission of an expression of interest, are subject to drainage in the absence of leasing, or are otherwise designated as available pursuant to regulations adopted by the Secretary.” after “sales are necessary.”.

(c) QUARTERLY LEASE SALES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In accordance with the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.), each fiscal year, the Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 4 oil and gas lease sales of available land in each of the following States:

- (A) Wyoming.
- (B) New Mexico.
- (C) Colorado.
- (D) Utah.
- (E) Montana.
- (F) North Dakota.
- (G) Oklahoma.
- (H) Nevada.
- (I) Alaska.

(2) REQUIREMENT.—In conducting a lease sale under paragraph (1) in a State described

in that paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) shall offer not less than 50 percent of available parcels nominated for oil and gas development under the applicable resource management plan in effect for relevant Bureau of Land Management resource management areas within the applicable State; and

(B) shall not restrict the parcels offered to 1 Bureau of Land Management field office within the applicable State unless all nominated parcels are located within the same Bureau of Land Management field office.

(3) REPLACEMENT SALES.—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a replacement sale during the same fiscal year if—

(A) a lease sale under paragraph (1) is canceled, delayed, or deferred, including for a lack of eligible parcels; or

(B) during a lease sale under paragraph (1) the percentage of acreage that does not receive a bid is equal to or greater than 25 percent of the acreage offered.

(d) MINERAL LEASING ACT REFORMS.—Section 17 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) by striking the section designation and all that follows through the end of subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“SEC. 17. LEASING OF OIL AND GAS PARCELS.

“(a) LEASING AUTHORIZED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any parcel of land subject to disposition under this Act that is known or believed to contain oil or gas deposits shall be made available for leasing, subject to paragraph (2), by the Secretary of the Interior, not later than 18 months after the date of receipt by the Secretary of an expression of interest in leasing the applicable parcel of land available for disposition under this section, if the Secretary determines that the parcel of land is open to oil or gas leasing under the approved resource management plan applicable to the planning area in which the parcel of land is located that is in effect on the date on which the expression of interest was submitted to the Secretary (referred to in this subsection as the ‘approved resource management plan’).

“(2) RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLANS.—

“(A) LEASE TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—A lease issued by the Secretary under this section with respect to an applicable parcel of land made available for leasing under paragraph (1)—

“(i) shall be subject to the terms and conditions of the approved resource management plan; and

“(ii) may not require any stipulations or mitigation requirements not included in the approved resource management plan.

“(B) EFFECT OF AMENDMENT.—The initiation of an amendment to an approved resource management plan shall not prevent or delay the Secretary from making the applicable parcel of land available for leasing in accordance with that approved resource management plan if the other requirements of this section have been met, as determined by the Secretary.”;

(2) in subsection (p), by adding at the end the following:

“(4) TERM.—A permit to drill approved under this subsection shall be valid for a single, non-renewable 4-year period beginning on the date that the permit to drill is approved.”; and

(3) by striking subsection (q) and inserting the following:

“(q) COMMINGLING OF PRODUCTION.—The Secretary of the Interior shall approve applications allowing for the commingling of production from 2 or more sources (including the area of an oil and gas lease, the area included in a drilling spacing unit, a unit participating area, a communitized area, or

non-Federal property) before production reaches the point of royalty measurement regardless of ownership, the royalty rates, and the number or percentage of acres for each source if the applicant agrees to install measurement devices for each source, utilize an allocation method that achieves volume measurement uncertainty levels within plus or minus 2 percent during the production phase reported on a monthly basis, or utilize an approved periodic well testing methodology. Production from multiple oil and gas leases, drilling spacing units, communitized areas, or participating areas from a single wellbore shall be considered a single source. Nothing in this subsection shall prevent the Secretary of the Interior from continuing the current practice of exercising discretion to authorize higher percentage volume measurement uncertainty levels if appropriate technical and economic justifications have been provided.”.

SEC. 50102. OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) LEASE SALES.—

(1) GULF OF AMERICA REGION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding the 2024-2029 National Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Program (and any successor leasing program that does not satisfy the requirements of this section), in addition to lease sales which may be held under that program, and except within areas subject to existing oil and gas leasing moratoria, the Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 30 region-wide oil and gas lease sales, in a manner consistent with the schedule described in subparagraph (B), in the region identified in the map depicting lease terms and economic conditions accompanying the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Gulf of Mexico Outer Continental Shelf Region-Wide Oil and Gas Lease Sale 254” (85 Fed. Reg. 8010 (February 12, 2020)).

(B) TIMING REQUIREMENT.—Of the not fewer than 30 region-wide lease sales required under this paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in the region described in subparagraph (A) by December 15, 2025;

(ii) hold not fewer than 2 lease sales in that region in each of calendar years 2026 through 2039, 1 of which shall be held by March 15 of the applicable calendar year and 1 of which shall be held after March 15 but not later than August 15 of the applicable calendar year; and

(iii) hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in that region in calendar year 2040, which shall be held by March 15, 2040.

(2) ALASKA REGION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 6 offshore lease sales, in a manner consistent with the schedule described in subparagraph (B), in the Cook Inlet Planning Area as identified in the 2017-2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program published on November 18, 2016, by the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (as announced in the notice of availability of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Notice of Availability of the 2017-2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program” (81 Fed. Reg. 84612 (November 23, 2016))).

(B) TIMING REQUIREMENT.—Of the not fewer than 6 lease sales required under this paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior shall hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in the area described in subparagraph (A) in each of calendar years 2026 through 2028, and in each of calendar years 2030 through 2032, by March 15 of the applicable calendar year.

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR GULF OF AMERICA SALES.—In conducting lease sales

under subsection (a)(1), the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) shall, subject to subparagraph (C), offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and lease stipulations 4 through 9 as contained in the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Gulf of Mexico Outer Continental Shelf Region-Wide Oil and Gas Lease Sale 254” (85 Fed. Reg. 8010 (February 12, 2020));

(B) may update lease stipulations 1 through 3 and 10 described in that final notice of sale to reflect current conditions for lease sales conducted under subsection (a)(1);

(C) shall set the royalty rate at not less than 12½ percent but not greater than 16½ percent; and

(D) shall, for a lease in water depths of 800 meters or deeper issued as a result of a sale, set the primary term for 10 years.

(2) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR ALASKA REGION SALES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of the Interior shall offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and stipulations as contained in the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Cook Inlet Planning Area Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Lease Sale 244” (82 Fed. Reg. 23291 (May 22, 2017)).

(B) REVENUE SHARING.—Notwithstanding section 8(g) and section 9 of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1337(g), 1338), and beginning in fiscal year 2034, of the bonuses, rents, royalties, and other revenues derived from lease sales conducted under subsection (a)(2)—

(i) 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(ii) 30 percent shall be deposited in the Treasury and credited to miscellaneous receipts.

(3) AREA OFFERED FOR LEASE.—

(A) GULF OF AMERICA REGION.—For each offshore lease sale conducted under subsection (a)(1), the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) offer not fewer than 80,000,000 acres; or

(ii) if there are fewer than 80,000,000 acres that are unleased and available, offer all unleased and available acres.

(B) ALASKA REGION.—For each offshore lease sale conducted under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) offer not fewer than 1,000,000 acres; or

(ii) if there are fewer than 1,000,000 acres that are unleased and available, offer all unleased and available acres.

(C) OFFSHORE COMMINGLING.—The Secretary of the Interior shall approve a request of an operator to commingle oil or gas production from multiple reservoirs within a single wellbore completed on the outer Continental Shelf in the Gulf of America Region unless the Secretary of the Interior determines that conclusive evidence establishes that the commingling—

(1) could not be conducted by the operator in a safe manner; or

(2) would result in an ultimate recovery from the applicable reservoirs to be reduced in comparison to the expected recovery of those reservoirs if they had not been commingled.

(d) OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS ROYALTY RATE.—

(1) REPEAL.—Section 50261 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2056) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that section is restored or revived as if that section had not been enacted into law.

(2) ROYALTY RATE.—Section 8(a)(1) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1337(a)(1)) (as amended by paragraph (1)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting

“not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent.”;

(B) in subparagraph (C), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent.”;

(C) in subparagraph (F), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent.”; and

(D) in subparagraph (H), by striking “not less than 12 and ½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent.”.

(e) LIMITATIONS ON AMOUNT OF DISTRIBUTED QUALIFIED OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF REVENUES.—Section 105(f)(1) of the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act of 2006 (43 U.S.C. 1331 note; Public Law 109-432) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking “2055.” and inserting “2024.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(D) \$650,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2034; and

“(E) \$500,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2035 through 2055.”.

SEC. 50103. ROYALTIES ON EXTRACTED METHANE.

Section 50263 of Public Law 117-169 (30 U.S.C. 1727) is repealed.

SEC. 50104. ALASKA OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COASTAL PLAIN.—The term “Coastal Plain” has the meaning given the term in section 20001(a) of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note).

(2) OIL AND GAS PROGRAM.—The term “oil and gas program” means the oil and gas program established under section 20001(b)(2) of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note).

(3) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Bureau of Land Management.

(b) LEASE SALES REQUIRED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (3), in addition to the lease sales required under section 20001(c)(1)(A) of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note), the Secretary shall conduct not fewer than 4 lease sales area-wide under the oil and gas program by not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—In conducting lease sales under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer the same terms and conditions as contained in the record of decision described in the notice of availability of the Bureau of Land Management entitled “Notice of Availability of the Record of Decision for the Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Coastal Plain Oil and Gas Leasing Program, Alaska” (85 Fed. Reg. 51754 (August 21, 2020)).

(3) SALE ACREAGES; SCHEDULE.—

(A) ACREAGES.—In conducting the lease sales required under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer for lease under the oil and gas program—

(i) not fewer than 400,000 acres area-wide in each lease sale; and

(ii) those areas that have the highest potential for the discovery of hydrocarbons.

(B) SCHEDULE.—The Secretary shall offer—

(i) the initial lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act;

(ii) a second lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act;

(iii) a third lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(iv) a fourth lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 7 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(4) RIGHTS-OF-WAY.—Section 20001(c)(2) of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) shall apply to leases awarded under this subsection.

(5) SURFACE DEVELOPMENT.—Section 20001(c)(3) of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) shall apply to leases awarded under this subsection.

(c) RECEIPTS.—Notwithstanding section 35 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 191) and section 20001(b)(5) of Public Law 115-97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note), of the amount of adjusted bonus, rental, and royalty receipts derived from the oil and gas program and operations on the Coastal Plain pursuant to this section—

(1)(A) for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2033, 50 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(B) for fiscal year 2034 and each fiscal year thereafter, 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(2) the balance shall be deposited into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 50105. NATIONAL PETROLEUM RESERVE—ALASKA.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) NPR-A FINAL ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT.—The term “NPR-A final environmental impact statement” means the final environmental impact statement published by the Bureau of Land Management entitled “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Integrated Activity Plan Final Environmental Impact Statement” and dated June 2020, including the errata sheet dated October 6, 2020, and excluding the errata sheet dated September 20, 2022.

(2) NPR-A RECORD OF DECISION.—The term “NPR-A record of decision” means the record of decision published by the Bureau of Land Management entitled “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Integrated Activity Plan Record of Decision” and dated December 2020.

(3) PROGRAM.—The term “Program” means the competitive oil and gas leasing, exploration, development, and production program established under section 107 of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (42 U.S.C. 6506a).

(4) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) RESTORATION OF NPR-A OIL AND GAS LEASING PROGRAM.—Effective beginning on the date of enactment of this Act—

(1) the Secretary shall expeditiously restore and resume oil and gas lease sales under the Program for domestic energy production and Federal revenue, subject to the requirements of this section; and

(2) the final rule of the Bureau of Land Management entitled “Management and Protection of the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska” (89 Fed. Reg. 38712 (May 7, 2024)) shall have no force or effect until January 1, 2035.

(c) RESUMPTION OF NPR-A LEASE SALES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), the Secretary shall conduct not fewer than 5 lease sales under the Program by not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) SALES ACREAGES; SCHEDULE.—

(A) ACREAGES.—In conducting the lease sales required under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer not fewer than 4,000,000 acres in each lease sale.

(B) SCHEDULE.—The Secretary shall offer—

(i) an initial lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(ii) an additional lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than every 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR NPR-A LEASE SALES.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (c), the Secretary shall

offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and stipulations as described in the NPR-A final environmental impact statement and the NPR-A record of decision.

(e) RECEIPTS.—Section 107(1) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (42 U.S.C. 6506a(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “All receipts from” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), all receipts from”;

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) PERCENT SHARE FOR FISCAL YEAR 2034 AND THEREAFTER.—Beginning in fiscal year 2034, of the receipts from sales, rentals, bonuses, and royalties on leases issued pursuant to this section after the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress)—

“(A) 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

“(B) 30 percent shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States.”.

Subtitle B—Mining

SEC. 50201. COAL LEASING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COAL LEASE.—The term “coal lease” means a lease entered into by the United States as lessor, through the Bureau of Land Management, and an applicant on Bureau of Land Management Form 3400-012 (or a successor form that contains the terms of a coal lease).

(2) QUALIFIED APPLICATION.—The term “qualified application” means an application for a coal lease pending as of the date of enactment of this Act or submitted within 90 days thereafter under the lease by application program administered by the Bureau of Land Management pursuant to the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.) for which any required environmental review has commenced or the Director of the Bureau of Land Management determines can commence within 90 days after receiving the application.

(b) COAL LEASING ACTIVITIES.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior—

(1) shall—

(A) with respect to each qualified application—

(i) if not previously published for public comment, publish any required environmental review;

(ii) establish the fair market value of the applicable coal tract;

(iii) hold a lease sale with respect to the applicable coal tract; and

(iv) identify the highest bidder at or above the fair market value and take all other intermediate actions necessary to identify the winning bidder and grant the qualified application; and

(2) may—

(A) with respect to a previously issued coal lease, grant any additional approvals of the Department of the Interior required for mining activities to commence; and

(B) after completing the actions required by clauses (i) through (iv) of paragraph (1)(A), grant the qualified application and issue the applicable lease to the person that submitted the qualified application if that person submitted the winning bid in the lease sale held under clause (iii) of paragraph (1)(A).

SEC. 50202. COAL ROYALTY.

(a) RATE.—Section 7(a) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 207(a)) is amended, in the fourth sentence, by striking “12½ percent” and inserting “12½ percent, except such amount shall be not more than 7 percent during the period that begins on the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An

Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and ends September 30, 2034.”.

(b) APPLICABILITY TO EXISTING LEASES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to a coal lease—

(1) issued under section 2 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201) before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(2) that has not been terminated.

(c) ADVANCE ROYALTIES.—With respect to a lease issued under section 2 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201) for which the lessee has paid advance royalties under section 7(b) of that Act (30 U.S.C. 207(b)), the Secretary of the Interior shall provide to the lessee a credit for the difference between the amount paid by the lessee in advance royalties for the lease before the date of the enactment of this Act and the amount the lessee would have been required to pay if the amendment made by subsection (a) had been made before the lessee paid advance royalties for the lease.

SEC. 50203. LEASES FOR KNOWN RECOVERABLE COAL RESOURCES.

Notwithstanding section 2(a)(3)(A) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201(a)(3)(A)) and section 202(a) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712(a)), not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall make available for lease known recoverable coal resources of not less than 4,000,000 additional acres on Federal land located in the 48 contiguous States and Alaska subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary, but which shall not include any Federal land within—

(1) a National Monument;

(2) a National Recreation Area;

(3) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

(4) a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

(5) a component of the National Trails System;

(6) a National Conservation Area;

(7) a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

(8) a unit of the National Fish Hatchery System; or

(9) a unit of the National Park System.

SEC. 50204. AUTHORIZATION TO MINE FEDERAL COAL.

(a) AUTHORIZATION.—In order to provide access to coal reserves in adjacent State or private land that without an authorization could not be mined economically, Federal coal reserves located in Federal land subject to a mining plan previously approved by the Secretary of the Interior as of the date of enactment of this Act and adjacent to coal reserves in adjacent State or private land are authorized to be mined.

(b) REQUIREMENT.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall, without substantial modification, take such steps as are necessary to authorize the mining of Federal land described in subsection (a).

(c) NEPA.—Nothing in this section shall prevent a review under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.).

Subtitle C—Lands

SEC. 50301. MANDATORY DISPOSAL OF BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT LAND FOR HOUSING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT LAND.—The term “Bureau of Land Management land” has the meaning given the term “public lands” in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(2) COVERED FEDERAL LAND.—The term “covered Federal land” means Bureau of Land Management land selected for disposal under this section.

(3) ELIGIBLE STATE.—The term “eligible State” means any of the States of—

(A) Alaska;

(B) Arizona;

(C) California;

(D) Colorado;

(E) Idaho;

(F) Nevada;

(G) New Mexico;

(H) Oregon;

(I) Utah;

(J) Washington; or

(K) Wyoming.

(4) FEDERALLY PROTECTED LAND.—The term “federally protected land” means—

(A) a National Monument;

(B) a National Recreation Area;

(C) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

(D) a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

(E) a component of the National Trails System;

(F) a National Conservation Area;

(G) a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

(H) a unit of the National Fish Hatchery System; or

(I) a unit of the National Park System.

(5) POPULATION CENTER.—The term “population center” means a census-designated place or incorporated municipality with a population of not less than 1,000 persons, as determined by the most recent census or official census estimate by the Census Bureau.

(6) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior (acting through the Director of the Bureau of Land Management).

(7) TRACT.—The term “tract” means a contiguous parcel of not more than 1 square mile.

(b) REQUIREMENT.—Subject to valid existing rights and the requirements of this section, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall select for disposal not less than 0.25 percent and not more than 0.50 percent of Bureau of Land Management land, and shall, subject to subsection (f)(2), dispose of all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to those tracts selected for disposal under this section.

(c) SELECTION PROCESS; PRIORITY FOR DISPOSAL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 202(a) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712(a)), not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act and every 60 days thereafter, the Secretary shall publish a list of tracts of Bureau of Land Management land identified by the Secretary for disposal by the Secretary or nominated for disposal under paragraph (2) that have been selected by the Secretary for disposal under this section.

(2) NOMINATIONS FROM QUALIFIED BIDDERS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall publish a notice soliciting nominations of tracts of Bureau of Land Management land for disposal by the Secretary under this section from qualified bidders, including States and units of local government.

(B) CONSULTATION.—Before selecting for disposal under this section any tract of Bureau of Land Management land nominated for disposal under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall consult with—

(i) the Governor of the State in which the nominated tract is located regarding the

suitability of the area for residential development;

(ii) each applicable unit of local government; and

(iii) each applicable Indian Tribe.

(C) REQUIREMENTS.—A nomination of a tract of Bureau of Land Management land for disposal submitted by a qualified bidder under subparagraph (A) shall include a description of—

(i) the planned use of the tract of Bureau of Land Management land; and

(ii) the extent to which the development of the tract of Bureau of Land Management land would address local housing needs (including housing supply and affordability) or any infrastructure and amenities to support local needs associated with housing.

(3) PRIORITY FOR DISPOSAL.—In selecting tracts of Bureau of Land Management land for disposal under this section, the Secretary shall prioritize the disposal of tracts of Bureau of Land Management land that, as determined by the Secretary—

(A) have the highest value;

(B) are nominated by States or units of local governments;

(C) are adjacent to existing developed areas;

(D) have access to existing infrastructure;

(E) are suitable for residential housing;

(F) reduce checkerboard land patterns; or

(G) are isolated tracts that are inefficient to manage.

(d) METHOD OF DISPOSAL.—The Secretary shall dispose of tracts of covered Federal land under this section to a qualified bidder by competitive sale, auction, or other methods designed to secure not less than fair market value for the tracts of covered Federal land conveyed.

(e) RIGHT OF FIRST REFUSAL.—The Secretary shall provide a State or unit of local government in which a tract of covered Federal land is located a right of first refusal to purchase the applicable tract of covered Federal land.

(f) LIMITATIONS.—

(1) USE.—A tract of covered Federal land disposed of under this section shall be used solely for the development of housing or to address any infrastructure and amenities to support local needs associated with housing.

(2) RESTRICTIVE COVENANT.—As a condition of the conveyance of a tract of covered Federal land under this section, the conveyance shall include a restrictive covenant requiring that the tract of covered Federal land conveyed be used in accordance with the planned use of the tract of covered Federal land—

(A) as described pursuant to paragraph 2(C)(i) of subsection (c), in the case of a tract of covered Federal land nominated under that paragraph; or

(B) as identified by the Secretary, in the case of a tract of covered Federal land initially identified for disposal by the Secretary.

(3) EXCLUDED LAND.—The Secretary may not dispose of any tract of covered Federal land that is—

(A) federally protected land;

(B) as of the date of the nomination or identification of the tract of covered Federal land, subject to—

(i) an existing grazing permit or lease; or

(ii) a valid existing right that is incompatible with the development of housing or any infrastructure and amenities to support local needs associated with housing;

(C) not located in an eligible State; or

(D) not located within 5 miles of—

(i) the border of an incorporated municipality; or

(ii) the center of the population center of a census-designated place.

(4) NUMBER OF TRACTS.—A person may not purchase more than 2 tracts of covered Federal land in any 1 sale under this section unless the person owns land surrounding the tracts of covered Federal land to be sold under this section.

(g) DISPOSITION OF PROCEEDS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraphs (2) and (3) and any provision of an applicable State enabling Act, any proceeds from the disposal of a tract of covered Federal land under this section shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(2) REVENUE SHARING WITH UNIT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—

(A) DISTRIBUTION.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), 5 percent of the gross proceeds from each sale of a tract of covered Federal land under this section (other than a sale to a unit of local government) shall be distributed to—

(i) the unit of local government with sole jurisdiction over the tract sold; or

(ii) in a case in which more than 1 unit of local government has jurisdiction over the tract sold, the unit of local government that the Secretary determines exercises primary land use authority over the tract sold, as of the date of the sale.

(B) USE.—Amounts distributed to a unit of local government under subparagraph (A) shall be used by the unit of local government solely for essential infrastructure directly supporting housing development or other associated infrastructure to support local housing needs, as determined by the Secretary.

(3) HUNTING, FISHING, AND RECREATIONAL AMENITIES; DEFERRED MAINTENANCE BACKLOG.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), 10 percent of the gross proceeds from each sale of a tract of covered Federal land under this section shall be used by the Secretary—

(A) for hunting, fishing, and recreational amenities on Bureau of Land Management land in the State in which the tract sold is located; and

(B) to address the deferred maintenance backlog on Bureau of Land Management land in the State in which the tract sold is located.

(h) DEADLINE.—Not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall complete all conveyances of tracts of covered Federal land required under this section.

(i) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise made available, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, there is appropriated to the Secretary to carry out this section \$15,000,000 for fiscal year 2025, to remain available until expended.

(j) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.—The authority to carry out this section terminates on September 30, 2034.

SEC. 50302. TIMBER SALES AND LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE FOREST SERVICE AND THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.

(a) FOREST SERVICE.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

(A) FOREST PLAN.—The term “forest plan” means a land and resource management plan prepared by the Secretary for a unit of the National Forest System pursuant to section 6 of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1604).

(B) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary.

(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(C) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Agriculture, acting through the Chief of the Forest Service.

(2) TIMBER SALES ON PUBLIC DOMAIN FOREST RESERVES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2034, the Secretary shall sell timber annually on National Forest System land in a total quantity that is not less than 250,000,000 board-feet greater than the quantity of board-feet sold in the previous fiscal year.

(B) LIMITATION.—The timber sales under subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the maximum allowable sale quantity of timber or the projected timber sale quantity under the applicable forest plan in effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE FOREST SERVICE.—

(A) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING.—For the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the Secretary shall enter into not fewer than 40 long-term timber sale contracts with private persons or other public or private entities under subsection (a) of section 14 of the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (16 U.S.C. 472a) for the sale of national forest materials (as defined in subsection (e)(1) of that section) in the National Forest System.

(B) CONTRACT LENGTH.—The period of a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirement under subparagraph (A) shall be not less than 20 years, with options for extensions or renewals, as determined by the Secretary.

(C) RECEIPTS.—Any monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(b) BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

(A) PUBLIC LANDS.—The term “public lands” has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(B) RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLAN.—The term “resource management plan” means a land use plan prepared for public lands under section 202 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712).

(C) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Director of the Bureau of Land Management.

(2) TIMBER SALES ON PUBLIC LANDS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2034, the Secretary shall sell timber annually on public lands in a total quantity that is not less than 20,000,000 board-feet greater than the quantity of board-feet sold in the previous fiscal year.

(B) LIMITATION.—The timber sales under subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the applicable resource management plan in effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.—

(A) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING.—For the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the Secretary shall enter into not fewer than 5 long-term contracts with private persons or other public or private entities under section 1 of the Act of July 31, 1947 (commonly known as the “Materials Act of 1947”) (61 Stat. 681, chapter 406; 30 U.S.C. 601), for the disposal of vegetative materials described in that section on public lands.

(B) CONTRACT LENGTH.—The period of a contract entered into to meet the requirement under subparagraph (A) shall be not less than 20 years, with options for extensions or renewals, as determined by the Secretary.

(C) RECEIPTS.—Any monies derived from a contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall

be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 50303. RENEWABLE ENERGY FEES ON FEDERAL LAND.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENT FACTOR.—The term “Annual Adjustment Factor” means 3 percent.

(2) ENCUMBRANCE FACTOR.—The term “Encumbrance Factor” means—

(A) 100 percent for a solar energy generation facility; and

(B) an amount determined by the Secretary, but not less than 10 percent for a wind energy generation facility.

(3) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(4) PER-ACRE RATE.—The term “Per-Acre Rate”, with respect to a right-of-way, means the average of the per-acre pastureland rental rates published in the Cash Rents Survey by the National Agricultural Statistics Service for the State in which the right-of-way is located over the 5 calendar-year period preceding the issuance or renewal of the right-of-way.

(5) PROJECT.—The term “project” means a system described in section 2801.9(a)(4) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(6) PUBLIC LAND.—The term “public land” means—

(A) public lands (as defined in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702)); and

(B) National Forest System land.

(7) RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECT.—The term “renewable energy project” means a project located on public land that uses wind or solar energy to generate energy.

(8) RIGHT-OF-WAY.—The term “right-of-way” has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(9) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means—

(A) the Secretary of the Interior, with respect to land controlled or administered by the Secretary of the Interior; and

(B) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to National Forest System land.

(b) ACREAGE RENT FOR WIND AND SOLAR RIGHTS-OF-WAY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Pursuant to section 504(g) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1764(g)), the Secretary shall, subject to paragraph (3) and not later than January 1 of each calendar year, collect from the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project an acreage rent in an amount determined by the equation described in paragraph (2).

(2) CALCULATION OF ACREAGE RENT RATE.—

(A) EQUATION.—The amount of an acreage rent collected under paragraph (1) shall be determined using the following equation: $Acreage\ rent = A \times B \times ((1 + C)^{PK})$.

(B) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of the equation described in subparagraph (A):

(i) The letter “A” means the Per-Acre Rate.

(ii) The letter “B” means the Encumbrance Factor.

(iii) The letter “C” means the Annual Adjustment Factor.

(iv) The letter “D” means the year in the term of the right-of-way.

(3) PAYMENT UNTIL PRODUCTION.—The holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project shall pay an acreage rent collected

under paragraph (1) until the date on which energy generation begins.

(c) CAPACITY FEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall, subject to paragraph (3), annually collect a capacity fee from the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project based on the amount described in paragraph (2).

(2) CALCULATION OF CAPACITY FEE.—The amount of a capacity fee collected under paragraph (1) shall be equal to the greater of—

(A) an amount equal to the acreage rent described in subsection (b); and

(B) 3.9 percent of the gross proceeds from the sale of electricity produced by the renewable energy project.

(3) MULTIPLE-USE REDUCTION FACTOR.—

(A) APPLICATION.—The holder of a right-of-way for a wind energy generation project may request that the Secretary apply a multiple-use reduction factor of 10-percent to the amount of a capacity fee determined under paragraph (2) by submitting to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require.

(B) APPROVAL.—The Secretary may approve an application submitted under subparagraph (A) only if not less than 25 percent of the land within the area of the right-of-way is authorized for use, occupancy, or development with respect to an activity other than the generation of wind energy for the entirety of the year in which the capacity fee is collected.

(C) LATE DETERMINATION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary approves an application under subparagraph (B) for a wind energy generation project after the date on which the holder of the right-of-way for the project begins paying a capacity fee, the Secretary shall apply the multiple-use reduction factor described in subparagraph (A) to the capacity fee for the first year beginning after the date of approval and each year thereafter for the period during which the right-of-way remains in effect.

(ii) REFUND.—The Secretary may not refund the holder of a right-of-way for the difference in the amount of a capacity fee paid in a previous year.

(d) LATE PAYMENT FEE; TERMINATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may charge the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project a late payment fee if the Secretary does not receive payment for the acreage rent under subsection (b) or the capacity fee under subsection (c) by the date that is 15 days after the date on which the payment was due.

(2) TERMINATION OF RIGHT-OF-WAY.—The Secretary may terminate a right-of-way for a renewable energy project if the Secretary does not receive payment for the acreage rent under subsection (b) or the capacity fee under subsection (c) by the date that is 90 days after the date on which the payment was due.

SEC. 50304. RENEWABLE ENERGY REVENUE SHARING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COUNTY.—The term “county” includes a parish, township, borough, and any other similar, independent unit of local government.

(2) COVERED LAND.—The term “covered land” means land that is—

(A) public land administered by the Secretary; and

(B) not excluded from the development of solar or wind energy under—

(i) a land use plan; or

(ii) other Federal law.

(3) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the

Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(4) PUBLIC LAND.—The term “public land” means—

(A) public lands (as defined in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702)); and

(B) National Forest System land.

(5) RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECT.—The term “renewable energy project” means a system described in section 2801.9(a)(4) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act), located on covered land that uses wind or solar energy to generate energy.

(6) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means—

(A) the Secretary of the Interior, with respect to land controlled or administered by the Secretary of the Interior; and

(B) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to National Forest System land.

(b) DISPOSITION OF REVENUE.—

(1) DISPOSITION OF REVENUES.—Beginning on January 1, 2026, the amounts collected from a renewable energy project as bonus bids, rentals, fees, or other payments under a right-of-way, permit, lease, or other authorization shall—

(A) be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(B) without further appropriation or fiscal year limitation, be allocated as follows:

(i) 25 percent shall be paid from amounts in the general fund of the Treasury to the State within the boundaries of which the revenue is derived.

(ii) 25 percent shall be paid from amounts in the general fund of the Treasury to each county in a State within the boundaries of which the revenue is derived, to be allocated among each applicable county based on the percentage of county land from which the revenue is derived.

(2) PAYMENTS TO STATES AND COUNTIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Amounts paid to States and counties under paragraph (1) shall be used in accordance with the requirements of section 35 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 191).

(B) PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF TAXES.—A payment to a county under paragraph (1) shall be in addition to a payment in lieu of taxes received by the county under chapter 69 of title 31, United States Code.

(C) TIMING.—The amounts required to be paid under paragraph (1)(B) for an applicable fiscal year shall be made available in the fiscal year that immediately follows the fiscal year for which the amounts were collected.

SEC. 50305. RESCISSION OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT FUNDS.

There are rescinded the unobligated balances of amounts made available by the following sections of Public Law 117-169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 1818):

(1) Section 50221 (136 Stat. 2052).

(2) Section 50222 (136 Stat. 2052).

(3) Section 50223 (136 Stat. 2052).

SEC. 50306. CELEBRATING AMERICA’S 250TH ANNIVERSARY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior (acting through the Director of the National Park Service) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$150,000,000 for events, celebrations, and activities surrounding the observance and commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the United States, to remain available through fiscal year 2028.

Subtitle D—Energy

SEC. 50401. STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE.

(a) ENERGY POLICY AND CONSERVATION ACT DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the terms “related facility”, “storage facility”, and “Strategic Petroleum Reserve” have the meanings given those terms in section 152 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (42 U.S.C. 6232).

(b) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of Energy for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$218,000,000 for maintenance of, including repairs to, storage facilities and related facilities of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve; and

(2) \$171,000,000 to acquire, by purchase, petroleum products for storage in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

(c) REPEAL OF STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE DRAWDOWN AND SALE MANDATE.—Section 20003 of Public Law 115–97 (42 U.S.C. 6241 note) is repealed.

SEC. 50402. REPEALS; RESCISSIONS.

(a) REPEAL AND RESCISSION.—Section 50142 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2044) (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) is repealed and the unobligated balance of amounts made available under that section (as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act) is rescinded.

(b) RESCISSIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The unobligated balances of amounts made available under the sections described in paragraph (2) are rescinded.

(2) SECTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sections referred to in paragraph (1) are the following sections of Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”):

- (A) Section 50123 (42 U.S.C. 18795b).
- (B) Section 50141 (136 Stat. 2042).
- (C) Section 50144 (136 Stat. 2044).
- (D) Section 50145 (136 Stat. 2045).
- (E) Section 50151 (42 U.S.C. 18715).
- (F) Section 50152 (42 U.S.C. 18715a).
- (G) Section 50153 (42 U.S.C. 18715b).
- (H) Section 50161 (42 U.S.C. 17113b).

SEC. 50403. ENERGY DOMINANCE FINANCING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1706 of the Energy Policy Act of 2005 (42 U.S.C. 16517) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “avoid” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting “increase capacity or output; or”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) support or enable the provision of known or forecastable electric supply at time intervals necessary to maintain or enhance grid reliability or other system adequacy needs.”;

(2) by striking subsection (c);

(3) by redesignating subsections (d) through (f) as subsections (c) through (e), respectively;

(4) in subsection (c) (as so redesignated)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by adding “and” at the end;

(B) by striking paragraph (2); and

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (2);

(5) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated), by striking “for—” in the matter preceding paragraph (1) and all that follows through the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “for enabling the identification, leasing, development, production, processing, transportation, transmission, refining, and

generation needed for energy and critical minerals.”; and

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(f) FUNDING.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2028, to carry out activities under this section.

“(2) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—Of the amount made available under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall use not more than 3 percent for administrative expenses.”.

(b) COMMITMENT AUTHORITY.—Section 50144(b) of Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 2045) is amended by striking “2026” and inserting “2028”.

SEC. 50404. TRANSFORMATIONAL ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODELS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) AMERICAN SCIENCE CLOUD.—The term “American science cloud” means a system of United States government, academic, and private sector programs and infrastructures utilizing cloud computing technologies to facilitate and support scientific research, data sharing, and computational analysis across various disciplines while ensuring compliance with applicable legal, regulatory, and privacy standards.

(2) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term “artificial intelligence” has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

(b) TRANSFORMATIONAL MODELS.—The Secretary of Energy shall—

(1) mobilize National Laboratories to partner with industry sectors within the United States to curate the scientific data of the Department of Energy across the National Laboratory complex so that the data is structured, cleaned, and preprocessed in a way that makes it suitable for use in artificial intelligence and machine learning models; and

(2) initiate seed efforts for self-improving artificial intelligence models for science and engineering powered by the data described in paragraph (1).

(c) USES.—

(1) MICROELECTRONICS.—The curated data described in subsection (b)(1) may be used to rapidly develop next-generation microelectronics that have greater capabilities beyond Moore’s law while requiring lower energy consumption.

(2) NEW ENERGY TECHNOLOGIES.—The artificial intelligence models developed under subsection (b)(2) shall be provided to the scientific community through the American science cloud to accelerate innovation in discovery science and engineering for new energy technologies.

(d) APPROPRIATIONS.—There is appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$150,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2026, to carry out this section.

Subtitle E—Water

SEC. 50501. WATER CONVEYANCE AND SURFACE WATER STORAGE ENHANCEMENT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Reclamation, for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, for construction and associated activities that restore or increase the capacity or use of existing conveyance facilities constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation or for construction and associated activities that increase

the capacity of existing Bureau of Reclamation surface water storage facilities, in a manner as determined by the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Reclamation: *Provided*, That, for the purposes of section 203 of the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 (43 U.S.C. 390cc) or section 3404(a) of the Reclamation Projects Authorization and Adjustment Act of 1992 (Public Law 102–575; 106 Stat. 4708), a contract or agreement entered into pursuant to this section shall not be treated as a new or amended contract: *Provided further*, That none of the funds provided under this section shall be reimbursable or subject to matching or cost-sharing requirements.

TITLE VI—COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

SEC. 60001. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR CLEAN HEAVY-DUTY VEHICLES.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 132 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7432) are rescinded.

SEC. 60002. REPEAL OF GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION FUND.

Section 134 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7434) is repealed and the unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out that section (as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act) are rescinded.

SEC. 60003. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR DIESEL EMISSIONS REDUCTIONS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60104 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2067) are rescinded.

SEC. 60004. RESCISSION OF FUNDING TO ADDRESS AIR POLLUTION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60105 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2067) are rescinded.

SEC. 60005. RESCISSION OF FUNDING TO ADDRESS AIR POLLUTION AT SCHOOLS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60106 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2069) are rescinded.

SEC. 60006. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR THE LOW EMISSIONS ELECTRICITY PROGRAM.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 135 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7435) are rescinded.

SEC. 60007. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR SECTION 211(O) OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60108 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2070) are rescinded.

SEC. 60008. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AMERICAN INNOVATION AND MANUFACTURING ACT.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60109 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2071) are rescinded.

SEC. 60009. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENFORCEMENT TECHNOLOGY AND PUBLIC INFORMATION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60110 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2071) are rescinded.

SEC. 60010. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GREENHOUSE GAS CORPORATE REPORTING.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60111 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2072) are rescinded.

SEC. 60011. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PRODUCT DECLARATION ASSISTANCE.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60112 of Public Law 117–169 (42 U.S.C. 4321 note; 136 Stat. 2072) are rescinded.

SEC. 60012. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR METHANE EMISSIONS AND WASTE REDUCTION INCENTIVE PROGRAM FOR PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS SYSTEMS.

(a) RESCISSION.—The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out subsections (a) and (b) of section 136 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7436) are rescinded.

(b) PERIOD.—Section 136(g) of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7436(g)) is amended by striking “calendar year 2024” and inserting “calendar year 2034”.

SEC. 60013. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GREENHOUSE GAS AIR POLLUTION PLANS AND IMPLEMENTATION GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 137 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7437) are rescinded.

SEC. 60014. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY EFFICIENT, ACCURATE, AND TIMELY REVIEWS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60115 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2077) are rescinded.

SEC. 60015. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR LOW-EMBODED CARBON LABELING FOR CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60116 of Public Law 117-169 (42 U.S.C. 4321 note; 136 Stat. 2077) are rescinded.

SEC. 60016. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE JUSTICE BLOCK GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 138 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7438) are rescinded.

SEC. 60017. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ESA RECOVERY PLANS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60301 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2079) are rescinded.

SEC. 60018. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE DATA COLLECTION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60401 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2079) are rescinded.

SEC. 60019. RESCISSION OF NEIGHBORHOOD ACCESS AND EQUITY GRANT PROGRAM.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 177 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60020. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR FEDERAL BUILDING ASSISTANCE.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60502 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60021. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR LOW-CARBON MATERIALS FOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60503 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60022. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GSA EMERGING AND SUSTAINABLE TECHNOLOGIES.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60504 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60023. RESCISSION OF ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION FUNDS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 178 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60024. RESCISSION OF LOW-CARBON TRANSPORTATION MATERIALS GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 179 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60025. JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the

Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$256,657,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for necessary expenses for capital repair, restoration, maintenance backlog, and security structures of the building and site of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

(b) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—Of the amounts made available under subsection (a), not more than 3 percent may be used for administrative costs necessary to carry out this section.

SEC. 60026. PROJECT SPONSOR OPT-IN FEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS.

Title I of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4331 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 112. PROJECT SPONSOR OPT-IN FEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS.

“(a) PROCESS.—

“(1) PROJECT SPONSOR.—A project sponsor that intends to pay a fee under this section for the preparation, or supervision of the preparation, of an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement for a project shall submit to the Council—

“(A) a description of the project; and

“(B) a declaration of whether the project sponsor intends to prepare the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement under section 107(f).

“(2) COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.—Not later than 15 days after the date on which the Council receives information described in paragraph (1) from a project sponsor, the Council shall provide to the project sponsor notice of the amount of the fee to be paid under this section, as determined under subsection (b).

“(3) PAYMENT OF FEE.—A project sponsor may pay a fee under this section after receipt of the notice described in paragraph (2).

“(4) DEADLINE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS FOR WHICH A FEE IS PAID.—Notwithstanding section 107(g)(1)—

“(A) an environmental assessment for which a fee is paid under this section shall be completed not later than 180 days after the date on which the fee is paid; and

“(B) an environmental impact statement for which a fee is paid under this section shall be completed not later than 1 year after the date of publication of the notice of intent to prepare the environmental impact statement.

“(b) FEE AMOUNT.—The amount of a fee under this section shall be—

“(1) 125 percent of the anticipated costs to prepare the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement; and

“(2) in the case of an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement to be prepared in whole or in part by a project sponsor under section 107(f), 125 percent of the anticipated costs to supervise preparation of, and, as applicable, prepare, the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement.”.

TITLE VII—FINANCE

Subtitle A—Tax

SEC. 70001. REFERENCES TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1986, ETC.

(a) REFERENCES.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this title, an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(b) CERTAIN RULES REGARDING EFFECT OF RATE CHANGES NOT APPLICABLE.—Section 15 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall not apply to any change in rate of tax by reason of any provision of, or amendment made by, this title.

CHAPTER 1—PROVIDING PERMANENT TAX RELIEF FOR MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES AND WORKERS

SEC. 70101. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF REDUCED RATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1(j)(3)(B)(i) is amended by inserting “solely for purposes of determining the dollar amounts at which any rate bracket higher than 12 percent ends and at which any rate bracket higher than 22 percent begins,” before “subsection (f)(3)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70102. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 63(c)(7) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026” in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) ADDITIONAL INCREASE IN STANDARD DEDUCTION.—Paragraph (7) of section 63(c) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$18,000” both places it appears in subparagraphs (A)(i) and (B)(ii) and inserting “\$23,625”;

(2) by striking “\$12,000” both places it appears in subparagraphs (A)(ii) and (B)(ii) and inserting “\$15,750”;

(3) by striking “2018” in subparagraph (B)(ii) and inserting “2025”, and

(4) by striking “2017” in subparagraph (B)(ii)(I) and inserting “2024”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70103. TERMINATION OF DEDUCTION FOR PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS OTHER THAN TEMPORARY SENIOR DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 151(d)(5) is amended—

(1) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”,

(2) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) DEDUCTION FOR SENIORS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning before January 1, 2029, there shall be allowed a deduction in an amount equal to \$6,000 for each qualified individual with respect to the taxpayer.

“(ii) QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘qualified individual’ means—

“(I) the taxpayer, if the taxpayer has attained age 65 before the close of the taxable year, and

“(II) in the case of a joint return, the taxpayer’s spouse, if such spouse has attained age 65 before the close of the taxable year.

“(iii) LIMITATION BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxpayer for any taxable year, the \$6,000 amount in clause (i) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by 6 percent of so much of the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income as exceeds \$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(II) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the

taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(iv) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—“(I) IN GENERAL.—Clause (i) shall not apply with respect to a qualified individual unless the taxpayer includes such qualified individual’s social security number on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(II) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of subclause (I), the term ‘social security number’ has the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(v) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this subparagraph shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.”

(b) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (U), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (V) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (V) the following new subparagraph:

“(W) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 151(d)(5)(C) (relating to deduction for seniors).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70104. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED CHILD TAX CREDIT.

(a) EXTENSION AND INCREASE OF EXPANDED CHILD TAX CREDIT.—Section 24(h) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”;

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$2,000” and inserting “\$2,200”; and

(3) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—Section 24(h)(7) is amended to read as follows:

“(7) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be allowed under this section to a taxpayer with respect to any qualifying child unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(i) the taxpayer’s social security number (or, in the case of a joint return, the social security number of at least 1 spouse), and

“(ii) the social security number of such qualifying child.

“(B) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘social security number’ means a social security number issued to an individual by the Social Security Administration, but only if the social security number is issued—

“(i) to a citizen of the United States or pursuant to subclause (I) (or that portion of subclause (III) that relates to subclause (I)) of section 205(c)(2)(B)(i) of the Social Security Act, and

“(ii) before the due date for such return.”.

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 24(i) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

“(1) MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2024, the \$1,400 amount in subsection (h)(5) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2017’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR ADJUSTMENT OF CREDIT AMOUNT.—In the case of a taxable

year beginning after 2025, the \$2,200 amount in subsection (h)(2) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(3) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subsection is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$100.”.

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 24(h)(5) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—The amount determined under subsection (d)(1)(A) with respect to any qualifying child shall not exceed \$1,400, and such subsection shall be applied without regard to paragraph (4) of this subsection.”.

(e) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2)(I) is amended by striking “section 24(e)” and inserting “section 24”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70105. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.

(a) INCREASE IN TAXABLE INCOME LIMITATION PHASE-IN AMOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (B) of section 199A(b)(3) is amended by striking “\$50,000 (\$100,000 in the case of a joint return)” each place it appears and inserting “\$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return)”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (3) of section 199A(d) is amended by striking “\$50,000 (\$100,000 in the case of a joint return)” each place it appears and inserting “\$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return)”.

(b) MINIMUM DEDUCTION FOR ACTIVE QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (i) of section 199A is amended to read as follows:

“(i) MINIMUM DEDUCTION FOR ACTIVE QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable taxpayer for any taxable year, the deduction allowed under subsection (a) for the taxable year shall be equal to the greater of—

“(A) the amount of such deduction determined without regard to this subsection, or

“(B) \$400.

“(2) APPLICABLE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable taxpayer’ means, with respect to any taxable year, a taxpayer whose aggregate qualified business income with respect to all active qualified trades or businesses of the taxpayer for such taxable year is at least \$1,000.

“(B) ACTIVE QUALIFIED TRADE OR BUSINESS.—The term ‘active qualified trade or business’ means, with respect to any taxpayer for any taxable year, any qualified trade or business of the taxpayer in which the taxpayer materially participates (within the meaning of section 469(h)).

“(3) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$400 amount in paragraph (1)(B) and the \$1,000 amount in paragraph (2)(A) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this paragraph is not a multiple of \$5, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$5.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 199A(a) is amended by inserting “except as provided in subsection (i),” before “there”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70106. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED ESTATE AND GIFT TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2010(c)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking “\$5,000,000” and inserting “\$15,000,000”,

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2011” and inserting “2026”, and

(B) in clause (ii), by striking “calendar year 2010” and inserting “calendar year 2025”; and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to estates of decedents dying and gifts made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70107. EXTENSION OF INCREASED ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS AND MODIFICATION OF PHASEOUT THRESHOLDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 55(d)(4) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “AND BEFORE 2026” in the heading.

(b) MODIFICATION OF INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 55(d)(4)(B) is amended—

(1) by striking “2018” and inserting “2018 (2026, in the case of the \$1,000,000 amount in subparagraph (A)(ii)(I))”, and

(2) by striking “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.” and inserting “determined by substituting for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof—

“(1) ‘calendar year 2017’, in the case of the \$109,400 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(I) and the \$70,300 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(II), and

“(2) ‘calendar year 2025’, in the case of the \$1,000,000 amount in subparagraph (A)(ii)(I).”.

(c) MODIFICATION OF PHASEOUT AMOUNT.—Section 55(d)(4)(A)(ii) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subclause (II), and by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(IV) by substituting ‘50 percent’ for ‘25 percent’, and”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70108. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED RESIDENCE INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(h)(3)(F) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”;

(B) by redesignating subclauses (III) and (IV) as subclauses (IV) and (V), respectively,

(C) by striking “subclause (III)” in subclause (V), as so redesignated, and inserting “subclause (IV)”, and

(D) by inserting after subclause (II) the following new subclause:

“(III) MORTGAGE INSURANCE PREMIUMS TREATED AS INTEREST.—Clause (iv) of subparagraph (E) shall not apply.”.

(2) by striking clause (ii) and redesignating clauses (iii) and (iv) as clauses (ii) and (iii), respectively, and

(3) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70109. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON CASUALTY LOSS DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 165(h)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) EXTENSION TO STATE DECLARED DISASTERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 165(h)(5), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended by striking “(i)(5)” and inserting “(i)(5) or a State declared disaster”.

(2) EXCEPTION RELATED TO PERSONAL CASUALTY GAINS.—Clause (i) of section 165(h)(5)(B) is amended by striking “(as so defined)” and inserting “(as so defined) or a State declared disaster”.

(3) STATE DECLARED DISASTER.—Paragraph (5) of section 165(h) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) STATE DECLARED DISASTER.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘State declared disaster’ means, with respect to any State, any natural catastrophe (including any hurricane, tornado, storm, high water, wind-driven water, tidal wave, tsunami, earthquake, volcanic eruption, landslide, mudslide, snowstorm, or drought), or, regardless of cause, any fire, flood, or explosion, in any part of the State, which in the determination of the Governor of such State (or the Mayor, in the case of the District of Columbia) and the Secretary causes damage of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant the application of the rules of this section.

“(ii) STATE.—The term ‘State’ includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70110. TERMINATION OF MISCELLANEOUS ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS OTHER THAN EDUCATOR EXPENSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 67(g) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) DEDUCTION FOR EDUCATOR EXPENSES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 67(b) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (11), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (12) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) the deductions allowed by section 162 for educator expenses (as defined in subsection (g)).”.

(2) INCLUSION OF COACHES AND CERTAIN NON-ATHLETIC INSTRUCTIONAL EQUIPMENT.—Section 67 is amended by redesignating subsection (g), as amended by this section, as subsection (h), and by inserting after subsection (f) the following new section:

“(g) EDUCATOR EXPENSES.—For purposes of subsection (b)(13), the term ‘educator expenses’ means expenses of a type which would be described in section 62(a)(2)(D) if—

“(1) such section were applied—

“(A) without regard to the dollar limitation,

“(B) without regard to ‘(other than non-athletic supplies for courses of instruction in health or physical education)’ in clause (ii) thereof, and

“(C) by substituting ‘as part of instructional activity’ for ‘in the classroom’ in clause (ii) thereof, and

“(2) section 62(d)(1)(A) were applied by inserting ‘, interscholastic sports administrator or coach,’ after ‘counselor’.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70111. LIMITATION ON TAX BENEFIT OF ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 68 is amended to read as follows:

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, the amount of the itemized deductions otherwise allowable for the taxable year (determined without regard to this section) shall be reduced by $\frac{2}{37}$ of the lesser of—

“(1) such amount of itemized deductions, or

“(2) so much of the taxable income of the taxpayer for the taxable year (determined without regard to this section and increased by such amount of itemized deductions) as exceeds the dollar amount at which the 37 percent rate bracket under section 1 begins with respect to the taxpayer.

“(b) COORDINATION WITH OTHER LIMITATIONS.—This section shall be applied after the application of any other limitation on the allowance of any itemized deduction.”.

(b) LIMITATION NOT APPLICABLE TO DETERMINATION OF DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 199A(e)(1) is amended by inserting “without regard to section 68 and” after “shall be computed”.

(2) PATRONS OF SPECIFIED AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL COOPERATIVES.—Section 199A(g)(2)(B) is amended by inserting “section 68 or” after “without regard to”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70112. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF QUALIFIED TRANSPORTATION FRINGE BENEFITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 132(f) is amended—

(1) by striking subparagraph (D) of paragraph (1),

(2) in paragraph (2), by inserting “and” at the end of subparagraph (A), by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting a period, and by striking subparagraph (C),

(3) by striking “(other than a qualified bicycle commuting reimbursement)” in paragraph (4),

(4) by striking subparagraph (F) of paragraph (5), and

(5) by striking paragraph (8).

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Clause (ii) of section 132(f)(6)(A) is amended by striking “1998” in clause (ii) and inserting “1997”.

(c) COORDINATION WITH DISALLOWANCE OF CERTAIN EXPENSES.—Subsection (1) of section 274 is amended—

(1) by striking “BENEFITS.—” and all that follows through “No deduction” and inserting “BENEFITS.—No deduction”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (2).

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70113. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION AND EXCLUSION FOR MOVING EXPENSES.

(a) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION.—Section 217(k) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—Section 217(k), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended—

(1) by striking “2017.—Except in the case” and inserting “2017.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except in the case”, and

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

“(2) MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—An employee or new appointee of the intelligence community (as defined in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003)) (other than a member of the Armed Forces of the United States) who moves pursuant to a change in assignment which requires relocation shall be treated for purposes of this section in the same manner as an individual to whom subsection (g) applies.”.

(c) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON EXCLUSION.—Section 132(g)(2) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(d) ALLOWANCE OF EXCLUSION FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—Section 132(g)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting “, or an employee or new appointee of the intelligence community (as defined in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003)) (other than a member of the Armed Forces of the United States) who moves pursuant to a change in assignment that requires relocation” after “change of station”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70114. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON WAGERING LOSSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 165 is amended by striking subsection (d) and inserting the following:

“(d) WAGERING LOSSES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of losses from wagering transactions, the amount allowed as a deduction for any taxable year—

“(A) shall be equal to 90 percent of the amount of such losses during such taxable year, and

“(B) shall be allowed only to the extent of the gains from such transactions during such taxable year.

“(2) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘losses from wagering transactions’ includes any deduction otherwise allowable under this chapter incurred in carrying on any wagering transaction.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70115. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO ABLE ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529A(b)(2)(B) is amended—

(1) in clause (i), by inserting “(determined by substituting ‘1996’ for ‘1997’ in paragraph (2)(B) thereof)” after “section 2503(b)”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “before January 1, 2026”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to contributions made after December 31, 2025.

(2) MODIFIED INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—The amendment made by subsection (a)(1) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70116. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF SAVERS CREDIT ALLOWED FOR ABLE CONTRIBUTIONS.

(a) EXTENSION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 25B(d)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified retirement savings contributions’ means, with respect to any taxable year, the sum of—

“(A) the amount of contributions made by the eligible individual during such taxable year to the ABLE account (within the meaning of section 529A) of which such individual is the designated beneficiary, and

“(B) in the case of any taxable year beginning before January 1, 2027—

“(i) the amount of the qualified retirement contributions (as defined in section 219(e)) made by the eligible individual,

“(ii) the amount of—

“(I) any elective deferrals (as defined in section 402(g)(3)) of such individual, and

“(II) any elective deferral of compensation by such individual under an eligible deferred compensation plan (as defined in section 457(b)) of an eligible employer described in section 457(e)(1)(A), and

“(iii) the amount of voluntary employee contributions by such individual to any qualified retirement plan (as defined in section 4974(c)).”

(2) COORDINATION WITH SECURE 2.0 ACT OF 2022 AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (1) of section 103(e) of the SECURE 2.0 Act of 2022 is repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied and administered as though such paragraph were never enacted.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments and repeal made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2025.

(b) INCREASE OF CREDIT AMOUNT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 25B(a) is amended by striking “\$2,000” and inserting “\$2,100”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 70117. EXTENSION OF ROLLOVERS FROM QUALIFIED TUITION PROGRAMS TO ABLE ACCOUNTS PERMITTED.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(c)(3)(C)(i)(III) is amended by striking “before January 1, 2026.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70118. EXTENSION OF TREATMENT OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS PERFORMING SERVICES IN THE SINAI PENINSULA AND ENHANCEMENT TO INCLUDE ADDITIONAL AREAS.

(a) TREATMENT MADE PERMANENT.—Section 11026(a) of Public Law 115-97 is amended by striking “, with respect to the applicable period”.

(b) KENYA, MALI, BURKINA FASO, AND CHAD INCLUDED AS HAZARDOUS DUTY AREAS.—Section 11026(b) of Public Law 115-97 is amended to read as follows:

“(b) QUALIFIED HAZARDOUS DUTY AREA.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified hazardous duty area’ means each of the following locations, but only during the period for which any member of the Armed Forces of the United States is entitled to special pay under section 310 of title 37, United States Code (relating to special pay; duty subject to hostile fire or imminent danger), for services performed in such location:

“(1) the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt.

“(2) Kenya.

“(3) Mali.

“(4) Burkina Faso.

“(5) Chad.”

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 11026 of Public Law 115-97 is amended by striking subsections (c) and (d).

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on January 1, 2026.

SEC. 70119. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME OF STUDENT LOANS DISCHARGED ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OR DISABILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 108(f)(5) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) DISCHARGES ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OR DISABILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, gross income does not include any amount which (but for this subsection) would be includible in gross income for such taxable year by reason of the discharge (in whole or in part) of any loan described in subparagraph (B), if such discharge was—

“(i) pursuant to subsection (a) or (d) of section 437 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 or the parallel benefit under part D of title IV of such Act (relating to the repayment of loan liability),

“(ii) pursuant to section 464(c)(1)(F) of such Act, or

“(iii) otherwise discharged on account of death or total and permanent disability of the student.

“(B) LOANS DISCHARGED.—A loan is described in this subparagraph if such loan is—

“(i) a student loan (as defined in paragraph (2)), or

“(ii) a private education loan (as defined in section 140(a) of the Consumer Credit Protection Act (15 U.S.C. 1650(a)).

“(C) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to any discharge during any taxable year unless the taxpayer includes the taxpayer’s social security number on the return of tax for such taxable year.

“(ii) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘social security number’ has the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).”

(b) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by this Act, is further amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (V), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (W) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (W) the following new subparagraph:

“(X) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 108(f)(5)(C) (relating to discharges on account of death or disability).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to discharges after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70120. LIMITATION ON INDIVIDUAL DEDUCTIONS FOR CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES, ETC.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 164(b)(6) is amended—

(1) by striking “and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “\$10,000 (\$5,000 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return)” and inserting “the applicable limitation amount (half the applicable limitation amount in the case of a married individual filing a separate return)”.

(b) APPLICABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.—Section 164(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) APPLICABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of paragraph (6), the term ‘applicable limitation amount’ means—

“(i) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2025, \$40,000,

“(ii) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2026, \$40,400,

“(iii) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2026 and before 2030, 101 percent of the dollar amount in effect under this subparagraph for taxable years beginning in the preceding calendar year, and

“(iv) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2029, \$10,000.

“(B) PHASEDOWN BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in clause (iii), in the case of any taxable year beginning before January 1, 2030, the applica-

ble limitation amount shall be reduced by 30 percent of the excess (if any) of the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income over the threshold amount (half the threshold amount in the case of a married individual filing a separate return).

“(ii) THRESHOLD AMOUNT.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘threshold amount’ means—

“(I) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2025, \$500,000,

“(II) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2026, \$505,000, and

“(III) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2026, 101 percent of the dollar amount in effect under this subparagraph for taxable years beginning in the preceding calendar year.

“(iii) LIMITATION ON REDUCTION.—The reduction under clause (i) shall not result in the applicable limitation amount being less than \$10,000.

“(iv) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means adjusted gross income increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

CHAPTER 2—DELIVERING ON PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES TO PROVIDE NEW MIDDLE-CLASS TAX RELIEF

SEC. 70201. NO TAX ON TIPS.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating section 224 as section 225 and by inserting after section 223 the following new section:

“SEC. 224. QUALIFIED TIPS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to the qualified tips received during the taxable year that are included on statements furnished to the individual pursuant to section 6041(d)(3), 6041A(e)(3), 6050W(f)(2), or 6051(a)(18), or reported by the taxpayer on Form 4137 (or successor).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowed as a deduction under this section for any taxable year shall not exceed \$25,000.

“(2) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) (after application of paragraph (1)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$100 for each \$1,000 by which the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income exceeds \$150,000 (\$300,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(B) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(c) TIPS RECEIVED IN COURSE OF TRADE OR BUSINESS.—In the case of qualified tips received by an individual during any taxable year in the course of a trade or business (other than the trade or business of performing services as an employee) of such individual, such qualified tips shall be taken into account under subsection (a) only to the extent that the gross income for the taxpayer from such trade or business for such taxable year (including such qualified tips) exceeds the sum of the deductions (other than the deduction allowed under this section) allocable to the trade or business in which such qualified tips are received by the individual for such taxable year.

“(d) QUALIFIED TIPS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified tips’ means cash tips received by an individual in an occupation which customarily and regularly received tips on or before December 31, 2024, as provided by the Secretary.

“(2) EXCLUSIONS.—Such term shall not include any amount received by an individual unless—

“(A) such amount is paid voluntarily without any consequence in the event of non-payment, is not the subject of negotiation, and is determined by the payor,

“(B) the trade or business in the course of which the individual receives such amount is not a specified service trade or business (as defined in section 199A(d)(2)), and

“(C) such other requirements as may be established by the Secretary in regulations or other guidance are satisfied.

For purposes of subparagraph (B), in the case of an individual receiving tips in the trade or business of performing services as an employee, such individual shall be treated as receiving tips in the course of a trade or business which is a specified service trade or business if the trade or business of the employer is a specified service trade or business.

“(3) CASH TIPS.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘cash tips’ includes tips received from customers that are paid in cash or charged and, in the case of an employee, tips received under any tip-sharing arrangement.

“(e) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—“(1) IN GENERAL.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year such individual’s social security number.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(f) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this section shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.

“(g) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to prevent reclassification of income as qualified tips, including regulations or other guidance to prevent abuse of the deduction allowed by this section.

“(h) TERMINATION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2028.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (3), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) the deduction provided in section 224.”

(c) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (W), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (X) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (X) the following new subparagraph:

“(Y) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 224(e) (relating to deduction for qualified tips).”

(d) EXCLUSION FROM QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—Section 199A(c)(4) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) any amount with respect to which a deduction is allowable to the taxpayer under section 224(a) for the taxable year.”

(e) EXTENSION OF TIP CREDIT TO BEAUTY SERVICE BUSINESS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45B(b)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) APPLICATION ONLY TO CERTAIN LINES OF BUSINESS.—In applying paragraph (1) there shall be taken into account only tips received from customers or clients in connection with the following services:

“(A) The providing, delivering, or serving of food or beverages for consumption, if the tipping of employees delivering or serving food or beverages by customers is customary.

“(B) The providing of any of the following services to a customer or client if the tipping of employees providing such services is customary:

“(i) Barbering and hair care.

“(ii) Nail care.

“(iii) Esthetics.

“(iv) Body and spa treatments.”

(2) CREDIT DETERMINED WITH RESPECT TO MINIMUM WAGE IN EFFECT.—Section 45B(b)(1)(B) is amended—

(A) by striking “as in effect on January 1, 2007, and”, and

(B) by inserting “, and in the case of food or beverage establishments, as in effect on January 1, 2007” after “without regard to section 3(m) of such Act”.

(f) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) RETURNS FOR PAYMENTS MADE IN THE COURSE OF A TRADE OR BUSINESS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041(a) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “such gains, profits, and income”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041(d) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of compensation to non-employees, the portion of payments that have been reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(2) RETURNS FOR PAYMENTS MADE FOR SERVICES AND DIRECT SALES.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041A(a) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “amount of such payments”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041A(e) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of subsection (a), the portion of payments that have been reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(3) RETURNS RELATING TO THIRD PARTY SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6050W(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of a third party settlement organization, the portion of reportable payment transactions that have been reasonably designated by payors as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6050W(f)(2) is amended by inserting “(in-

cluding a separate accounting of any such amounts that have been reasonably designated by payors as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “reportable payment transactions”.

(4) RETURNS RELATED TO WAGES.—Section 6051(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (16), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (17) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (17) the following new paragraph:

“(18) the total amount of cash tips reported by the employee under section 6053(a) and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) such person.”

(g) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 224 as relating to section 225 and by inserting after the item relating to section 223 the following new item:

“Sec. 224. Qualified tips.”

(h) PUBLISHED LIST OF OCCUPATIONS TRADITIONALLY RECEIVING TIPS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall publish a list of occupations which customarily and regularly received tips on or before December 31, 2024, for purposes of section 224(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by subsection (a)).

(i) WITHHOLDING.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall modify the procedures prescribed under section 3402(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025, to take into account the deduction allowed under section 224 of such Code (as added by this Act).

(j) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(k) TRANSITION RULE.—In the case of any cash tips required to be reported for periods before January 1, 2026, persons required to file returns or statements under section 6041(a), 6041(d)(3), 6041A(a), 6041A(e)(3), 6050W(a), or 6050W(f)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) may approximate a separate accounting of amounts designated as cash tips by any reasonable method specified by the Secretary.

SEC. 70202. NO TAX ON OVERTIME.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by redesignating section 225 as section 226 and by inserting after section 224 the following new section:

“SEC. 225. QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to the qualified overtime compensation received during the taxable year and included on statements furnished to the individual pursuant to section 6041(d)(4) or 6051(a)(19).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowed as a deduction under this section for any taxable year shall not exceed \$12,500 (\$25,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(2) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) (after application of paragraph (1)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$100 for each \$1,000 by which the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income exceeds \$150,000 (\$300,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(B) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the

adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(c) QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified overtime compensation’ means overtime compensation paid to an individual required under section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 that is in excess of the regular rate (as used in such section) at which such individual is employed.

“(2) EXCLUSIONS.—Such term shall not include any qualified tip (as defined in section 224(d)).

“(d) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year such individual’s social security number.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(e) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this section shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.

“(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent abuse of the deduction allowed by this section.

“(g) TERMINATION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2028.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (4), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (5) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) the deduction provided in section 225.”

(c) REPORTING.—

(1) REQUIREMENT TO INCLUDE OVERTIME COMPENSATION ON W-2.—Section 6051(a), as amended by the preceding provision of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (17), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (18) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (18) the following new paragraph:

“(19) the total amount of qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c)).”

(2) PAYMENTS TO PERSONS NOT TREATED AS EMPLOYEES UNDER TAX LAWS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041(a), as amended by section 70201(e)(1)(A), is amended by inserting “and a separate accounting of any amount of qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c))” after “occupation of the person receiving such tips”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041(d), as amended by section 70201(e)(1)(B), is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) the portion of payments that are qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c)).”

(d) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (X), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (Y) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (Y) the following new subparagraph:

“(Z) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 225(d) (relating to deduction for qualified overtime).”

(e) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 225 as an item relating to section 226 and by inserting after the item relating to section 224 the following new item:

“Sec. 225. Qualified overtime compensation.”

(f) WITHHOLDING.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall modify the procedures prescribed under section 3402(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025, to take into account the deduction allowed under section 225 of such Code (as added by this Act).

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(h) TRANSITION RULE.—In the case of qualified overtime compensation required to be reported for periods before January 1, 2026, persons required to file returns or statements under section 6051(a)(19), 6041(a), or 6041(d)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) may approximate a separate accounting of amounts designated as qualified overtime compensation by any reasonable method specified by the Secretary.

SEC. 70203. NO TAX ON CAR LOAN INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(h) is amended by redesignating paragraph (4) as paragraph (5) and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) SPECIAL RULES FOR TAXABLE YEARS 2025 THROUGH 2028 RELATING TO QUALIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and before January 1, 2029, for purposes of this subsection the term ‘personal interest’ shall not include qualified passenger vehicle loan interest.

“(B) QUALIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST DEFINED.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘qualified passenger vehicle loan interest’ means any interest which is paid or accrued during the taxable year on indebtedness incurred by the taxpayer after December 31, 2024, for the purchase of, and that is secured by a first lien on, an applicable passenger vehicle for personal use.

“(ii) EXCEPTIONS.—Such term shall not include any amount paid or incurred on any of the following:

“(I) A loan to finance fleet sales.

“(II) A loan incurred for the purchase of a commercial vehicle that is not used for personal purposes.

“(III) Any lease financing.

“(IV) A loan to finance the purchase of a vehicle with a salvage title.

“(V) A loan to finance the purchase of a vehicle intended to be used for scrap or parts.

“(iii) VIN REQUIREMENT.—Interest shall not be treated as qualified passenger vehicle loan interest under this paragraph unless the taxpayer includes the vehicle identification number of the applicable passenger vehicle described in clause (i) on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(C) LIMITATIONS.—

“(i) DOLLAR LIMIT.—The amount of interest taken into account by a taxpayer under subparagraph (B) for any taxable year shall not exceed \$10,000.

“(ii) LIMITATION BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The amount which is otherwise allowable as a deduction under

subsection (a) as qualified passenger vehicle loan interest (determined without regard to this clause and after the application of clause (i)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$200 for each \$1,000 (or portion thereof) by which the modified adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year exceeds \$100,000 (\$200,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(II) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(D) APPLICABLE PASSENGER VEHICLE.—The term ‘applicable passenger vehicle’ means any vehicle—

“(i) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

“(ii) which is manufactured primarily for use on public streets, roads, and highways (not including a vehicle operated exclusively on a rail or rails),

“(iii) which has at least 2 wheels,

“(iv) which is a car, minivan, van, sport utility vehicle, pickup truck, or motorcycle,

“(v) which is treated as a motor vehicle for purposes of title II of the Clean Air Act, and

“(vi) which has a gross vehicle weight rating of less than 14,000 pounds.

Such term shall not include any vehicle the final assembly of which did not occur within the United States.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) FINAL ASSEMBLY.—For purposes of subparagraph (D), the term ‘final assembly’ means the process by which a manufacturer produces a vehicle at, or through the use of, a plant, factory, or other place from which the vehicle is delivered to a dealer with all component parts necessary for the mechanical operation of the vehicle included with the vehicle, whether or not the component parts are permanently installed in or on the vehicle.

“(ii) TREATMENT OF REFINANCING.—Indebtedness described in subparagraph (B) shall include indebtedness that results from refinancing any indebtedness described in such subparagraph, and that is secured by a first lien on the applicable passenger vehicle with respect to which the refinanced indebtedness was incurred, but only to the extent the amount of such resulting indebtedness does not exceed the amount of such refinanced indebtedness.

“(iii) RELATED PARTIES.—Indebtedness described in subparagraph (B) shall not include any indebtedness owed to a person who is related (within the meaning of section 267(b) or 707(b)(1)) to the taxpayer.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (6) and inserting “and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) so much of the deduction allowed by section 163(a) as is attributable to the exception under section 163(h)(4)(A).”

(c) REPORTING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart B of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6050AA. RETURNS RELATING TO APPLICABLE PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST RECEIVED IN TRADE OR BUSINESS FROM INDIVIDUALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Any person—

“(1) who is engaged in a trade or business, and

“(2) who, in the course of such trade or business, receives from any individual interest aggregating \$600 or more for any calendar year on a specified passenger vehicle loan, shall make the return described in subsection (b) with respect to each individual from whom such interest was received at such time as the Secretary may provide.

“(b) FORM AND MANNER OF RETURNS.—A return is described in this subsection if such return—

“(1) is in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, and

“(2) contains—

“(A) the name and address of the individual from whom the interest described in subsection (a)(2) was received,

“(B) the amount of such interest received for the calendar year,

“(C) the amount of outstanding principal on the specified passenger vehicle loan as of the beginning of such calendar year,

“(D) the date of the origination of such loan,

“(E) the year, make, model, and vehicle identification number of the applicable passenger vehicle which secures such loan (or such other description of such vehicle as the Secretary may prescribe), and

“(F) such other information as the Secretary may prescribe.

“(c) STATEMENTS TO BE FURNISHED TO INDIVIDUALS WITH RESPECT TO WHOM INFORMATION IS REQUIRED.—Every person required to make a return under subsection (a) shall furnish to each individual whose name is required to be set forth in such return a written statement showing—

“(1) the name, address, and phone number of the information contact of the person required to make such return, and

“(2) the information described in subparagraphs (B), (C), (D), and (E) of subsection (b)(2) with respect to such individual (and such information as is described in subsection (b)(2)(F) with respect to such individual as the Secretary may provide for purposes of this subsection).

The written statement required under the preceding sentence shall be furnished on or before January 31 of the year following the calendar year for which the return under subsection (a) was required to be made.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Terms used in this section which are also used in paragraph (4) of section 163(h) shall have the same meaning as when used in such paragraph.

“(2) SPECIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN.—The term ‘specified passenger vehicle loan’ means the indebtedness described in section 163(h)(4)(B) with respect to any applicable passenger vehicle.

“(e) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent the duplicate reporting of information under this section.

“(f) APPLICABILITY.—No return shall be required under this section for any period to which section 163(h)(4) does not apply.”

(2) PENALTIES.—Section 6724(d) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking “or” at the end of clause (xxvii), by striking “and” at the end of clause (xxviii) and inserting “or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xxix) section 6050AA(a) (relating to returns relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals),” and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (KK), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (LL)

and inserting “, or”, and by inserting after subparagraph (LL) the following new subparagraph:

“(MM) section 6050AA(c) (relating to statements relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals).”

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 56(e)(1)(B) is amended by striking “section 163(h)(4)” and inserting “section 163(h)(5)”.

(2) The table of sections for subpart B of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6050AA. Returns relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to indebtedness incurred after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70204. TRUMP ACCOUNTS AND CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.

(a) TRUMP ACCOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter F of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new part:

“PART IX—TRUMP ACCOUNTS

“Sec. 530A. Trump accounts.

“SEC. 530A. TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) GENERAL RULE.—Except as provided in this section or under regulations or guidance established by the Secretary, a Trump account shall be treated for purposes of this title in the same manner as an individual retirement account under section 408(a).

“(b) TRUMP ACCOUNT.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Trump account’ means an individual retirement account (as defined in section 408(a)) which is not designated as a Roth IRA and which meets the following requirements:

“(A) The account—

“(i) is created or organized by the Secretary for the exclusive benefit of an eligible individual or such eligible individual’s beneficiaries, or

“(ii) is—

“(I) created or organized in the United States for the exclusive benefit of an individual who has not attained the age of 18 before the end of the calendar year, or such individual’s beneficiaries, and

“(II) funded by a qualified rollover contribution.

“(B) The account is designated (in such manner as the Secretary shall prescribe) at the time of the establishment of the account as a Trump account.

“(C) The written governing instrument creating the account meets the following requirements:

“(i) No contribution will be accepted—

“(I) before the date that is 12 months after the date of the enactment of this section, or

“(II) in the case of a contribution made in any calendar year before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, if such contribution would result in aggregate contributions (other than exempt contributions) for such calendar year in excess of the contribution limit specified in subsection (c)(2)(A).

“(ii) Except as provided in subsection (d), no distribution will be allowed before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(iii) No part of the account funds will be invested in any asset other than an eligible investment during any period before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—The term ‘eligible individual’ means any individual—

“(A) who has not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the election under subparagraph (C) is made,

“(B) for whom a social security number (within the meaning of section 24(h)(7)) has been issued before the date on which an election under subsection (C) is made, and

“(C) for whom—

“(i) an election is made under this subparagraph by the Secretary if the Secretary determines (based on information available to the Secretary from tax returns or otherwise) that such individual meets the requirements of subparagraphs (A) and (B) and no prior election has been made for such individual under clause (ii), or

“(ii) an election is made under this subparagraph by a person other than the Secretary (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) for the establishment of a Trump account if no prior election has been made for such individual under clause (i).

“(3) ELIGIBLE INVESTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘eligible investment’ means any mutual fund or exchange traded fund which—

“(i) tracks the returns of a qualified index,

“(ii) does not use leverage,

“(iii) does not have annual fees and expenses of more than 0.1 percent of the balance of the investment in the fund, and

“(iv) meets such other criteria as the Secretary determines appropriate for purposes of this section.

“(B) QUALIFIED INDEX.—The term ‘qualified index’ means—

“(i) the Standard and Poor’s 500 stock market index, or

“(ii) any other index—

“(I) which is comprised of equity investments in United States companies, and

“(II) for which regulated futures contracts (as defined in section 1256(g)(1)) are traded on a qualified board or exchange (as defined in section 1256(g)(7)).

Such term shall not include any industry or sector-specific index, but may include an index based on market capitalization.

“(4) ACCOUNT BENEFICIARY.—The term ‘account beneficiary’ means the individual on whose behalf the Trump account was established.

“(c) TREATMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) NO DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—No deduction shall be allowed under section 219 for any contribution which is made before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) CONTRIBUTION LIMIT.—In the case of any contribution made before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The aggregate amount of contributions (other than exempt contributions) for such calendar year shall not exceed \$5,000.

“(B) EXEMPT CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘exempt contribution’ means—

“(i) a qualified rollover contribution,

“(ii) any qualified general contribution, or

“(iii) any contribution provided under section 6434.

“(C) COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any calendar year after 2027, the \$5,000 amount under subparagraph (A) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(I) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(II) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2026’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(ii) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subparagraph is not a multiple of \$100, such

amount shall be rounded to the next lower multiple of \$100.

“(3) TIMING OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 219(f)(3) shall not apply to any contribution made to a Trump account for any taxable year ending before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(d) DISTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, no distribution shall be allowed before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) TAX TREATMENT OF ALLOWABLE DISTRIBUTIONS.—For purposes of applying section 72 to any amount distributed from a Trump account, the investment in the contract shall not include—

“(A) any qualified general contribution,

“(B) any contribution provided under section 6434, and

“(C) the amount of any contribution which is excluded from gross income under section 128.

“(3) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any distribution which is a qualified rollover contribution and the amount of such distribution shall not be included in the gross income of the beneficiary.

“(4) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any distribution which is a qualified ABLE rollover contribution and the amount of such distribution shall not be included in the gross income of the beneficiary.

“(B) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified ABLE rollover contribution’ means an amount which is paid during the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 17 in a direct trustee-to-trustee transfer from a Trump account maintained for the benefit of the account beneficiary to an ABLE account (as defined in section 529A(e)(6)) for the benefit of the such account beneficiary, but only if the amount of such payment is equal to the entire balance of the Trump account from which the payment is made.

“(5) DISTRIBUTIONS OF EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of any contribution which is made before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18 and which is in excess of the limitation in effect under subsection (c)(2)(A) for the calendar year—

“(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply to the distribution of such excess,

“(B) the amount of such distribution shall not be included in gross income of the account beneficiary, and

“(C) the tax imposed by this chapter on the distributee for the taxable year in which the distribution is made shall be increased by 100 percent of the amount of net income attributable to such excess (determined without regard to subparagraph (B)).

“(6) TREATMENT OF DEATH OF ACCOUNT BENEFICIARY.—If, by reason of the death of the account beneficiary before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, any person acquires the account beneficiary’s interest in the Trump account—

“(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply,

“(B) such account shall cease to be a Trump account as of the date of death, and

“(C) an amount equal to the fair market value of the assets (reduced by the investment in the contract) in such account on such date shall—

“(i) if such person is not the estate of such beneficiary, be includible in such person’s gross income for the taxable year which includes such date, or

“(ii) if such person is the estate of such beneficiary, be includible in such beneficiary’s gross income for the last taxable year of such beneficiary.

“(e) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified rollover contribution’ means an amount which is paid in a direct trustee-to-trustee transfer from a Trump account maintained for the benefit of the account beneficiary to a Trump account maintained for such beneficiary, but only if the amount of such payment is equal to the entire balance of the Trump account from which the payment is made.

“(f) QUALIFIED GENERAL CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified general contribution’ means any contribution which—

“(A) is made by the Secretary pursuant to a general funding contribution,

“(B) is made to the Trump account of an account beneficiary in the qualified class of account beneficiaries specified in the general funding contribution, and

“(C) is in an amount which is equal to the ratio of—

“(i) the amount of such general funding contribution, to

“(ii) the number of account beneficiaries in such qualified class.

“(2) GENERAL FUNDING CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘general funding contribution’ means a contribution which—

“(A) is made by—

“(i) an entity described in section 170(c)(1) (other than a possession of the United States or a political subdivision thereof) or an Indian tribal government, or

“(ii) an organization described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), and

“(B) which specifies a qualified class of account beneficiaries to whom such contribution is to be distributed.

“(3) QUALIFIED CLASS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified class’ means any of the following:

“(i) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made.

“(ii) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made and who reside in one or more States or other qualified geographic areas specified by the terms of the general funding contribution.

“(iii) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made and who were born in one or more calendar years specified by the terms of the general funding contribution.

“(B) QUALIFIED GEOGRAPHIC AREA.—The term ‘qualified geographic area’ means any geographic area in which not less than 5,000 account beneficiaries reside and which is designated by the Secretary as a qualified geographic area under this subparagraph.

“(g) TRUSTEE SELECTION.—In the case of any Trump account created or organized by the Secretary, the Secretary shall take into account the following criteria in selecting the trustee:

“(1) The history of reliability and regulatory compliance of the trustee.

“(2) The customer service experience of the trustee.

“(3) The costs imposed by the trustee on the account or the account beneficiary.

“(h) OTHER SPECIAL RULES AND COORDINATION WITH INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT RULES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The rules of subsections (k) and (p) of section 408 shall not apply to a

Trump account, and the rules of subsections (d) and (i) of section 408 shall not apply to a Trump account for any taxable year beginning before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) CUSTODIAL ACCOUNTS.—In the case of a Trump account, section 408(h) shall be applied by substituting ‘a Trump account described in section 530A(b)(1)’ for ‘an individual retirement account described in subsection (a)’.

“(3) CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of any taxable year beginning before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, a contribution to a Trump account shall not be taken into account in applying any contribution limit to any individual retirement plan other than a Trump account.

“(4) DISTRIBUTIONS.—Section 408(d)(2) shall be applied separately with respect to Trump Accounts and other individual retirement plans.

“(5) EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—For purposes of applying section 4973(b) to a Trump account for any taxable year beginning before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, the term ‘excess contributions’ means the sum of—

“(A) the amount by which the amount contributed to the account for the calendar year in which taxable year begins exceeds the amount permitted to be contributed to the account under subsection (c)(2), and

“(B) the amount determined under this paragraph for the preceding taxable year.

For purposes of this paragraph, the excess contributions for a taxable year are reduced by the distributions to which subsection (d)(5) applies that are made during the taxable year or by the date prescribed by law (including extensions of time) for filing the account beneficiary’s return for the taxable year.

“(i) REPORTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The trustee of a Trump account shall make such reports regarding such account to the Secretary and to the beneficiary of the account at such time and in such manner as may be required by the Secretary. Such reports shall include information with respect to—

“(A) contributions (including the amount and source of any contribution in excess of \$25 made from a person other than the Secretary, the account beneficiary, or the parent or legal guardian of the account beneficiary),

“(B) distributions (including distributions which are qualified rollover contributions),

“(C) the fair market value of the account,

“(D) the investment in the contract with respect to such account, and

“(E) such other matters as the Secretary may require.

“(2) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Not later than 30 days after the date of any qualified rollover contribution, the trustee of the Trump account to which the contribution was made shall make a report to the Secretary. Such report shall include—

“(A) the name, address, and social security number of the account beneficiary,

“(B) the name and address of such trustee,

“(C) the account number,

“(D) the routing number of the trustee, and

“(E) such other information as the Secretary may require.

“(3) PERIOD OF REPORTING.—This subsection shall not apply to any period after the calendar year in which the beneficiary attains age 17.”.

(2) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS EXEMPT FROM ABLE CONTRIBUTION LIMITATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 529A(b)(2)(B) is amended by inserting “or received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” after “except as provided in the case of contributions under subsection (c)(1)(C)”.

(B) PROHIBITION ON EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—The second sentence of section 529A(b)(6) is amended by inserting “but do not include any contributions received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” before the period at the end.

(C) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 4973(h)(1) is amended by inserting “or contributions received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” after “other than contributions under section 529A(c)(1)(C)”.

(3) FAILURE TO PROVIDE REPORTS ON TRUMP ACCOUNTS.—Section 6693(a)(2) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (F) the following new subparagraph:

“(G) section 530A(i) (relating to Trump accounts).”.

(4) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—

(A) The table of parts for subchapter F of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“PART IX—TRUMP ACCOUNTS”.

(b) EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 127 the following new section:

“SEC. 128. EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income of an employee does not include amounts paid by the employer as a contribution to the Trump account of such employee or of any dependent of such employee if the amounts are paid or incurred pursuant to a program which is described in subsection (c).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount which may be excluded under subsection (a) with respect to any employee shall not exceed \$2,500.

“(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2027, the \$2,500 amount in paragraph (1) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for such calendar year by substituting ‘calendar year 2026’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(B) ROUNDING.—If any increase determined under subparagraph (A) is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.

“(c) TRUMP ACCOUNT CONTRIBUTION PROGRAM.—For purposes of this section, a Trump account contribution program is a separate written plan of an employer for the exclusive benefit of his employees to provide contributions to the Trump accounts of such employees or dependents of such employees which meets requirements similar to the requirements of paragraphs (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) of section 129(d).”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 127 the following new item:

“Sec. 128. Employer contributions to Trump accounts.”.

(c) CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS EXCLUDED FROM GROSS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before section 140 the following new section:

“SEC. 139J. CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income of an account beneficiary shall not include any qualified general contribution to a Trump account of the account beneficiary.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is used in section 530A shall have the meaning given such term under section 530A.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 140 the following new item:

“Sec. 139J. Certain contributions to Trump accounts.”.

(d) TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 65 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6434. TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual who makes an election under this section with respect to an eligible child of the individual, such eligible child shall be treated as making a payment against the tax imposed by subtitle A (for the taxable year for which the election was made) in an amount equal to \$1,000.

“(b) REFUND OF PAYMENT.—The amount treated as a payment under subsection (a) shall be paid by the Secretary to the Trump account with respect to which such eligible child is the account beneficiary.

“(c) ELIGIBLE CHILD.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘eligible child’ means a qualifying child (as defined in section 152(c))—

“(1) who is born after December 31, 2024, and before January 1, 2029,

“(2) with respect to whom no prior election has been made under this section by such individual or any other individual,

“(3) who is a United States citizen, and

“(4) at least one parent of whom was a United States citizen at the time of such qualifying child’s birth.

“(d) ELECTION.—An election under this section shall be made at such time and in such manner as the Secretary shall provide.

“(e) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply to any taxpayer unless such individual includes with the election made under this section—

“(A) such individual’s social security number, and

“(B) the social security number of the eligible child with respect to whom the election is made.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7), determined by substituting ‘before the date of the election made under section 6434’ for ‘before the due date of such return’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.

“(f) EXCEPTION FROM REDUCTION OR OFFSET.—Any payment made to any individual under this section shall not be—

“(1) subject to reduction or offset pursuant to subsection (c), (d), (e), or (f) of section 6402 or any similar authority permitting offset, or

“(2) reduced or offset by other assessed Federal taxes that would otherwise be subject to levy or collection.

“(g) SPECIAL RULE REGARDING INTEREST.—The period determined under section 6611(a) with respect to any payment under this section shall not begin before January 1, 2028.

“(h) MIRROR CODE POSSESSIONS.—In the case of any possession of the United States with a mirror code tax system (as defined in

section 24(k)), this section shall not be treated as part of the income tax laws of the United States for purposes of determining the income tax law of such possession unless such possession elects to have this section be so treated.

“(i) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section, the terms ‘Trump account’ and ‘account beneficiary’ have the meaning given such terms in section 530A(b).”.

(2) PENALTY FOR NEGLIGENT CLAIM OR FRAUDULENT CLAIM.—Part I of subchapter A of chapter 68 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6659. IMPROPER CLAIM FOR TRUMP ACCOUNT CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM CREDIT.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any individual who makes an election under section 6434 with respect to an individual who is not an eligible child of the taxpayer—

“(1) if such election was made due to negligence or disregard of the rules or regulations, there shall be imposed a penalty of \$500, or

“(2) if such election was made due to fraud, there shall be imposed a penalty of \$1,000.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—

“(1) ELIGIBLE CHILD.—The term ‘eligible child’ has the meaning given such term under section 6434.

“(2) NEGLIGENCE; DISREGARD.—The terms ‘negligence’ and ‘disregard’ have the same meaning as when such terms are used in section 6662.”.

(3) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (Y), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (Z) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (Z) the following new subparagraph:

“(AA) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 6434(e)(1) (relating to the Trump accounts contribution pilot program).”.

(4) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6434. Trump accounts contribution pilot program.”.

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter A of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6658 the following new item:

“Sec. 6659. Improper claim for Trump account contribution pilot program credit.”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(f) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of the Treasury, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$410,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2034, to carry out the amendments made by this section.

CHAPTER 3—ESTABLISHING CERTAINTY AND COMPETITIVENESS FOR AMERICAN JOB CREATORS

Subchapter A—Permanent U.S. Business Tax Reform and Boosting Domestic Investment
SEC. 70301. FULL EXPENSING FOR CERTAIN BUSINESS PROPERTY.

(a) MADE PERMANENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 168(k)(2)(A) is amended by adding “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking “, and” at the end of clause (ii) and inserting a period, and by striking clause (iii).

(2) PROPERTY WITH LONGER PRODUCTION PERIODS.—Section 168(k)(2)(B) is amended—

(A) in clause (i), by striking subclauses (II) and (III) and redesignating subclauses (IV), (V), and (VI), as subclauses (II), (III), and (IV), respectively, and

(B) by striking clause (ii) and redesignating clauses (iii) and (iv) as clauses (ii) and (iii), respectively.

(3) SELF-CONSTRUCTED PROPERTY.—Section 168(k)(2)(E) is amended by striking clause (i) and redesignating clauses (ii) and (iii) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively.

(4) CERTAIN PLANTS.—Section 168(k)(5)(A) is amended by striking “planted before January 1, 2027, or is grafted before such date to a plant that has already been planted,” in the matter preceding clause (i) and inserting “planted or grafted”.

(5) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 168(k)(2)(A)(ii) is amended by striking “clause (ii) of subparagraph (E)” and inserting “clause (i) of subparagraph (E)”.

(B) Section 168(k)(2)(C)(i) is amended by striking “and subclauses (II) and (III) of subparagraph (B)(i)”.

(C) Section 168(k)(2)(C)(ii) is amended by striking “subparagraph (B)(iii)” and inserting “subparagraph (B)(ii)”.

(D) Section 460(c)(6)(B) is amended by striking “which” and all that follows through the period and inserting “which has a recovery period of 7 years or less.”.

(b) 100 PERCENT EXPENSING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 168(k) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking “the applicable percentage” and inserting “100 percent”, and

(B) by striking paragraphs (6) and (8).

(2) CERTAIN PLANTS.—Section 168(k)(5)(A)(i) is amended by striking “the applicable percentage” and inserting “100 percent”.

(3) TRANSITIONAL ELECTION OF REDUCED PERCENTAGE.—Section 168(k)(10) is amended by striking subparagraph (A), by redesignating subparagraph (B) as subparagraph (C), and by inserting before subparagraph (C) (as so redesignated) the following new subparagraphs:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of qualified property placed in service by the taxpayer during the first taxable year ending after January 19, 2025, if the taxpayer elects to have this paragraph apply for such taxable year, paragraph (1)(A) shall be applied—

“(i) in the case of property which is not described in clause (ii), by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘100 percent’, or

“(ii) in the case of property which is described in subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (2), by substituting ‘60 percent’ for ‘100 percent’.

“(B) SPECIFIED PLANTS.—In the case of any specified plant planted or grafted by the taxpayer during the first taxable year ending after January 19, 2025, if the taxpayer elects to have this paragraph apply for such taxable year, paragraph (5)(A)(i) shall be applied by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘100 percent’.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to property acquired after January 19, 2025.

(2) SPECIFIED PLANTS.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in the case of any specified plant (as defined in section 168(k)(5)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as amended by this section), the amendments made by this section shall apply to such plants which are planted or grafted after January 19, 2025.

(3) TRANSITIONAL ELECTION OF REDUCED PERCENTAGE.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(3) shall apply to taxable years ending after January 19, 2025.

(4) ACQUISITION DATE DETERMINATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), property shall not

be treated as acquired after the date on which a written binding contract is entered into for such acquisition.

SEC. 70302. FULL EXPENSING OF DOMESTIC RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 174 the following new section:

“SEC. 174A. DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.

“(a) TREATMENT AS EXPENSES.—Notwithstanding section 263, there shall be allowed as a deduction any domestic research or experimental expenditures which are paid or incurred by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(b) DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘domestic research or experimental expenditures’ means research or experimental expenditures paid or incurred by the taxpayer in connection with the taxpayer’s trade or business other than such expenditures which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F)).

“(c) AMORTIZATION OF CERTAIN DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—At the election of the taxpayer, made in accordance with regulations or other guidance provided by the Secretary, in the case of domestic research or experimental expenditures which would (but for subsection (a)) be chargeable to capital account but not chargeable to property of a character which is subject to the allowance under section 167 (relating to allowance for depreciation, etc.) or section 611 (relating to allowance for depletion), subsection (a) shall not apply and the taxpayer shall—

“(A) charge such expenditures to capital account, and

“(B) be allowed an amortization deduction of such expenditures ratably over such period of not less than 60 months as may be selected by the taxpayer (beginning with the month in which the taxpayer first realizes benefits from such expenditures).

“(2) TIME FOR AND SCOPE OF ELECTION.—The election provided by paragraph (1) may be made for any taxable year, but only if made not later than the time prescribed by law for filing the return for such taxable year (including extensions thereof). The method so elected, and the period selected by the taxpayer, shall be adhered to in computing taxable income for the taxable year for which the election is made and for all subsequent taxable years unless, with the approval of the Secretary, a change to a different method (or to a different period) is authorized with respect to part or all of such expenditures. The election shall not apply to any expenditure paid or incurred during any taxable year before the taxable year for which the taxpayer makes the election.

“(d) SPECIAL RULES.—

“(1) LAND AND OTHER PROPERTY.—This section shall not apply to any expenditure for the acquisition or improvement of land, or for the acquisition or improvement of property to be used in connection with the research or experimentation and of a character which is subject to the allowance under section 167 (relating to allowance for depreciation, etc.) or section 611 (relating to allowance for depletion); but for purposes of this section allowances under section 167, and allowances under section 611, shall be considered as expenditures.

“(2) EXPLORATION EXPENDITURES.—This section shall not apply to any expenditure paid or incurred for the purpose of ascertaining the existence, location, extent, or quality of any deposit of ore or other mineral (including oil and gas).

“(3) SOFTWARE DEVELOPMENT.—For purposes of this section, any amount paid or incurred in connection with the development of any software shall be treated as a research or experimental expenditure.”.

(b) COORDINATION WITH CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

(1) FOREIGN RESEARCH EXPENSES.—Section 174 is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) by striking “a taxpayer’s specified research or experimental expenditures” and inserting “a taxpayer’s foreign research or experimental expenditures”, and

(ii) by striking “over the 5-year period (15-year period in the case of any specified research or experimental expenditures which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F)))” in paragraph (2)(B) and inserting “over the 15-year period”,

(B) in subsection (b)—

(i) by striking “specified research” and inserting “foreign research”,

(ii) by inserting “and which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F))” before the period at the end, and

(iii) by striking “SPECIFIED” in the heading thereof and inserting “FOREIGN”, and

(C) in subsection (d)—

(i) by striking “specified research or experimental expenditures” and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures”, and

(ii) by inserting “or reduction to amount realized” after “no deduction”.

(2) RESEARCH CREDIT.—

(A) Section 41(d)(1)(A) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) with respect to which expenditures are treated as domestic research or experimental expenditures under section 174A.”.

(B) Section 280C(c)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The domestic research or experimental expenditures otherwise taken into account under section 174A shall be reduced by the amount of the credit allowed under section 41(a).”.

(3) AMT ADJUSTMENT.—Section 56(b)(2) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “or 174(a)” in the matter preceding clause (i) and inserting “, 174(a), or 174A(a)”, and

(ii) by striking “research and experimental expenditures described in section 174(a)” in clause (ii) thereof and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures described in section 174(a) and domestic research or experimental expenditures in section 174A(a)”, and

(B) in subparagraph (C), by inserting “or 174A(a)” after “174(a)”.

(4) OPTIONAL 10-YEAR WRITEOFF.—Section 59(e)(2)(B) is amended by striking “section 174(a) (relating to research and experimental expenditures)” and inserting “section 174A(a) (relating to domestic research or experimental expenditures)”.

(5) QUALIFIED SMALL ISSUE BONDS.—Section 144(a)(4)(C)(iv) is amended by striking “174(a)” and inserting “174A(a)”.

(6) START-UP EXPENDITURES.—Section 195(c)(1) is amended by striking “or 174” in the last sentence and inserting “174, or 174A”.

(7) CAPITAL EXPENDITURES.—

(A) Section 263(a)(1)(B) is amended by inserting “or 174A” after “174”.

(B) Section 263A(c)(2) is amended by inserting “or 174A” after “174”.

(8) ACTIVE BUSINESS COMPUTER SOFTWARE ROYALTIES.—Section 543(d)(4)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “174A,” after “174.”.

(9) SOURCE RULES.—Section 864(g)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking “research and experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174” in the first sentence and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174 or domestic research or experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174A”, and

(B) in the last sentence—

(i) by striking “treated as deferred expenses under subsection (b) of section 174” and inserting “allowed as an amortization deduction under section 174(a) or section 174A(c).”, and

(ii) by striking “such subsection” and inserting “such section (as the case may be)”.

(10) BASIS ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1016(a)(14) is amended by striking “deductions as deferred expenses under section 174(b)(1) (relating to research and experimental expenditures)” and inserting “deductions under section 174 or 174A(c)”.

(11) SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.—Section 1202(e)(2)(B) is amended by striking “which may be treated as research and experimental expenditures under section 174” and inserting “which are treated as foreign research or experimental expenditures under section 174 or domestic research or experimental expenditures under section 174A”.

(C) CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall be treated as a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and—

(A) such change shall be treated as initiated by the taxpayer,

(B) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(C) such change shall be applied only on a cut-off basis for any domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A(b) of such Code (as added by this section) and determined by applying the rules of section 174A(d) of such Code) paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and no adjustments under section 481(a) shall be made.

(2) SPECIAL RULES.—In the case of a taxable year which begins after December 31, 2024, and ends before the date of the enactment of this Act—

(A) paragraph (1)(C) shall not apply, and

(B) the change in method of accounting under paragraph (1) shall be applied on a modified cut-off basis, taking into account for purposes of section 481(a) of such Code only the domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A(b) of such Code (as added by this section) and determined by applying the rules of section 174A(d) of such Code) paid or incurred in such taxable year but not allowed as a deduction in such taxable year.

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 174 the following new item:

“Sec. 174A. Domestic research or experimental expenditures.”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection or subsection (f)(1), the amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(2) TREATMENT OF FOREIGN RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES UPON DISPOSITION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The amendment by subsection (b)(1)(C)(ii) shall apply to property disposed, retired, or abandoned after May 12, 2025.

(B) NO INFERENCE.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(1)(C)(ii) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect

to the proper application of section 174(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before May 13, 2025.

(3) COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(2)(B) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(4) NO INFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT FOR PRIOR PERIODS.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(2)(B) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of section 280C(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before January 1, 2025.

(f) TRANSITION RULES.—

(1) ELECTION FOR RETROACTIVE APPLICATION BY CERTAIN SMALL BUSINESSES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—At the election of an eligible taxpayer, paragraphs (1) and (3) of subsection (e) shall each be applied by substituting “December 31, 2021” for “December 31, 2024”. An election made under this subparagraph shall be made in such manner as the Secretary may provide and not later than the date that is 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act. The taxpayer shall file an amended return for each taxable year affected by such election.

(B) ELIGIBLE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term “eligible taxpayer” means any taxpayer (other than a tax shelter prohibited from using the cash receipts and disbursements method of accounting under section 448(a)(3)) which meets the gross receipts test of section 448(c) for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024.

(C) ELECTION TREATED AS CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.—In the case of any taxpayer which elects the application of subparagraph (A)—

(i) such election may be treated as a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of such Code for the taxpayer’s first taxable year affected by such election,

(ii) such change shall be treated as initiated by the taxpayer for such taxable year,

(iii) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(iv) subsection (c) shall not apply to such taxpayer.

(D) ELECTION REGARDING COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT.—An election under section 280C(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (or revocation of such election) for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2021, by an eligible taxpayer making an election under subparagraph (A) shall not fail to be treated as timely made (or as made on the return) if made during the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act on an amended return for such taxable year.

(2) ELECTION TO DEDUCT CERTAIN UNAMORTIZED AMOUNTS PAID OR INCURRED IN TAXABLE YEARS BEGINNING BEFORE JANUARY 1, 2025.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A, as added by subsection (a)) which are paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2021, and before January 1, 2025, and which was charged to capital account, a taxpayer may elect—

(i) to deduct any remaining unamortized amount with respect to such expenditures in the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024, or

(ii) to deduct such remaining unamortized amount with respect to such expenditures ratably over the 2-taxable year period beginning with the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024.

(B) CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.—In the case of a taxpayer who makes an election under this paragraph—

(i) such taxpayer shall be treated as initiating a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the expenditures to which the election applies,

(ii) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(iii) such change shall be applied only on a cut-off basis for such expenditures and no adjustments under section 481(a) shall be made.

(C) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall publish such guidance or regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this paragraph, including regulations or guidance allowing for the deduction allowed under subparagraph (A) in the case of taxpayers with taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and ending before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70303. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON BUSINESS INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(j)(8)(A)(v) is amended by striking “in the case of taxable years beginning before January 1, 2022,”.

(b) FLOOR PLAN FINANCING APPLICABLE TO CERTAIN TRAILERS AND CAMPER.—Section 163(j)(9)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new flush sentence:

“Such term shall also include any trailer or camper which is designed to provide temporary living quarters for recreational, camping, or seasonal use and is designed to be towed by, or affixed to, a motor vehicle.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE AND SPECIAL RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) may prescribe such rules as are necessary or appropriate to provide for the application of the amendments made by this section in the case of any taxable year of less than 12 months that begins after December 31, 2024, and ends before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70304. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF PAID FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 45S is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking paragraph (1) and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 38, in the case of an eligible employer, the paid family and medical leave credit is an amount equal to either of the following (as elected by such employer):

“(A) The applicable percentage of the amount of wages paid to qualifying employees with respect to any period in which such employees are on family and medical leave.

“(B) If such employer has an insurance policy with regards to the provision of paid family and medical leave which is in force during the taxable year, the applicable percentage of the total amount of premiums paid or incurred by such employer during such taxable year with respect to such insurance policy.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) RATE OF PAYMENT DETERMINED WITHOUT REGARD TO WHETHER LEAVE IS TAKEN.—For purposes of determining the applicable percentage with respect to paragraph (1)(B), the rate of payment under the insurance policy shall be determined without regard to whether any qualifying employees were on family and medical leave during the taxable year.”.

(2) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “credit allowed” and inserting “wages taken into account”.

(3) in subsection (c), by striking paragraphs (3) and (4) and inserting the following:

“(3) AGGREGATION RULE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), all persons which are treated as a single employer under subsections (b) and (c) of section 414 shall be treated as a single employer.

“(B) EXCEPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to any person who establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that such person has a substantial and legitimate business reason for failing to provide a written policy described in paragraph (1) or (2).

“(ii) SUBSTANTIAL AND LEGITIMATE BUSINESS REASON.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘substantial and legitimate business reason’ shall not include the operation of a separate line of business, the rate of wages or category of jobs for employees (or any similar basis), or the application of State or local laws relating to family and medical leave, but may include the grouping of employees of a common law employer.

“(4) TREATMENT OF BENEFITS MANDATED OR PAID FOR BY STATE OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.—For purposes of this section, any leave which is paid by a State or local government or required by State or local law—

“(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), shall be taken into account in determining the amount of paid family and medical leave provided by the employer, and

“(B) shall not be taken into account in determining the amount of the paid family and medical leave credit under subsection (a).”

(4) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, at the election of the employer, for not less than 6 months)” after “1 year or more”;

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) by inserting “, as determined on an annualized basis (pro-rata for part-time employees),” after “compensation”, and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) is customarily employed for not less than 20 hours per week.”, and

(5) by striking subsection (i).

(b) NO DOUBLE BENEFIT.—Section 280C(a) is amended—

(1) by striking “45S(a)” and inserting “45S(a)(1)(A)”, and

(2) by inserting after the first sentence the following: “No deduction shall be allowed for that portion of the premiums paid or incurred for the taxable year which is equal to that portion of the paid family and medical leave credit which is determined for the taxable year under section 45S(a)(1)(B).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70305. EXCEPTIONS FROM LIMITATIONS ON DEDUCTION FOR BUSINESS MEALS.

(a) EXCEPTION TO DENIAL OF DEDUCTION FOR BUSINESS MEALS.—Section 274(o), as added by section 13304 of Public Law 115-97, is amended by striking “No deduction” and inserting “Except in the case of an expense described in subsection (e)(8) or (n)(2)(C), no deduction”.

(b) MEALS PROVIDED ON CERTAIN FISHING BOATS AND AT CERTAIN FISH PROCESSING FACILITIES NOT SUBJECT TO 50 PERCENT LIMITATION.—Section 274(n)(2)(C) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (iii) and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(v) provided—

“(I) on a fishing vessel, fish processing vessel, or fish tender vessel (as such terms are defined in section 2101 of title 46, United States Code), or

“(II) at a facility for the processing of fish for commercial use or consumption which—

“(aa) is located in the United States north of 50 degrees north latitude, and

“(bb) is not located in a metropolitan statistical area (within the meaning of section 143(k)(2)(B)), or”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70306. INCREASED DOLLAR LIMITATIONS FOR EXPENSING OF CERTAIN DEPRECIABLE BUSINESS ASSETS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 179(b) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “\$1,000,000” and inserting “\$2,500,000”, and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$2,500,000” and inserting “\$4,000,000”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 179(b)(6)(A) is amended—

(1) by inserting “(2025 in the case of the dollar amounts in paragraphs (1) and (2))” after “In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2018”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.” and inserting “determined by substituting in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof—

“(I) in the case of amounts in paragraphs (1) and (2), ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’, and

“(II) in the case of the amount in paragraph (5)(A), ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70307. SPECIAL DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCE FOR QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 168 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(n) SPECIAL ALLOWANCE FOR QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any qualified production property of a taxpayer making an election under this subsection—

“(A) the depreciation deduction provided by section 167(a) for the taxable year in which such property is placed in service shall include an allowance equal to 100 percent of the adjusted basis of the qualified production property, and

“(B) the adjusted basis of the qualified production property shall be reduced by the amount of such deduction before computing the amount otherwise allowable as a depreciation deduction under this chapter for such taxable year and any subsequent taxable year.

“(2) QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified production property’ means that portion of any nonresidential real property—

“(i) to which this section applies,

“(ii) which is used by the taxpayer as an integral part of a qualified production activity,

“(iii) which is placed in service in the United States or any possession of the United States,

“(iv) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

“(v) the construction of which begins after January 19, 2025, and before January 1, 2029,

“(vi) which is designated by the taxpayer in the election made under this subsection, and

“(vii) which is placed in service before January 1, 2031.

For purposes of clause (ii), in the case of property with respect to which the taxpayer is a lessor, property used by a lessee shall not be considered to be used by the taxpayer as part of a qualified production activity.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN PROPERTY NOT PREVIOUSLY USED IN QUALIFIED PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of property acquired by the taxpayer during the period described in subparagraph (A)(v), the requirements of clauses (iv) and (v) of subparagraph (A) shall be treated as satisfied if—

“(I) such property was not used in a qualified production activity (determined without regard to the second sentence of subparagraph (D)) by any person at any time during the period beginning on January 1, 2021, and ending on May 12, 2025,

“(II) such property was not used by the taxpayer at any time prior to such acquisition, and

“(III) the acquisition of such property meets the requirements of paragraphs (2)(A), (2)(B), (2)(C), and (3) of section 179(d).

“(ii) WRITTEN BINDING CONTRACTS.—For purposes of determining under clause (i)—

“(I) whether such property is acquired before the period described in subparagraph (A)(v), such property shall be treated as acquired not later than the date on which the taxpayer enters into a written binding contract for such acquisition, and

“(II) whether such property is acquired after such period, such property shall be treated as acquired not earlier than such date.

“(C) EXCLUSION OF OFFICE SPACE, ETC.—The term ‘qualified production property’ shall not include that portion of any nonresidential real property which is used for offices, administrative services, lodging, parking, sales activities, research activities, software development or engineering activities, or other functions unrelated to the manufacturing, production, or refining of tangible personal property.

“(D) QUALIFIED PRODUCTION ACTIVITY.—The term ‘qualified production activity’ means the manufacturing, production, or refining of a qualified product. The activities of any taxpayer do not constitute manufacturing, production, or refining of a qualified product unless the activities of such taxpayer result in a substantial transformation of the property comprising the product.

“(E) PRODUCTION.—The term ‘production’ shall not include activities other than agricultural production and chemical production.

“(F) QUALIFIED PRODUCT.—The term ‘qualified product’ means any tangible personal property if such property is not a food or beverage prepared in the same building as a retail establishment in which such property is sold.

“(G) SYNDICATION.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(iv), rules similar to the rules of subsection (k)(2)(E)(iii) shall apply.

“(H) EXTENSION OF PLACED IN SERVICE DATE UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.—The Secretary may extend the date under subparagraph (A)(vii) with respect to any property that meets the requirements of clauses (i) through (vi) of subparagraph (A) if the Secretary determines that an act of God (as defined in section 101(1) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980) prevents the taxpayer from placing such property in service before such date.

“(3) DEDUCTION ALLOWED IN COMPUTING MINIMUM TAX.—For purposes of determining alternative minimum taxable income under section 55, the deduction under section 167 for qualified production property shall be determined under this section without regard to any adjustment under section 56.

“(4) COORDINATION WITH CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

“(A) OTHER SPECIAL DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES.—For purposes of subsections (k)(7), (l)(3)(D), and (m)(2)(B)(iii)—

“(i) qualified production property shall be treated as a separate class of property, and

“(ii) the taxpayer shall be treated as having made an election under such subsections with respect to such class.

“(B) ALTERNATIVE DEPRECIATION PROPERTY.—The term ‘qualified production property’ shall not include any property to which the alternative depreciation system under subsection (g) applies. For purposes of subsection (g)(7)(A), qualified production property to which this subsection applies shall be treated as separate nonresidential real property.

“(5) RECAPTURE.—If, at any time during the 10-year period beginning on the date that any qualified production property is placed in service by the taxpayer, such property ceases to be used as described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii) and is used by the taxpayer in a productive use not described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii)—

“(A) section 1245 shall be applied—

“(i) by treating such property as having been disposed of by the taxpayer as of the first time such property is so used in a productive use not described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii), and

“(ii) by treating the amount described in subparagraph (B) of section 1245(a)(1) with respect to such disposition as being not less than the amount described in subparagraph (A) of such section, and

“(B) the basis of the taxpayer in such property, and the taxpayer’s allowance for depreciation with respect to such property, shall be appropriately adjusted to take into account amounts recognized by reason of subparagraph (A).

“(6) ELECTION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—An election under this subsection for any taxable year shall—

“(i) specify the nonresidential real property subject to the election and the portion of such property designated under paragraph (2)(A)(vi), and

“(ii) except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, be made on the taxpayer’s return of the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year.

Such election shall be made in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe by regulations or other guidance.

“(B) ELECTION.—Any election made under this subsection, and any specification contained in any such election, may not be revoked except with the consent of the Secretary (and the Secretary shall provide such consent only in extraordinary circumstances).

“(7) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance—

“(A) providing rules for regarding what constitutes substantial transformation of property which are consistent with guidance provided under section 954(d), and

“(B) providing for the application of paragraph (5) with respect to a change in use described in such paragraph by a transferee following a fully or partially tax free transfer of qualified production property.”

(b) TREATMENT OF QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY AS SECTION 1245 PROPERTY.—Section 1245(a)(3) is amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(G) any qualified production property (as defined in section 168(n)(2)).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70308. ENHANCEMENT OF ADVANCED MANUFACTURING INVESTMENT CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 48D(a) is amended by striking “25 percent” and inserting “35 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70309. SPACEPORTS ARE TREATED LIKE AIRPORTS UNDER EXEMPT FACILITY BOND RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 142(a)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) airports and spaceports.”

(b) TREATMENT OF GROUND LEASES.—Section 142(b)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR SPACEPORT GROUND LEASES.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), spaceport property located on land leased by a governmental unit from the United States shall not fail to be treated as owned by a governmental unit if the requirements of this paragraph are met by the lease and any subleases of the property.”

(c) DEFINITION OF SPACEPORT.—Section 142 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(p) SPACEPORT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(1), the term ‘spaceport’ means any facility located at or in close proximity to a launch site or reentry site used for—

“(A) manufacturing, assembling, or repairing spacecraft, space cargo, other facilities described in this paragraph, or any component of the foregoing,

“(B) flight control operations,

“(C) providing launch services and reentry services, or

“(D) transferring crew, spaceflight participants, or space cargo to or from spacecraft.

“(2) ADDITIONAL TERMS.—For purposes of paragraph (1)—

“(A) SPACE CARGO.—The term ‘space cargo’ includes satellites, scientific experiments, other property transported into space, and any other type of payload, whether or not such property returns from space.

“(B) SPACECRAFT.—The term ‘spacecraft’ means a launch vehicle or a reentry vehicle.

“(C) OTHER TERMS.—The terms ‘launch site’, ‘crew’, ‘space flight participant’, ‘launch services’, ‘launch vehicle’, ‘payload’, ‘reentry services’, ‘reentry site’, a ‘reentry vehicle’ shall have the respective meanings given to such terms by section 50902 of title 51, United States Code (as in effect on the date of enactment of this subsection).

“(3) PUBLIC USE REQUIREMENT.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a facility shall not be required to be available for use by the general public to be treated as a spaceport for purposes of this section.

“(4) MANUFACTURING FACILITIES AND INDUSTRIAL PARKS ALLOWED.—With respect to spaceports, subsection (c)(2)(E) shall not apply to spaceport property described in paragraph (1)(A).”

(d) EXCEPTION FROM FEDERALLY GUARANTEED BOND PROHIBITION.—Section 149(b)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) EXCEPTION FOR SPACEPORTS.—A bond shall not be treated as federally guaranteed merely because of the payment of rent, user fees, or other charges by the United States (or any agency or instrumentality thereof) in exchange for the use of the spaceport by the United States (or any agency or instrumentality thereof).”

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The heading for section 142(c) is amended by inserting “SPACEPORTS,” after “AIRPORTS.”

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to obligations issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Subchapter B—Permanent America-first International Tax Reforms

PART I—FOREIGN TAX CREDIT

SEC. 70311. MODIFICATIONS RELATED TO FOREIGN TAX CREDIT LIMITATION.

(a) RULES FOR ALLOCATION OF CERTAIN DEDUCTIONS TO FOREIGN SOURCE NET CFC TESTED INCOME FOR PURPOSES OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT LIMITATION.—Section 904(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) DEDUCTIONS TREATED AS ALLOCABLE TO FOREIGN SOURCE NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—Solely for purposes of the application of subsection (a) with respect to amounts described in subsection (d)(1)(A), the taxpayer’s taxable income from sources without the United States shall be determined by allocating and apportioning—

“(A) any deduction allowed under section 250(a)(1)(B) (and any deduction allowed under section 164(a)(3) for taxes imposed on amounts described in section 250(a)(1)(B)) to such income,

“(B) no amount of interest expense or research and experimental expenditures to such income, and

“(C) any other deduction to such income only if such deduction is directly allocable to such income.

Any amount or deduction which would (but for subparagraphs (B) and (C)) have been allocated or apportioned to such income shall only be allocated or apportioned to income which is from sources within the United States.”

(b) OTHER MODIFICATIONS.—

(1) Section 904(d)(2)(H)(i) is amended by striking “paragraph (1)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(D)”.

(2) Section 904(d)(4)(C)(ii) is amended by striking “paragraph (1)(A)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(C)”.

(3) Section 951A(f)(1)(A) is amended by striking “904(h)(1)” and inserting “904(h)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70312. MODIFICATIONS TO DETERMINATION OF DEEMED PAID CREDIT FOR TAXES PROPERLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO TESTED INCOME.

(a) INCREASE IN DEEMED PAID CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 960(d)(1) is amended by striking “80 percent” and inserting “90 percent”.

(2) GROSS UP FOR DEEMED PAID FOREIGN TAX CREDIT.—Section 78 is amended—

(A) by striking “subsections (a), (b), and (d)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (d)”, and

(B) by striking “80 percent” and inserting “90 percent”.

(b) DISALLOWANCE OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUSLY TAXED NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—Section 960(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) DISALLOWANCE OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUSLY TAXED NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—No credit shall be allowed under section 901 for 10 percent of any foreign income taxes paid or accrued (or deemed paid under subsection (b)(1)) with respect to any amount excluded from gross income under section 959(a) by reason of an inclusion in gross income under section 951A(a).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(2) DISALLOWANCE.—The amendment made by subsection (b) shall apply to amounts distributed after June 28, 2025.

SEC. 70313. SOURCING CERTAIN INCOME FROM THE SALE OF INVENTORY PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 904(b), as amended by section 70311, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) SOURCE RULES FOR CERTAIN INVENTORY PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOLD THROUGH FOREIGN BRANCHES.—For purposes of this section, if a United States person maintains an office or other fixed place of business in a foreign country (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 864(c)(5)), the portion of income which—

“(A) is from the sale or exchange outside the United States of inventory property (within the meaning of section 865(i)(1))—

“(i) which is produced in the United States,

“(ii) which is for use outside the United States, and

“(iii) to which the third sentence of section 863(b) applies, and

“(B) is attributable (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 864(c)(5)) to such office or other fixed place of business, shall be treated as from sources without the United States, except that the amount so treated shall not exceed 50 percent of the income from the sale or exchange of such inventory property.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART II—FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME**SEC. 70321. MODIFICATION OF DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(a) is amended—

(1) by striking “37.5 percent” in paragraph (1)(A) and inserting “33.34 percent”,

(2) by striking “50 percent” in paragraph (1)(B) and inserting “40 percent”, and

(3) by striking paragraph (3).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70322. DETERMINATION OF DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME.

(a) SALES OR OTHER DISPOSITIONS OF CERTAIN PROPERTY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(b)(3)(A)(i) is amended—

(A) by striking “and” at the end of subclause (V),

(B) by striking “over” at the end of subclause (VI) and inserting “and”, and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(VII) except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, any income and gain from the sale or other disposition (including pursuant to a transaction subject to section 367(d)) of—

“(aa) intangible property (as defined in section 367(d)(4)), and

“(bb) any other property of a type that is subject to depreciation, amortization, or depletion by the seller, over”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 250(b)(5)(E) is amended by inserting “(other than paragraph (3)(A)(i)(VII))” after “For purposes of this subsection”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to sales or other dispositions (including pursuant to a transaction subject to section 367(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) occurring after June 16, 2025.

(b) EXPENSE APPORTIONMENT LIMITED TO PROPERLY ALLOCABLE EXPENSES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(b)(3)(A)(ii) is amended to read as follows:

“(ii) expenses and deductions (including taxes), other than interest expense and research or experimental expenditures, properly allocable to such gross income.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70323. RULES RELATED TO DEEMED INTANGIBLE INCOME.

(a) TAXATION OF NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 951A(a) is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(2) REPEAL OF TAX-FREE DEEMED RETURN ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS.—Section 951A, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking subsections (b) and (d) and by redesignating subsections (c), (e), and (f) as subsections (b), (c), and (d), respectively.

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A)(i) Section 250 is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” each place it appears in subsections (a)(1)(B)(i), (a)(2), and (b)(3)(A)(i)(II) and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(ii) The heading for section 250 of such Code is amended by striking “GLOBAL INTANGIBLE LOW-TAXED INCOME” and inserting “NET CFC TESTED INCOME”.

(iii) The item relating to section 250 in the table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(B) Section 951A(c)(1), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended by striking “subsections (b), (c)(1)(A), and (c)(1)(B)” and inserting “subsections (b)(1)(A) and (b)(1)(B)”.

(C) Section 951A(d), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended—

(i) by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” each place it appears and inserting “net CFC tested income”, and

(ii) by striking “subsection (c)(1)(A)” in paragraph (2)(B)(ii) and inserting “subsection (b)(1)(A)”.

(D) Section 960(d)(2) is amended—

(i) by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” in subparagraph (A) and inserting “net CFC tested income”, and

(ii) by striking “section 951A(c)(1)(A)” in subparagraph (B) and inserting “section 951A(b)(1)(A)”.

(E)(i) The heading for section 951A is amended by striking “GLOBAL INTANGIBLE LOW-TAXED INCOME” and inserting “NET CFC TESTED INCOME”.

(ii) The item relating to section 951A in the table of sections for subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by striking “Global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “Net CFC tested income”.

(b) DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(a)(1)(A) is amended by striking “foreign-derived intangible income” and inserting “foreign-derived deduction eligible income”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 250(a)(2) is amended by striking “foreign-derived intangible income” each place it appears and inserting “foreign-derived deduction eligible income”.

(B) Section 250(b), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(i) by striking paragraphs (1) and (2),

(ii) by redesignating paragraphs (4) and (5) as paragraphs (1) and (2), respectively, and by moving such paragraphs before paragraph (3),

(iii) in paragraph (2)(B)(ii), as so redesignated, by striking “paragraph (4)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(B)”, and

(iv) by striking “INTANGIBLE” in the heading thereof and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(C)(i) The heading for section 250 is amended by striking “INTANGIBLE” in the heading thereof and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(ii) The heading for section 172(d)(9) is amended by striking “INTANGIBLE” and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(iii) The item relating to section 250 in the table of sections for part VIII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking “intangible” and inserting “deduction eligible”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART III—BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX
SEC. 70331. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX AMOUNT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 59A(b) is amended—

(1) by striking “10 percent” in paragraph (1) and inserting “10.5 percent”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (2) and by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (2) and (3), respectively.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 59A(b)(1) is amended by striking “Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3)” and inserting “Except as provided in paragraph (2)”.

(2) Section 59A(b)(2), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2), is amended by striking “the percentage otherwise in effect under paragraphs (1)(A) and (2)(A) shall each be increased” and inserting “the percentages otherwise in effect under paragraph (1)(A) shall be increased”.

(3) Section 59A(e)(1)(C) is amended by striking “in the case of a taxpayer described in subsection (b)(3)(B)” and inserting “in the case of a taxpayer described in subsection (b)(2)(B)”.

(c) OTHER MODIFICATIONS.—

(1) Section 59A(b)(2)(B)(ii), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2), is amended by striking “registered securities dealer” and inserting “securities dealer registered”.

(2) Section 59A(h)(2)(B) is amended by striking “section 6038B(b)(2)” and inserting “section 6038A(b)(2)”.

(3) Section 59A(i)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking “subsection (g)” and inserting “subsection (h)”, and

(B) by striking “subsection (g)(3)” and inserting “subsection (h)(3)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART IV—BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION**SEC. 70341. COORDINATION OF BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION WITH INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISIONS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(j) is amended by redesignating paragraphs (10) and (11) as paragraphs (11) and (12) and by inserting after paragraph (9) the following:

“(10) COORDINATION WITH INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In applying this subsection—

“(i) the limitation under paragraph (1) shall apply to business interest without regard to whether the taxpayer would otherwise deduct such business interest or capitalize such business interest under an interest capitalization provision, and

“(ii) any reference in this subsection to a deduction for business interest shall be treated as including a reference to the capitalization of business interest.

“(B) AMOUNT ALLOWED APPLIED FIRST TO CAPITALIZED INTEREST.—The amount allowed after taking into account the limitation described in paragraph (1)—

“(i) shall be applied first to the aggregate amount of business interest which would otherwise be capitalized, and

“(ii) the remainder (if any) shall be applied to the aggregate amount of business interest which would be deducted.

“(C) TREATMENT OF DISALLOWED INTEREST CARRIED FORWARD.—No portion of any business interest carried forward under paragraph (2) from any taxable year to any succeeding taxable year shall, for purposes of this title (including any interest capitalization provision which previously applied to such portion) be treated as interest to which an interest capitalization provision applies.

“(D) INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘interest capitalization provision’ means any provision of this subtitle under which interest—

“(i) is required to be charged to capital account, or

“(ii) may be deducted or charged to capital account.”

(b) CERTAIN CAPITALIZED INTEREST NOT TREATED AS BUSINESS INTEREST.—Section 163(j)(5) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: “Such term shall not include any interest which is capitalized under section 263(g) or 263A(f).”

(c) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—Section 163(j), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by redesignating paragraphs (11) and (12) as paragraphs (12) and (13) and by inserting after paragraph (10) the following:

“(11) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or guidance to determine which business interest is taken into account under this subsection and section 59A(c)(3).”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70342. DEFINITION OF ADJUSTED TAXABLE INCOME FOR BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 163(j)(8) is amended—

(1) by striking “and” at the end of clause (iv), and

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

“(vi) the amounts included in gross income under sections 951(a), 951A(a), and 78 (and the portion of the deductions allowed under sections 245A(a) (by reason of section 964(e)(4)) and 250(a)(1)(B) by reason of such inclusions), and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART V—OTHER INTERNATIONAL TAX REFORMS

SEC. 70351. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF LOOK-THRU RULE FOR RELATED CONTROLLED FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 954(c)(6)(C) is amended by striking “and before January 1, 2026.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70352. REPEAL OF ELECTION FOR 1-MONTH DEFERRAL IN DETERMINATION OF TAXABLE YEAR OF SPECIFIED FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 898(c) is amended by striking paragraph (2) and redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (2).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of specified foreign corporations beginning after November 30, 2025.

(c) TRANSITION RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a corporation that is a specified foreign corporation as of November 30, 2025, such corporation’s first taxable year beginning after such date shall end at the same time as the first required year (within the meaning of section 898(c)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) ending after such date. If any specified foreign corporation is required by the amendments made by this section to change its taxable year for its first taxable year beginning after November 30, 2025—

(A) such change shall be treated as initiated by such corporation,

(B) such change shall be treated as having been made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(C) the Secretary shall issue regulations or other guidance for allocating foreign taxes that are paid or accrued in such first taxable year and the succeeding taxable year among such taxable years in the manner the Secretary determines appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section.

(2) SECRETARY.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary’s delegate.

SEC. 70353. RESTORATION OF LIMITATION ON DOWNWARD ATTRIBUTION OF STOCK OWNERSHIP IN APPLYING CONSTRUCTIVE OWNERSHIP RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 958(b) is amended—

(1) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following:

“(4) Subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of section 318(a)(3) shall not be applied so as to consider a United States person as owning stock which is owned by a person who is not a United States person.”, and

(2) by striking “Paragraph (1)” in the last sentence and inserting “Paragraphs (1) and (4)”.

(b) FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDERS.—Subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 951A the following new section:

“SEC. 951B. AMOUNTS INCLUDED IN GROSS INCOME OF FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDERS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any foreign controlled United States shareholder of a foreign controlled foreign corporation—

“(1) this subpart (other than sections 951A, 951(b), and 957) shall be applied with respect to such shareholder (separately from, and in addition to, the application of this subpart without regard to this section)—

“(A) by substituting ‘foreign controlled United States shareholder’ for ‘United States shareholder’ each place it appears therein, and

“(B) by substituting ‘foreign controlled foreign corporation’ for ‘controlled foreign corporation’ each place it appears therein, and

“(2) section 951A (and such other provisions of this subpart as provided by the Secretary) shall be applied with respect to such shareholder—

“(A) by treating each reference to ‘United States shareholder’ in such section as including a reference to such shareholder, and

“(B) by treating each reference to ‘controlled foreign corporation’ in such section as including a reference to such foreign controlled foreign corporation.

“(b) FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDER.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘foreign controlled United States shareholder’ means, with respect to any foreign corporation, any United States person which would be a United States shareholder with respect to such foreign corporation if—

“(1) section 951(b) were applied by substituting ‘more than 50 percent’ for ‘10 percent or more’, and

“(2) section 958(b) were applied without regard to paragraph (4) thereof.

“(c) FOREIGN CONTROLLED FOREIGN CORPORATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘foreign controlled foreign corporation’ means a foreign corporation, other than a controlled foreign corporation, which would be a controlled foreign corporation if section 957(a) were applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘foreign controlled United States shareholders’ for ‘United States shareholders’, and

“(2) by substituting ‘section 958(b) (other than paragraph (4) thereof)’ for ‘section 958(b)’.

“(d) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance—

“(1) to treat a foreign controlled United States shareholder or a foreign controlled foreign corporation as a United States shareholder or as a controlled foreign corporation, respectively, for purposes of provisions of this title other than this subpart (including any reporting requirement), and

“(2) with respect to the treatment of foreign controlled foreign corporations that are passive foreign investment companies (as defined in section 1297).”

(c) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 951A the following new item:

“Sec. 951B. Amounts included in gross income of foreign controlled United States shareholders.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

(e) SPECIAL RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except to the extent provided by the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate), the effective date of any amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied by treating references to United States shareholders as references to foreign controlled United States shareholders, and by treating references to controlled foreign corporations as references to foreign controlled foreign corporations.

(2) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in paragraph (1) which is used in subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) shall have the meaning given such term in such subpart.

(f) NO INFERENCE.—The amendments made by this section shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of any provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before the taxable years to which such amendments apply.

SEC. 70354. MODIFICATIONS TO PRO RATA SHARE RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 951 is amended to read as follows:

“(a) AMOUNTS INCLUDED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If a foreign corporation is a controlled foreign corporation at any time during a taxable year of the foreign corporation (in this subsection referred to as the ‘CFC year’)—

“(A) each United States shareholder which owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in such corporation on any day during the CFC year shall include in gross income such shareholder’s pro rata share (determined under paragraph (2)) of the corporation’s subpart F income for the CFC year, and

“(B) each United States shareholder which owns (within the meaning of section 958(a))

stock in such corporation on the last day, in the CFC year, on which such corporation is a controlled foreign corporation shall include in gross income the amount determined under section 956 with respect to such shareholder for the CFC year (but only to the extent not excluded from gross income under section 959(a)(2)).

“(2) PRO RATA SHARE OF SUBPART F INCOME.—A United States shareholder's pro rata share of a controlled foreign corporation's subpart F income for a CFC year shall be the portion of such income which is attributable to—

“(A) the stock of such corporation owned (within the meaning of section 958(a)) by such shareholder, and

“(B) any period of the CFC year during which—

“(i) such shareholder owned (within the meaning of section 958(a)) such stock,

“(ii) such shareholder was a United States shareholder of such corporation, and

“(iii) such corporation was a controlled foreign corporation.

“(3) TAXABLE YEAR OF INCLUSION.—Any amount required to be included in gross income by a United States shareholder under paragraph (1) with respect to a CFC year shall be included in gross income for the shareholder's taxable year which includes the last day on which the shareholder owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in the controlled foreign corporation during such CFC year.

“(4) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance allowing taxpayers to elect, or requiring taxpayers, to close the taxable year of a controlled foreign corporation upon a direct or indirect disposition of stock of such corporation.”.

(b) COORDINATION WITH SECTION 951A.—Section 951A(c), as redesignated by section 70323(a)(2), is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “in which or with which the taxable year of the controlled foreign corporation ends” and inserting “determined under section 951(a)(3)”, and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “the last day in the taxable year of such foreign corporation on which such foreign corporation is a controlled foreign corporation” and inserting “any day in such taxable year”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

(2) TRANSITION RULE FOR DIVIDENDS.—A dividend paid (or deemed paid) by a controlled foreign corporation shall not be treated as a dividend for purposes of applying section 951(a)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as in effect before the amendments made by this section) if—

(A) such dividend—

(i) was paid (or deemed paid) on or before June 28, 2025, during the taxable year of such controlled foreign corporation which includes such date and the United States shareholder described in section 951(a)(1) of such Code (as so in effect) did not own (within the meaning of section 958(a) of such Code) the stock of such controlled foreign corporation during the portion of such taxable year on or before June 28, 2025, or

(ii) was paid (or deemed paid) after June 28, 2025, and before such controlled foreign corporation's first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, and

(B) such dividend does not increase the taxable income of a United States person (including by reason of a dividends received de-

duction, an exclusion from gross income, or an exclusion from subpart F income).

CHAPTER 4—INVESTING IN AMERICAN FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, AND SMALL BUSINESSES

Subchapter A—Permanent Investments in Families and Children

SEC. 70401. ENHANCEMENT OF EMPLOYER-PROVIDED CHILD CARE CREDIT.

(a) INCREASE OF AMOUNT OF QUALIFIED CHILD CARE EXPENDITURES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—Section 45F(a)(1) is amended by striking “25 percent” and inserting “40 percent (50 percent in the case of an eligible small business)”.

(b) INCREASE OF MAXIMUM CREDIT AMOUNT.—Subsection (b) of section 45F is amended to read as follows:

“(b) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The credit allowable under subsection (a) for any taxable year shall not exceed \$500,000 (\$600,000 in the case of an eligible small business).

“(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$500,000 and \$600,000 amounts in paragraph (1) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.”.

(c) ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESS.—Section 45F(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESS.—The term ‘eligible small business’ means a business that meets the gross receipts test of section 448(c), determined—

“(A) by substituting ‘5-taxable-year’ for ‘3-taxable-year’ in paragraph (1) thereof, and

“(B) by substituting ‘5-year’ for ‘3-year’ in paragraph (3)(A) thereof.”.

(d) CREDIT ALLOWED FOR THIRD-PARTY INTERMEDIARIES.—Section 45F(c)(1)(A)(iii) is amended by inserting “, or under a contract with an intermediate entity that contracts with one or more qualified child care facilities to provide such child care services” before the period at the end.

(e) TREATMENT OF JOINTLY OWNED OR OPERATED CHILD CARE FACILITY.—Section 45F(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) TREATMENT OF JOINTLY OWNED OR OPERATED CHILD CARE FACILITY.—A facility shall not fail to be treated as a qualified child care facility of the taxpayer merely because such facility is jointly owned or operated by the taxpayer and other persons.”.

(f) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—Section 45F is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including guidance to carry out the purposes of paragraphs (1)(A)(iii) and (2)(C) of subsection (c).”.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70402. ENHANCEMENT OF ADOPTION CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 23(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) PORTION OF CREDIT REFUNDABLE.—So much of the credit allowed under paragraph (1) as does not exceed \$5,000 shall be treated as a credit allowed under subpart C and not as a credit allowed under this subpart.”.

(b) ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—Section 23(h) is amended to read as follows:

“(h) ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 2002, each of the dollar amounts in paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (a) and paragraphs (1) and (2)(A)(i) of subsection (b) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2001’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any amount as increased under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$10, such amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10.

“(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR REFUNDABLE PORTION.—In the case of the dollar amount in subsection (a)(4), paragraph (1) shall be applied—

“(A) by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘2002’ in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), and

“(B) by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2001’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.”.

(c) EXCLUSION OF REFUNDABLE PORTION OF CREDIT FROM CARRYFORWARD.—Section 23(c)(1) is amended by striking “credit allowable under subsection (a)” and inserting “portion of the credit allowable under subsection (a) which is allowed under this subpart”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70403. RECOGNIZING INDIAN TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS FOR PURPOSES OF DETERMINING WHETHER A CHILD HAS SPECIAL NEEDS FOR PURPOSES OF THE ADOPTION CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 23(d)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “or Indian tribal government” after “a State”, and

(2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “or Indian tribal government” after “such State”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70404. ENHANCEMENT OF THE DEPENDENT CARE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 129(a)(2)(A) is amended by striking “\$5,000 (\$2,500)” and inserting “\$7,500 (\$3,750)”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70405. ENHANCEMENT OF CHILD AND DEPENDENT CARE TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (2) of section 21(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘applicable percentage’ means 50 percent—

“(A) reduced (but not below 35 percent) by 1 percentage point for each \$2,000 or fraction thereof by which the taxpayer's adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds \$15,000, and

“(B) further reduced (but not below 20 percent) by 1 percentage point for each \$2,000 (\$4,000 in the case of a joint return) or fraction thereof by which the taxpayer's adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds \$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter B—Permanent Investments in Students and Reforms to Tax-exempt Institutions

SEC. 70411. TAX CREDIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 25E the following new section:

“SEC. 25F. QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIPS.

“(a) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT.—In the case of an individual who is a citizen or resident of the United States (within the meaning of section 7701(a)(9)), there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year an amount equal to the aggregate amount of qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(b) LIMITATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The credit allowed under subsection (a) to any taxpayer for any taxable year shall not exceed an amount equal to the greater of—

“(A) 10 percent of the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$5,000.

“(2) ALLOCATION OF VOLUME CAP.—The credit allowed under subsection (a) to any taxpayer for any taxable year shall not exceed the amount of the volume cap allocated by the Secretary to such taxpayer under subsection (h) with respect to qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(3) REDUCTION BASED ON STATE CREDIT.—The amount allowed as a credit under subsection (a) for a taxable year shall be reduced by the amount allowed as a credit on any State tax return of the taxpayer for qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(c) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) ELIGIBLE STUDENT.—The term ‘eligible student’ means an individual who—

“(A) is a member of a household with an income which, for the calendar year prior to the date of the application for a scholarship, is not greater than 300 percent of the area median gross income (as such term is used in section 42), and

“(B) is eligible to enroll in a public elementary or secondary school.

“(2) QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘qualified contribution’ means a charitable contribution (as defined by section 170(c)) to a scholarship granting organization in the form of cash or publicly traded securities (as defined in section 6050L(a)(2)(B)).

“(3) QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSE.—The term ‘qualified elementary or secondary education expense’ means the following expenses in connection with enrollment or attendance at, or for students enrolled at or attending, an elementary or secondary public, private, or religious school:

“(A) Tuition.

“(B) Curriculum and curricular materials.

“(C) Books or other instructional materials.

“(D) Online educational materials.

“(E) Tuition for tutoring or educational classes outside of the home, including at a tutoring facility, but only if the tutor or instructor does not bear a relationship to the student which is described in section 152(d)(2) and—

“(i) is licensed as a teacher in any State,

“(ii) has taught at—

“(I) a public or private elementary or secondary school, or

“(II) an institution of higher education (as defined in section 101(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001(a))), or

“(iii) is a subject matter expert in the relevant subject.

“(F) Fees for a nationally standardized norm-referenced achievement test, an advanced placement examination, or any examinations related to college or university admission.

“(G) Fees for dual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

“(H) Educational therapies for students with disabilities provided by a licensed or accredited practitioner or provider, including occupational, behavioral, physical, and speech-language therapies, but only if the practitioner or provider does not bear a relationship to the student which is described in section 152(d)(2).

“(4) SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATION.—The term ‘scholarship granting organization’ means any organization—

“(A) which—

“(i) is described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), and

“(ii) is not a private foundation,

“(B) substantially all of the activities of which are providing scholarships for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of eligible students,

“(C) which prevents the co-mingling of qualified contributions with other amounts by maintaining one or more separate accounts exclusively for qualified contributions,

“(D) is approved to operate in the State in which such organization grants scholarships, and

“(E) which satisfies the requirements of subsection (d).

“(d) REQUIREMENTS FOR SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—An organization meets the requirements of this subsection if—

“(A) such organization provides scholarships to 10 or more students who do not all attend the same school,

“(B) such organization spends not less than 90 percent of revenues on scholarships for eligible students,

“(C) such organization does not provide scholarships for any expenses other than qualified elementary or secondary education expenses,

“(D) such organization provides a scholarship to eligible students with a priority for—

“(i) students awarded a scholarship the previous school year, and

“(ii) after application of clause (i), any eligible students who have a sibling who was awarded a scholarship from such organization,

“(E) such organization does not earmark or set aside contributions for scholarships on behalf of any particular student,

“(F) such organization—

“(i) verifies the annual household income and family size of eligible students who apply for scholarships in a manner which complies with the requirement described in paragraph (2), and

“(ii) limits the awarding of scholarships to eligible students who are a member of a household for which the income does not exceed the amount established under subsection (c)(1)(A),

“(G) such organization—

“(i) obtains from an independent certified public accountant annual financial and compliance audits, and

“(ii) certifies to the Secretary (at such time, and in such form and manner, as the Secretary may prescribe) that the audit described in clause (i) has been completed, and

“(H) no officer or board member of such organization has been convicted of a felony.

“(2) INCOME VERIFICATION.—The requirement described in this paragraph is that the organization review all of the following documents which are applicable with respect to members of the household of the applicant for the calendar year prior to application for a scholarship:

“(A) Federal and State income tax returns or tax return transcripts with applicable schedules.

“(B) Income reporting statements for tax purposes or wage and income transcripts from the Internal Revenue Service.

“(C) Notarized income verification letter from employers.

“(D) Unemployment or workers compensation statements.

“(E) Benefit verification letters regarding public assistance payments and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program payments, including a list of household members.

“(3) INDEPENDENT CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(F), the term ‘independent certified public accountant’ means, with respect to an organization, a certified public accountant who is not a person described in section 465(b)(3)(A) with respect to such organization or any employee of such organization.

“(4) PROHIBITION ON SELF-DEALING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—A scholarship granting organization may not award a scholarship to—

“(i) any disqualified person, or

“(ii) an eligible student if, during the taxable year or the period of the 3 taxable years preceding such taxable year, such scholarship granting organization has received a qualified contribution from an individual who bears a relationship to such student which is described in section 152(d)(2).

“(B) DISQUALIFIED PERSON.—For purposes of this paragraph, a disqualified person shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules of section 4946.

“(e) DENIAL OF DOUBLE BENEFIT.—Any qualified contribution for which a credit is allowed under this section shall not be taken into account as a charitable contribution for purposes of section 170.

“(f) CARRYFORWARD OF UNUSED CREDIT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If the credit allowable under subsection (a) for any taxable year exceeds the limitation imposed by section 26(a) for such taxable year reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under this subpart (other than this section, section 23, and section 25D), such excess shall be carried to the succeeding taxable year and added to the credit allowable under subsection (a) for such taxable year.

“(2) LIMITATION.—No credit may be carried forward under this subsection to any taxable year following the fifth taxable year after the taxable year in which the credit arose. For purposes of the preceding sentence, credits shall be treated as used on a first-in first-out basis.

“(g) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit, allow, encourage, or authorize any Federal control over any aspect of any private or religious school.

“(h) VOLUME CAP.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The volume cap applicable under this section shall be \$4,000,000,000 for calendar year 2027 and each calendar year thereafter. Such amount shall be allocated by the Secretary as provided in paragraph (2) to taxpayers with respect to qualified contributions made by such taxpayers, except that 10 percent of such amount shall be divided evenly among the States, and shall be available with respect to individuals residing in such States.

“(2) **FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVED.**—For purposes of applying the volume cap under this section, such volume cap for any calendar year shall be allocated by the Secretary on a first-come, first-served basis, as determined based on the time (during such calendar year) at which the taxpayer made the qualified contribution with respect to which the allocation is made. The Secretary shall not make any allocation of the volume cap for any calendar year after December 31 of such calendar year.

“(3) **REAL-TIME INFORMATION.**—For purposes of this section, the Secretary shall develop a system to track the amount of qualified contributions made during the calendar year for which a credit may be claimed under this section, with such information to be updated in real time.

“(4) **STATE.**—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘State’ means only the States and the District of Columbia.

“(i) **REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.**—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance—

“(1) providing for enforcement of the requirements under subsection (d)(4), and

“(2) with respect to recordkeeping or information reporting for purposes of administering the requirements of this section.”.

(2) **CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.**—

(A) Section 25(e)(1)(C) is amended by striking “and 25D” and inserting “25D, and 25F”.

(B) The table of sections for subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 25E the following new item:

“Sec. 25F. Qualified elementary and secondary education scholarships.”.

(b) **EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME FOR SCHOLARSHIPS FOR QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSES OF ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before section 140 the following new section:

“**SEC. 139K. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSES OF ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.**

“(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of an individual, gross income shall not include any amounts provided to such individual or any dependent of such individual pursuant to a scholarship for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of an eligible student which is provided by a scholarship granting organization.

“(b) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section, the terms ‘qualified elementary or secondary education expense’, ‘eligible student’, and ‘scholarship granting organization’ have the same meaning given such terms under section 25F(c).”.

(2) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 140 the following new item:

“Sec. 139K. Scholarships for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of eligible students.”.

(c) **FAILURE OF SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS TO MAKE DISTRIBUTIONS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 42 is amended by adding at the end the following new subchapter:

“**Subchapter I—Scholarship Granting Organizations**

“Sec. 4969. Failure to distribute receipts.

“**SEC. 4969. FAILURE TO DISTRIBUTE RECEIPTS.**

“(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any scholarship granting organization (as defined in

section 25F) which has been determined by the Secretary to have failed to satisfy the requirement under subsection (b) for any taxable year, any contribution made to such organization during the first taxable year beginning after the date of such determination shall not be treated as a qualified contribution (as defined in section 25F(c)(2)) for purposes of section 25F.

“(b) **REQUIREMENT.**—The requirement described in this subsection is that the amount of receipts of the scholarship granting organization for the taxable year which are distributed before the distribution deadline with respect to such receipts shall not be less than the required distribution amount with respect to such taxable year.

“(c) **DEFINITIONS.**—For purposes of this section—

“(1) **REQUIRED DISTRIBUTION AMOUNT.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The required distribution amount with respect to a taxable year is the amount equal to 100 percent of the total receipts of the scholarship granting organization for such taxable year—

“(i) reduced by the sum of such receipts that are retained for reasonable administrative expenses for the taxable year or are carried to the succeeding taxable year under subparagraph (C), and

“(ii) increased by the amount of the carryover under subparagraph (C) from the preceding taxable year.

“(B) **SAFE HARBOR FOR REASONABLE ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.**—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), if the percentage of total receipts of a scholarship granting organization for a taxable year which are used for administrative expenses is equal to or less than 10 percent, such expenses shall be deemed to be reasonable for purposes of such subparagraph.

“(C) **CARRYOVER.**—With respect to the amount of the total receipts of a scholarship granting organization with respect to any taxable year, an amount not greater than 15 percent of such amount may, at the election of such organization, be carried to the succeeding taxable year.

“(2) **DISTRIBUTIONS.**—The term ‘distribution’ includes amounts which are formally committed but not distributed. A formal commitment described in the preceding sentence may include contributions set aside for eligible students for more than one year.

“(3) **DISTRIBUTION DEADLINE.**—The distribution deadline with respect to receipts for a taxable year is the first day of the third taxable year following the taxable year in which such receipts are received by the scholarship granting organization.

“(d) **REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.**—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance which provides for requirements for recordkeeping or information reporting for purposes of administering the requirements of this section.”.

(2) **CLERICAL AMENDMENT.**—The table of subchapters for chapter 42 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“**SUBCHAPTER I—SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS**”.

(d) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2026.

(2) **EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME.**—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to amounts received after December 31, 2026, in taxable years ending after such date.

SEC. 70412. EXCLUSION FOR EMPLOYER PAYMENTS OF STUDENT LOANS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 127(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “in the case of payments made before January 1, 2026,”.

(b) **INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.**—Section 127 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

“(d) **INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, both of the \$5,250 amounts in subsection (a)(2) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) **ROUNDING.**—If any increase under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$50, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$50.”.

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to payments made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70413. ADDITIONAL EXPENSES TREATED AS QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES FOR PURPOSES OF 529 ACCOUNTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 529(c)(7) is amended to read as follows:

“(7) **TREATMENT OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY TUITION.**—Any reference in this section to the term ‘qualified higher education expense’ shall include a reference to the following expenses in connection with enrollment or attendance at, or for students enrolled at or attending, an elementary or secondary public, private, or religious school:

“(A) Tuition.

“(B) Curriculum and curricular materials.

“(C) Books or other instructional materials.

“(D) Online educational materials.

“(E) Tuition for tutoring or educational classes outside of the home, including at a tutoring facility, but only if the tutor or instructor is not related to the student and—

“(i) is licensed as a teacher in any State,

“(ii) has taught at an eligible educational institution, or

“(iii) is a subject matter expert in the relevant subject.

“(F) Fees for a nationally standardized norm-referenced achievement test, an advanced placement examination, or any examinations related to college or university admission.

“(G) Fees for dual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

“(H) Educational therapies for students with disabilities provided by a licensed or accredited practitioner or provider, including occupational, behavioral, physical, and speech-language therapies.”.

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to distributions made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) **INCREASE IN LIMITATION.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The last sentence of section 529(e)(3) is amended by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$20,000”.

(2) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70414. CERTAIN POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES TREATED AS QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES FOR PURPOSES OF 529 ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(e)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) CERTAIN POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—The term ‘qualified higher education expenses’ includes qualified postsecondary credentialing expenses (as defined in subsection (f)).”

(b) QUALIFIED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—Section 529 is amended by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (g) and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) QUALIFIED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified postsecondary credentialing expenses’ means—

“(A) tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment required for the enrollment or attendance of a designated beneficiary in a recognized postsecondary credential program, or any other expense incurred in connection with enrollment in or attendance at a recognized postsecondary credential program if such expense would, if incurred in connection with enrollment or attendance at an eligible educational institution, be covered under subsection (e)(3)(A),

“(B) fees for testing if such testing is required to obtain or maintain a recognized postsecondary credential, and

“(C) fees for continuing education if such education is required to maintain a recognized postsecondary credential.

“(2) RECOGNIZED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIAL PROGRAM.—The term ‘recognized postsecondary credential program’ means any program to obtain a recognized postsecondary credential if—

“(A) such program is included on a State list prepared under section 122(d) of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (29 U.S.C. 3152(d)),

“(B) such program is listed in the public directory of the Web Enabled Approval Management System (WEAMS) of the Veterans Benefits Administration, or successor directory such program,

“(C) an examination (developed or administered by an organization widely recognized as providing reputable credentials in the occupation) is required to obtain or maintain such credential and such organization recognizes such program as providing training or education which prepares individuals to take such examination, or

“(D) such program is identified by the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Labor, as being a reputable program for obtaining a recognized postsecondary credential for purposes of this subparagraph.

“(3) RECOGNIZED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIAL.—The term ‘recognized postsecondary credential’ means—

“(A) any postsecondary employment credential that is industry recognized and is—

“(i) any postsecondary employment credential issued by a program that is accredited by the Institute for Credentialing Excellence, the National Commission on Certifying Agencies, or the American National Standards Institute,

“(ii) any postsecondary employment credential that is included in the Credentialing Opportunities On-Line (COOL) directory of credentialing programs (or successor directory) maintained by the Department of Defense or by any branch of the Armed Forces, or

“(iii) any postsecondary employment credential identified for purposes of this clause by the Secretary, after consultation with the

Secretary of Labor, as being industry recognized,

“(B) any certificate of completion of an apprenticeship that is registered and certified with the Secretary of Labor under the Act of August 16, 1937 (commonly known as the ‘National Apprenticeship Act’; 50 Stat. 664, chapter 663; 29 U.S.C. 50 et seq.),

“(C) any occupational or professional license issued or recognized by a State or the Federal Government (and any certification that satisfies a condition for obtaining such a license), and

“(D) any recognized postsecondary credential as defined in section 3(52) of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (29 U.S.C. 3102(52)), provided through a program described in paragraph (2)(A).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to distributions made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70415. MODIFICATION OF EXCISE TAX ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF CERTAIN PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4968 is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 4968. EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

“(a) TAX IMPOSED.—There is hereby imposed on each applicable educational institution for the taxable year a tax equal to the applicable percentage of the net investment income of such institution for the taxable year.

“(b) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable percentage’ means—

“(1) 1.4 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment of at least \$500,000, and not in excess of \$750,000,

“(2) 4 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment in excess of \$750,000, and not in excess of \$2,000,000, and

“(3) 8 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment in excess of \$2,000,000.

“(c) APPLICABLE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.—For purposes of this subchapter, the term ‘applicable educational institution’ means an eligible educational institution (as defined in section 25A(f)(2))—

“(1) which had at least 3,000 tuition-paying students during the preceding taxable year,

“(2) more than 50 percent of the tuition-paying students of which are located in the United States,

“(3) the student adjusted endowment of which is at least \$500,000, and

“(4) which is not described in the first sentence of section 511(a)(2)(B) (relating to State colleges and universities).

“(d) STUDENT ADJUSTED ENDOWMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘student adjusted endowment’ means, with respect to any institution for any taxable year—

“(1) the aggregate fair market value of the assets of such institution (determined as of the end of the preceding taxable year), other than those assets which are used directly in carrying out the institution’s exempt purpose, divided by

“(2) the number of students of such institution.

“(e) DETERMINATION OF NUMBER OF STUDENTS.—For purposes of subsections (c) and (d), the number of students of an institution (including for purposes of determining the number of students at a particular location) shall be based on the daily average number of full-time students attending such institution (with part-time students taken into account on a full-time student equivalent basis).

“(f) NET INVESTMENT INCOME.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Net investment income shall be determined under rules similar to the rules of section 4940(c).

“(2) OVERRIDE OF CERTAIN REGULATORY EXCEPTIONS.—

“(A) STUDENT LOAN INTEREST.—Net investment income shall be determined by taking into account any interest income from a student loan made by the applicable educational institution (or any related organization) as gross investment income.

“(B) FEDERALLY-SUBSIDIZED ROYALTY INCOME.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Net investment income shall be determined by taking into account any Federally-subsidized royalty income as gross investment income.

“(ii) FEDERALLY-SUBSIDIZED ROYALTY INCOME.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Federally-subsidized royalty income’ means any otherwise-regulatory-exempt royalty income if any Federal funds were used in the research, development, or creation of the patent, copyright, or other intellectual or intangible property from which such royalty income is derived.

“(II) OTHERWISE-REGULATORY-EXEMPT ROYALTY INCOME.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘otherwise-regulatory-exempt royalty income’ means royalty income which (but for this subparagraph) would not be taken into account as gross investment income by reason of being derived from patents, copyrights, or other intellectual or intangible property which resulted from the work of students or faculty members in their capacities as such with the applicable educational institution.

“(III) FEDERAL FUNDS.—The term ‘Federal funds’ includes any grant made by, and any payment made under any contract with, any Federal agency to the applicable educational institution, any related organization, or any student or faculty member referred to in subclause (II).

“(g) ASSETS AND NET INVESTMENT INCOME OF RELATED ORGANIZATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsections (d) and (f), assets and net investment income of any related organization with respect to an educational institution shall be treated as assets and net investment income, respectively, of the educational institution, except that—

“(A) no such amount shall be taken into account with respect to more than 1 educational institution, and

“(B) unless such organization is controlled by such institution or is described in section 509(a)(3) with respect to such institution for the taxable year, assets and net investment income which are not intended or available for the use or benefit of the educational institution shall not be taken into account.

“(2) RELATED ORGANIZATION.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘related organization’ means, with respect to an educational institution, any organization which—

“(A) controls, or is controlled by, such institution,

“(B) is controlled by 1 or more persons which also control such institution, or

“(C) is a supported organization (as defined in section 509(f)(3)), or an organization described in section 509(a)(3), during the taxable year with respect to such institution.

“(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to prevent avoidance of the tax under this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent avoidance of such tax through the restructuring of endowment funds or other arrangements designed to reduce or eliminate the value of net investment income or assets subject to the tax imposed by this section.”

(b) REQUIREMENT TO REPORT CERTAIN INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO APPLICATION OF EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—Section 6033 is amended by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p) and by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) REQUIREMENT TO REPORT CERTAIN INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—Each applicable educational institution described in section 4968(c) which is subject to the requirements of subsection (a) shall include on the return required under subsection (a)—

“(1) the number of tuition-paying students taken into account under section 4968(c), and

“(2) the number of students of such institution (determined under the rules of section 4968(e)).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70416. EXPANDING APPLICATION OF TAX ON EXCESS COMPENSATION WITHIN TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4960(c)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) COVERED EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘covered employee’ means any employee of an applicable tax-exempt organization (or any predecessor of such an organization) and any former employee of such an organization (or predecessor) who was such an employee during any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2016.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter C—Permanent Investments in Community Development

SEC. 70421. PERMANENT RENEWAL AND ENHANCEMENT OF OPPORTUNITY ZONES.

(a) DECENNIAL DESIGNATIONS.—

(1) DETERMINATION PERIOD.—Section 1400Z-1(c)(2)(B) is amended by striking “beginning on the date of the enactment of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act” and inserting “beginning on the decennial determination date”.

(2) DECENNIAL DETERMINATION DATE.—Section 1400Z-1(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) DECENNIAL DETERMINATION DATE.—The term ‘decennial determination date’ means—

“(i) July 1, 2026, and

“(ii) each July 1 of the year that is 10 years after the preceding decennial determination date under this subparagraph.”.

(3) REPEAL OF SPECIAL RULE FOR PUERTO RICO.—Section 1400Z-1(b) is amended by striking paragraph (3).

(4) LIMITATION ON NUMBER OF DESIGNATIONS.—Section 1400Z-1(d)(1) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “and subsection (b)(3)”, and

(ii) by inserting “during any period” after “the number of population census tracts in a State that may be designated as qualified opportunity zones under this section”, and

(B) in paragraph (2), by inserting “during any period” before the period at the end.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) PUERTO RICO.—The amendment made by paragraph (3) shall take effect on December 31, 2026.

(b) QUALIFICATION FOR DESIGNATIONS.—

(1) DETERMINATION OF LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.—Section 1400Z-1(c) is amended by striking all that precedes paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(c) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.—The term ‘low-income community’ means any population census tract if—

“(A) such population census tract has a median family income that—

“(i) in the case of a population census tract not located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 70 percent of the statewide median family income, or

“(ii) in the case of a population census tract located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 70 percent of the metropolitan area median family income, or

“(B) such population census tract—

“(i) has a poverty rate of at least 20 percent, and

“(ii) has a median family income that—

“(I) in the case of a population census tract not located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 125 percent of the statewide median family income, or

“(II) in the case of a population census tract located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 125 percent of the metropolitan area median family income.”.

(2) REPEAL OF RULE FOR CONTIGUOUS CENSUS TRACTS.—Section 1400Z-1 is amended by striking subsection (e) and by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (e).

(3) PERIOD FOR WHICH DESIGNATION IS IN EFFECT.—Section 1400Z-1(e), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended to read as follows:

“(e) PERIOD FOR WHICH DESIGNATION IS IN EFFECT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—A designation as a qualified opportunity zone shall remain in effect for the period beginning on the applicable start date and ending on the day before the date that is 10 years after the applicable start date.

“(2) APPLICABLE START DATE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable start date’ means, with respect to any qualified opportunity zone designated under this section, the January 1 following the date on which such qualified opportunity zone was certified and designated by the Secretary under subsection (b)(1)(B).”.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to areas designated under section 1400Z-1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) APPLICATION OF SPECIAL RULES FOR CAPITAL GAINS.—

(1) REPEAL OF SUNSET ON ELECTION.—Section 1400Z-2(a)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) ELECTION.—No election may be made under paragraph (1) with respect to a sale or exchange if an election previously made with respect to such sale or exchange is in effect.”.

(2) MODIFICATION OF RULES FOR DEFERRAL OF GAIN.—Section 1400Z-2(b) is amended to read as follows:

“(b) DEFERRAL OF GAIN INVESTED IN OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—

“(1) YEAR OF INCLUSION.—Gain to which subsection (a)(1)(B) applies shall be included in gross income in the taxable year which includes the earlier of—

“(A) the date on which such investment is sold or exchanged, or

“(B) the date which is 5 years after the date the investment in the qualified opportunity fund was made.

“(2) AMOUNT INCLUDIBLE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount of gain included in gross income under subsection (a)(1)(B) shall be the excess of—

“(i) the lesser of the amount of gain excluded under subsection (a)(1)(A) or the fair market value of the investment as determined as of the date described in paragraph (1), over

“(ii) the taxpayer’s basis in the investment.

“(B) DETERMINATION OF BASIS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subparagraph or subsection (c), the taxpayer’s basis in the investment shall be zero.

“(ii) INCREASE FOR GAIN RECOGNIZED UNDER SUBSECTION (a)(1)(B).—The basis in the investment shall be increased by the amount of gain recognized by reason of subsection (a)(1)(B) with respect to such investment.

“(iii) INVESTMENTS HELD FOR 5 YEARS.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any investment held for at least 5 years, the basis of such investment shall be increased by an amount equal to 10 percent (30 percent in the case of any investment in a qualified rural opportunity fund) of the amount of gain deferred by reason of subsection (a)(1)(A).

“(II) APPLICATION OF INCREASE.—For purposes of this subsection, any increase in basis under this clause shall be treated as occurring before the date described in paragraph (1)(B).

“(C) QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUND.—For purposes of subparagraph (B)(iii)—

“(i) QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUND.—The term ‘qualified rural opportunity fund’ means a qualified opportunity fund that holds at least 90 percent of its assets in qualified opportunity zone property which—

“(I) is qualified opportunity zone business property substantially all of the use of which, during substantially all of the fund’s holding period for such property, was in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area, or

“(II) is qualified opportunity zone stock, or a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest, in a qualified opportunity zone business in which substantially all of the tangible property owned or leased is qualified opportunity zone business property described in subsection (d)(3)(A)(i) and substantially all the use of which is in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area.

For purposes of the preceding sentence, property held in the fund shall be measured under rules similar to the rules of subsection (d)(1).

“(ii) RURAL AREA.—The term ‘rural area’ means any area other than—

“(I) a city or town that has a population of greater than 50,000 inhabitants, and

“(II) any urbanized area contiguous and adjacent to a city or town described in subclause (I).”.

(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR INVESTMENTS HELD AT LEAST 10 YEARS.—Section 1400Z-2(c) is amended by striking “makes an election under this clause” and all that follows and inserting “makes an election under this subsection, the basis of such investment shall be equal to—

“(A) in the case of an investment sold before the date that is 30 years after the date of the investment, the fair market value of such investment on the date such investment is sold or exchanged, or

“(B) in any other case, the fair market value of such investment on the date that is 30 years after the date of the investment.”.

(4) DETERMINATION OF QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—

(A) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESS PROPERTY.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2)(D)(i)(I) is amended by striking “December 31, 2017” and inserting “the applicable start date (as defined in section 1400Z-1(e)(2)) with respect to the qualified opportunity zone described in subclause (III)”.

(B) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE STOCK AND PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2) is amended—

(i) by striking “December 31, 2017,” each place it appears in subparagraphs (B)(i)(I)

and (C)(i) and inserting “the applicable date”, and

(ii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) APPLICABLE DATE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘applicable date’ means, with respect to any corporation or partnership which is a qualified opportunity zone business, the earliest date described in subparagraph (D)(i)(I) with respect to the qualified opportunity zone business property held by such qualified opportunity zone business.”

(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING STRUCTURES IN RURAL AREAS.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2)(D)(ii) is amended by inserting “(50 percent of such adjusted basis in the case of property in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area (as defined in subsection (b)(2)(C)(ii))” after “the adjusted basis of such property”.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this paragraph, the amendments made by this subsection shall apply to amounts invested in qualified opportunity funds after December 31, 2026.

(B) ACQUISITION OF QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (4) shall apply to property acquired after December 31, 2026.

(C) SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT.—The amendment made by paragraph (4)(C) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) INFORMATION REPORTING ON QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—

(1) FILING REQUIREMENTS FOR FUNDS AND INVESTORS.—Subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by inserting after section 6039J the following new sections:

“SEC. 6039K. RETURNS WITH RESPECT TO QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Every qualified opportunity fund shall file an annual return (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) containing the information described in subsection (b).

“(b) INFORMATION FROM QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—The information described in this subsection is—

“(1) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the qualified opportunity fund,

“(2) whether the qualified opportunity fund is organized as a corporation or a partnership,

“(3) the value of the total assets held by the qualified opportunity fund as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1),

“(4) the value of all qualified opportunity zone property held by the qualified opportunity fund on each such date,

“(5) with respect to each investment held by the qualified opportunity fund in qualified opportunity zone stock or a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest—

“(A) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the corporation in which such stock is held or the partnership in which such interest is held, as the case may be,

“(B) each North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code that applies to the trades or businesses conducted by such corporation or partnership,

“(C) the population census tract or population census tracts in which the qualified opportunity zone business property of such corporation or partnership is located,

“(D) the amount of the investment in such stock or partnership interest as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1),

“(E) the value of tangible property held by such corporation or partnership on each such date which is owned by such corporation or partnership,

“(F) the value of tangible property held by such corporation or partnership on each such date which is leased by such corporation or partnership,

“(G) the approximate number of residential units (if any) for any real property held by such corporation or partnership, and

“(H) the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees of such corporation or partnership for the year (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such corporation or partnership as determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(6) with respect to the items of qualified opportunity zone business property held by the qualified opportunity fund—

“(A) the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code that applies to the trades or businesses in which such property is held,

“(B) the population census tract in which the property is located,

“(C) whether the property is owned or leased,

“(D) the aggregate value of the items of qualified opportunity zone property held by the qualified opportunity fund as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1), and

“(E) in the case of real property, the number of residential units (if any),

“(7) the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees for the year of the trades or businesses of the qualified opportunity fund in which qualified opportunity zone business property is held (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such trades or businesses as determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(8) with respect to each person who disposed of an investment in the qualified opportunity fund during the year—

“(A) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of such person,

“(B) the date or dates on which the investment disposed was acquired, and

“(C) the date or dates on which any such investment was disposed and the amount of the investment disposed, and

“(9) such other information as the Secretary may require.

“(c) STATEMENT REQUIRED TO BE FURNISHED TO INVESTORS.—Every person required to make a return under subsection (a) shall furnish to each person whose name is required to be set forth in such return by reason of subsection (b)(8) (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) a written statement showing—

“(1) the name, address, and phone number of the information contact of the person required to make such return, and

“(2) the information required to be shown on such return by reason of subsection (b)(8) with respect to the person whose name is required to be so set forth.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any term used in this section which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

“(2) FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT EMPLOYEES.—The term ‘full-time equivalent employees’ means, with respect to any month, the sum of—

“(A) the number of full-time employees (as defined in section 4980H(c)(4)) for the month, plus

“(B) the number of employees determined (under rules similar to the rules of section

4980H(c)(2)(E)) by dividing the aggregate number of hours of service of employees who are not full-time employees for the month by 120.

“(e) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—Every qualified rural opportunity fund (as defined in section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)) shall file the annual return required under subsection (a), and the statements required under subsection (c), applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘qualified rural opportunity’ for ‘qualified opportunity’ each place it appears,

“(2) by substituting ‘section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)’ for ‘section 1400Z-2(d)(1)’ each place it appears, and

“(3) by treating any reference (after the application of paragraph (1)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, a qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, a qualified rural opportunity zone business, or qualified opportunity zone business property as stock, an interest, a business, or property, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i).

“SEC. 6039L. INFORMATION REQUIRED FROM QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESSES AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESSES.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Every applicable qualified opportunity zone business shall furnish to the qualified opportunity fund described in subsection (b) a written statement at such time, in such manner, and setting forth such information as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe for purposes of enabling such qualified opportunity fund to meet the requirements of section 6039K(b)(5).

“(b) APPLICABLE QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESS.—For purposes of subsection (a), the term ‘applicable qualified opportunity zone business’ means any qualified opportunity zone business—

“(1) which is a trade or business of a qualified opportunity fund,

“(2) in which a qualified opportunity fund holds qualified opportunity zone stock, or

“(3) in which a qualified opportunity fund holds a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest.

“(c) OTHER TERMS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

“(d) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY BUSINESSES.—Every applicable qualified rural opportunity zone business (as defined in subsection (b) determined after application of the substitutions described in this sentence) shall furnish the written statement required under subsection (a), applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘qualified rural opportunity’ for ‘qualified opportunity’ each place it appears, and

“(2) by treating any reference (after the application of paragraph (1)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, a qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, or a qualified rural opportunity zone business as stock, an interest, or a business, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i).”

(2) PENALTIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Part II of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6725 the following new section:

“SEC. 6726. FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH INFORMATION REPORTING REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—If any person required to file a return under section 6039K fails to file a complete and correct return under such

section in the time and in the manner prescribed therefor, such person shall pay a penalty of \$500 for each day during which such failure continues.

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The maximum penalty under this section on failures with respect to any 1 return shall not exceed \$10,000.

“(2) LARGE QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—In the case of any failure described in subsection (a) with respect to a fund the gross assets of which (determined on the last day of the taxable year) are in excess of \$10,000,000, paragraph (1) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$50,000’ for ‘\$10,000’.

“(c) PENALTY IN CASES OF INTENTIONAL DISREGARD.—If a failure described in subsection (a) is due to intentional disregard, then—

“(1) subsection (a) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$2,500’ for ‘\$500’.

“(2) subsection (b)(1) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$50,000’ for ‘\$10,000’, and

“(3) subsection (b)(2) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$250,000’ for ‘\$50,000’.

“(d) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any failure relating to a return required to be filed in a calendar year beginning after 2025, each of the dollar amounts in subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the \$500 dollar amount in subsection (a) and (c)(1) or the \$2,500 amount in subsection (c)(1), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$10, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

“(B) ASSET THRESHOLD.—If the \$10,000,000 dollar amount in subsection (b)(2), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$10,000, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10,000.

“(C) OTHER DOLLAR AMOUNTS.—If any dollar amount in subsection (b) or (c) (other than any amount to which subparagraph (A) or (B) applies), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$1,000, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$1,000.”.

(B) INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE SENT TO OTHER TAXPAYERS.—Section 6724(d)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended—

(i) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (LL),

(ii) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (MM) and inserting a comma, and

(iii) by inserting after subparagraph (MM) the following new subparagraphs:

“(NN) section 6039K(c) (relating to disposition of qualified opportunity fund investments), or

“(OO) section 6039L (relating to information required from certain qualified opportunity zone businesses and qualified rural opportunity zone businesses).”.

(3) ELECTRONIC FILING.—Section 6011(e) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—Notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2), any return filed by a qualified opportunity fund or qualified rural opportunity fund under section 6039K shall be filed on magnetic media or other machine-readable form.”.

(4) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is

amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6039J the following new items:

“Sec. 6039K. Returns with respect to qualified opportunity funds and qualified rural opportunity funds.

“Sec. 6039L. Information required from qualified opportunity zone businesses and qualified rural opportunity zone businesses.”.

(B) The table of sections for part II of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6725 the following new item:

“Sec. 6726. Failure to comply with information reporting requirements relating to qualified opportunity funds and qualified rural opportunity funds.”.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(e) SECRETARY REPORTING OF DATA ON OPPORTUNITY ZONE AND RURAL OPPORTUNITY ZONE TAX INCENTIVES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$15,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for necessary expenses of the Internal Revenue Service to make the reports described in paragraph (2).

(2) REPORTS.—As soon as practical after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of the Treasury, or the Secretary’s delegate (referred to in this section as the “Secretary”) shall make publicly available a report on qualified opportunity funds.

(3) INFORMATION INCLUDED.—The report required under paragraph (2) shall include, to the extent available, the following information:

(A) The number of qualified opportunity funds.

(B) The aggregate dollar amount of assets held in qualified opportunity funds.

(C) The aggregate dollar amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in qualified opportunity fund property, stated separately for each North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code.

(D) The percentage of population census tracts designated as qualified opportunity zones that have received qualified opportunity fund investments.

(E) For each population census tract designated as a qualified opportunity zone, the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees of the qualified opportunity zone businesses in such qualified opportunity zone for the preceding 12-month period (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such qualified opportunity fund businesses as determined appropriate by the Secretary.

(F) The percentage of the total amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in—

(i) qualified opportunity zone property which is real property; and

(ii) other qualified opportunity zone property.

(G) For each population census tract, the aggregate approximate number of residential units resulting from investments made by qualified opportunity funds in real property.

(H) The aggregate dollar amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in each population census tract.

(4) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning with the report submitted under paragraph (2) for the 6th year after the date of the enactment of

this Act, the Secretary shall include in such report the impacts and outcomes of a designation of a population census tract as a qualified opportunity zone as measured by economic indicators, such as job creation, poverty reduction, new business starts, and other metrics as determined by the Secretary.

(B) SEMI-DECENNIAL INFORMATION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any report submitted under paragraph (2) in the 6th year or the 11th year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall include the following information:

(I) For population census tracts designated as a qualified opportunity zone, a comparison (based on aggregate information) of the factors listed in clause (iii) between the 5-year period ending on the date of the enactment of Public Law 115-97 and the most recent 5-year period for which data is available.

(II) For population census tracts designated as a qualified opportunity zone, a comparison (based on aggregate information) of the factors listed in clause (iii) for the most recent 5-year period for which data is available between such population census tracts and similar population census tracts that were not designated as a qualified opportunity zone.

(ii) CONTROL GROUPS.—For purposes of clause (i), the Secretary may combine population census tracts into such groups as the Secretary determines appropriate for purposes of making comparisons.

(iii) FACTORS LISTED.—The factors listed in this clause are the following:

(I) The unemployment rate.

(II) The number of persons working in the population census tract, including the percentage of such persons who were not residents in the population census tract in the preceding year.

(III) Individual, family, and household poverty rates.

(IV) Median family income of residents of the population census tract.

(V) Demographic information on residents of the population census tract, including age, income, education, race, and employment.

(VI) The average percentage of income of residents of the population census tract spent on rent annually.

(VII) The number of residences in the population census tract.

(VIII) The rate of home ownership in the population census tract.

(IX) The average value of residential property in the population census tract.

(X) The number of affordable housing units in the population census tract.

(XI) The number of new business starts in the population census tract.

(XII) The distribution of employees in the population census tract by North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code.

(5) PROTECTION OF IDENTIFIABLE RETURN INFORMATION.—In making reports required under this subsection, the Secretary—

(A) shall establish appropriate procedures to ensure that any amounts reported do not disclose taxpayer return information that can be associated with any particular taxpayer or competitive or proprietary information, and

(B) if necessary to protect taxpayer return information, may combine information required with respect to individual population census tracts into larger geographic areas.

(6) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this subsection which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

(7) REPORTS ON QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—The Secretary shall make

publicly available, with respect to qualified rural opportunity funds, separate reports as required under this subsection, applied—

(A) by substituting “qualified rural opportunity” for “qualified opportunity” each place it appears,

(B) by substituting a reference to this Act for “Public Law 115–97”, and

(C) by treating any reference (after the application of subparagraph (A)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, qualified rural opportunity zone business, or qualified opportunity zone business property as stock, interest, business, or property, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z–2(b)(2)(C)(i) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

SEC. 70422. PERMANENT ENHANCEMENT OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT.

(a) PERMANENT STATE HOUSING CREDIT CEILING INCREASE FOR LOW-INCOME HOUSING CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 42(h)(3)(I) is amended—

(A) by striking “2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021,” and inserting “beginning after December 31, 2025,”,

(B) by striking “1.125” and inserting “1.12”, and

(C) by striking “2018, 2019, 2020, AND 2021” in the heading and inserting “CALENDAR YEARS AFTER 2025”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(b) TAX-EXEMPT BOND FINANCING REQUIREMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 42(h)(4) is amended by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) SPECIAL RULE WHERE MINIMUM PERCENT OF BUILDINGS IS FINANCED WITH TAX-EXEMPT BONDS SUBJECT TO VOLUME CAP.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), paragraph (1) shall not apply to any portion of the credit allowable under subsection (a) with respect to a building if—

“(i) 50 percent or more of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located is financed by 1 or more obligations described in subparagraph (A), or

“(ii)(I) 25 percent or more of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located is financed by 1 or more obligations described in subparagraph (A), and

“(II) 1 or more of such obligations—

“(aa) are part of an issue the issue date of which is after December 31, 2025, and

“(bb) provide the financing for not less than 5 percent of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to buildings placed in service in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(B) REHABILITATION EXPENDITURES TREATED AS SEPARATE NEW BUILDING.—In the case of any building with respect to which any expenditures are treated as a separate new building under section 42(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, for purposes of subparagraph (A), both the existing building and the separate new building shall be treated as having been placed in service on the date such expenditures are treated as placed in service under section 42(e)(4) of such Code.

SEC. 70423. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF NEW MARKETS TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 45D(f)(1)(H) is amended by striking “for for each of cal-

endar years 2020 through 2025” and inserting “for each calendar year after 2019”.

(b) CARRYOVER OF UNUSED LIMITATION.—Section 45D(f)(3) is amended—

(1) by striking “If the” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the”, and

(2) by striking the second sentence and inserting the following:

“(B) LIMITATION.—No amount may be carried under subparagraph (A) to any calendar year after the fifth calendar year after the calendar year in which the excess described in such subparagraph occurred. For purposes of this subparagraph, any excess described in subparagraph (A) with respect to any calendar year before 2026 shall be treated as occurring in calendar year 2025.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70424. PERMANENT AND EXPANDED REINSTATEMENT OF PARTIAL DEDUCTION FOR CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO DO NOT ELECT TO ITEMIZE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(p) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$300 (\$600” and inserting “\$1,000 (\$2,000”, and

(2) by striking “beginning in 2021”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70425. 0.5 PERCENT FLOOR ON DEDUCTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 170(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(I) 0.5-PERCENT FLOOR.—Any charitable contribution otherwise allowable (without regard to this subparagraph) as a deduction under this section shall be allowed only to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions exceeds 0.5 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base for the taxable year. The preceding sentence shall be applied—

“(i) first, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (D) applies to the extent thereof,

“(ii) second, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (C) applies to the extent thereof,

“(iii) third, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (B) applies to the extent thereof,

“(iv) fourth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (E) applies to the extent thereof,

“(v) fifth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (A) applies to the extent thereof, and

“(vi) sixth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (G) applies to the extent thereof.”.

(2) APPLICATION OF CARRYFORWARD.—Paragraph (1) of section 170(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) CONTRIBUTIONS DISALLOWED BY 0.5-PERCENT FLOOR CARRIED FORWARD ONLY FROM YEARS IN WHICH LIMITATION IS EXCEEDED.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year from which an excess is carried forward (determined without regard to this subparagraph) under any carryover rule, the applicable carryover rule shall be applied by increasing the excess determined under such applicable carryover rule for the contribution year (before the application of subparagraph (B)) by the amount attributable to the charitable contributions to which such rule applies which is not allowed as a deduction for the contribution year by reason of subsection (b)(1)(I).

“(ii) CARRYOVER RULE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘carryover rule’ means—

“(I) subparagraph (A) of this paragraph, “(II) subparagraphs (C)(ii), (D)(ii), (E)(ii), and (G)(ii) of subsection (b)(1), and “(III) the second sentence of subsection (b)(1)(B).

“(iii) APPLICABLE CARRYOVER RULE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘applicable carryover rule’ means any carryover rule applicable to charitable contributions which were (in whole or in part) not allowed as a deduction for the contribution year by reason of subsection (b)(1)(I).”.

(3) COORDINATION WITH DEDUCTION FOR NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 170(p), as amended by this Act, is further amended by inserting “, (b)(1)(I),” after “subsections (b)(1)(G)(ii)”.

(b) MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION FOR CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Clause (i) of section 170(b)(1)(G) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For taxable years beginning after December 31, 2017, any contribution of cash to an organization described in subparagraph (A) shall be allowed as a deduction under subsection (a) to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions does not exceed the excess of—

“(I) 60 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base for the taxable year, over

“(II) the aggregate amount of contributions taken into account under subparagraph (A) for such taxable year.”.

(2) COORDINATION WITH OTHER LIMITATIONS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Clause (iii) of section 170(b)(1)(G) is amended—

(i) by striking “SUBPARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B)” in the heading and inserting “SUBPARAGRAPH (A)”, and

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “, and subparagraph (B)” and all that follows through “this subparagraph”.

(B) OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Subparagraph (B) of section 170(b)(1) is amended—

(i) by striking “to which subparagraph (A)” both places it appears and inserting “to which subparagraph (A) or (G)”, and

(ii) in clause (ii), by striking “over the amount” and all that follows through “subparagraph (C).” and inserting “over—

“(I) the amount of charitable contributions allowable under subparagraph (A) (determined without regard to subparagraph (C)) and subparagraph (G), reduced by

“(II) so much of the contributions taken into account under subparagraph (G) as does not exceed 10 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70426. 1-PERCENT FLOOR ON DEDUCTION OF CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(b)(2)(A) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any charitable contribution otherwise allowable (without regard to this subparagraph) as a deduction under this section for any taxable year, other than any contribution to which subparagraph (B) or (C) applies, shall be allowed only to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions—

“(i) exceeds 1 percent of the taxpayer’s taxable income for the taxable year, and

“(ii) does not exceed 10 percent of the taxpayer’s taxable income for the taxable year.”.

(b) APPLICATION OF CARRYFORWARD.—Section 170(d)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) CORPORATIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any charitable contribution taken into account under subsection (b)(2)(A) for any taxable year which

is not allowed as a deduction by reason of clause (ii) thereof shall be taken into account as a charitable contribution for the succeeding taxable year, except that, for purposes of determining under this subparagraph whether such contribution is allowed in such succeeding taxable year, contributions in such succeeding taxable year (determined without regard to this paragraph) shall be taken into account under subsection (b)(2)(A) before any contribution taken into account by reason of this paragraph.

“(B) 5-YEAR CARRYFORWARD.—No charitable contribution may be carried forward under subparagraph (A) to any taxable year following the fifth taxable year after the taxable year in which the charitable contribution was first taken into account. For purposes of the preceding sentence, contributions shall be treated as allowed on a first-in first-out basis.

“(C) CONTRIBUTIONS DISALLOWED BY 1-PERCENT FLOOR CARRIED FORWARD ONLY FROM YEARS IN WHICH 10 PERCENT LIMITATION IS EXCEEDED.—In the case of any taxable year from which a charitable contribution is carried forward under subparagraph (A) (determined without regard to this subparagraph), subparagraph (A) shall be applied by substituting ‘clause (i) or (ii)’ for ‘clause (ii)’.

“(D) SPECIAL RULE FOR NET OPERATING LOSS CARRYOVERS.—The amount of charitable contributions carried forward under subparagraph (A) shall be reduced to the extent that such carryforward would (but for this subparagraph) reduce taxable income (as computed for purposes of the second sentence of section 172(b)(2)) and increase a net operating loss carryover under section 172 to a succeeding taxable year.”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Subparagraphs (B)(ii) and (C)(ii) of section 170(b)(2) are each amended by inserting “other than subparagraph (C) thereof” after “subsection (d)(2)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70427. PERMANENT INCREASE IN LIMITATION ON COVER OVER OF TAX ON DISTILLED SPIRITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 7652(f) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) \$13.25, or”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to distilled spirits brought into the United States after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70428. NONPROFIT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN REMOTE NATIVE VILLAGES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subchapter F of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any activity substantially related to participation or investment in fisheries in the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands statistical and reporting areas (as described in Figure 1 of section 679 of title 50, Code of Federal Regulations) carried on by an entity identified in section 305(i)(1)(D) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)(D)) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this section) shall be considered substantially related to the exercise or performance of the purpose constituting the basis of such entity's exemption under section 501(a) of such Code if the conduct of such activity is in furtherance of 1 or more of the purposes specified in section 305(i)(1)(A) of such Act (as so in effect). For purposes of this paragraph, activities substantially related to participation or investment in fisheries include the harvesting, processing, transportation, sales, and marketing of fish and fish products of the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands statistical and reporting areas.

(b) APPLICATION TO CERTAIN WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARIES.—If the assets of a trade or

business relating to an activity described in subsection (a) of any subsidiary wholly owned by an entity identified in section 305(i)(1)(D) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)(D)) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this section) are transferred to such entity (including in liquidation of such subsidiary) not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this Act—

(1) no gain or income resulting from such transfer shall be recognized to either such subsidiary or such entity under such Code, and

(2) all income derived from such subsidiary from such transferred trade or business shall be exempt from taxation under such Code.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act and shall remain effective during the existence of the western Alaska community development quota program established by Section 305(i)(1) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)), as amended.

SEC. 70429. ADJUSTMENT OF CHARITABLE DEDUCTION FOR CERTAIN EXPENSES INCURRED IN SUPPORT OF NATIVE ALASKAN SUBSISTENCE WHALING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(n)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$50,000”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70430. EXCEPTION TO PERCENTAGE OF COMPLETION METHOD OF ACCOUNTING FOR CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 460(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) by striking “home construction contract” both places it appears and inserting “residential construction contract”, and

(B) by inserting “(determined by substituting ‘3-year’ for ‘2-year’ in subparagraph (B)(i) for any residential construction contract which is not a home construction contract)” after “the requirements of clauses (i) and (ii) of subparagraph (B)”.

(2) by striking paragraph (4) and redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (4), and

(3) in subparagraph (A) of paragraph (4), as so redesignated, by striking “paragraph (4)” and inserting “paragraph (3)”.

(b) APPLICATION OF EXCEPTION FOR PURPOSES OF ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX.—Section 56(a)(3) is amended by striking “any home construction contract (as defined in section 460(e)(6))” and inserting “any residential construction contract (as defined in section 460(e)(4))”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to contracts entered into after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Subchapter D—Permanent Investments in Small Business and Rural America

SEC. 70431. EXPANSION OF QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK GAIN EXCLUSION.

(a) PHASED INCREASE IN EXCLUSION FOR GAIN FROM QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1202(a)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.— In the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation, gross income shall not include—

“(A) except as provided in paragraphs (3) and (4), 50 percent of any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock acquired on or before the applicable date and held for more than 5 years, and

“(B) the applicable percentage of any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock acquired after the applicable date and held for at least 3 years.”.

(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—Section 1202(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—The applicable percentage under paragraph (1) shall be determined under the following table:

Years stock held:	Applicable percentage:
3 years	50%
4 years	75%
5 years or more	100%”

(3) APPLICABLE DATE; ACQUISITION DATE.—Section 1202(a), as amended by paragraph (2), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) APPLICABLE DATE; ACQUISITION DATE.— For purposes of this section—

“(A) APPLICABLE DATE.—The term ‘applicable date’ means the date of the enactment of this paragraph.

“(B) ACQUISITION DATE.—In the case of any stock which would (but for this paragraph) be treated as having been acquired before, on, or after the applicable date, whichever is applicable, the acquisition date for purposes of this section shall be the first day on which such stock was held by the taxpayer determined after the application of section 1223.”.

(4) CONTINUED TREATMENT AS NOT ITEM OF TAX PREFERENCE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 57(a)(7) is amended by striking “An amount” and inserting “In the case of stock acquired on or before the date of the enactment of the Creating Small Business Jobs Act of 2010, an amount”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1202(a)(4) is amended—

(i) by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting a period, and

(ii) by striking subparagraph (C).

(5) OTHER CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Paragraphs (3)(A) and (4)(A) of section 1202(a) are each amended by striking “paragraph (1)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(A)”.

(B) Paragraph (4)(A) of section 1202(a) is amended by inserting “and on or before the applicable date” after “2010”.

(C) Sections 1202(b)(2), 1202(g)(2)(A), and 1202(j)(1)(A) are each amended by striking “more than 5 years” and inserting “at least 3 years (more than 5 years in the case of stock acquired on or before the applicable date)”.

(6) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) CONTINUED TREATMENT AS NOT ITEM OF TAX PREFERENCE.—The amendments made by paragraph (4) shall take effect as if included in the enactment of section 2011 of the Creating Small Business Jobs Act of 2010.

(b) INCREASE IN PER ISSUER LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 1202(b)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) the applicable dollar limit for the taxable year, or”.

(2) APPLICABLE DOLLAR LIMIT.—Section 1202 (b) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) APPLICABLE DOLLAR LIMIT.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), the applicable dollar limit for any taxable year with respect to eligible gain from 1 or more dispositions by a taxpayer of qualified business stock of a corporation is—

“(A) if such stock was acquired by the taxpayer on or before the applicable date, \$10,000,000, reduced by the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for prior taxable years and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer before, on, or after the applicable date, and

“(B) if such stock was acquired by the taxpayer after the applicable date, \$15,000,000, reduced by the sum of—

“(i) the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for prior taxable years and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer before, on, or after the applicable date, plus

“(ii) the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for the taxable year and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer on or before the applicable date.

“(5) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$15,000,000 amount in paragraph (4)(B) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this subparagraph is not a multiple of \$10,000, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10,000.

“(B) NO INCREASE ONCE LIMIT REACHED.—If, for any taxable year, the eligible gain attributable to dispositions of stock issued by a corporation and acquired by the taxpayer after the applicable date exceeds the applicable dollar limit, then notwithstanding any increase under subparagraph (A) for any subsequent taxable year, the applicable dollar limit for such subsequent taxable year shall be zero.”.

(3) SEPARATE RETURNS.—Subparagraph (A) of section 1202(b)(3) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) SEPARATE RETURNS.—In the case of a separate return by a married individual for any taxable year—

“(i) paragraph (4)(A) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$5,000,000’ for ‘\$10,000,000’, and

“(ii) paragraph (4)(B) shall be applied by substituting one-half of the dollar amount in effect under such paragraph for the taxable year for the amount so in effect.”.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(C) INCREASE IN LIMIT IN AGGREGATE GROSS ASSETS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 1202(d)(1) are each amended by striking “\$50,000,000” and inserting “\$75,000,000”.

(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1202(b) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$75,000,000 amounts in paragraphs (1)(A) and (1)(B) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this paragraph is not a multiple of \$10,000, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10,000.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to stock issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70432. REPEAL OF REVISION TO DE MINIMIS RULES FOR THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS.

(a) REINSTATEMENT OF EXCEPTION FOR DE MINIMIS PAYMENTS AS IN EFFECT PRIOR TO ENACTMENT OF AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN ACT OF 2021.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6050W(e) is amended to read as follows:

“(e) EXCEPTION FOR DE MINIMIS PAYMENTS BY THIRD PARTY SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.—A third party settlement organization shall be required to report any information under subsection (a) with respect to third party network transactions of any participating payee only if—

“(1) the amount which would otherwise be reported under subsection (a)(2) with respect to such transactions exceeds \$20,000, and

“(2) the aggregate number of such transactions exceeds 200.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall take effect as if included in section 9674 of the American Rescue Plan Act.

(b) APPLICATION OF DE MINIMIS RULE FOR THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS TO BACKUP WITHHOLDING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 3406(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) OTHER REPORTABLE PAYMENTS INCLUDE PAYMENTS IN SETTLEMENT OF THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS ONLY WHERE AGGREGATE TRANSACTIONS EXCEED REPORTING THRESHOLD FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any payment in settlement of a third party network transaction required to be shown on a return required under section 6050W which is made during any calendar year shall be treated as a reportable payment only if—

“(i) the aggregate number of transactions with respect to the participating payee during such calendar year exceeds the number of transactions specified in section 6050W(e)(2), and

“(ii) the aggregate amount of transactions with respect to the participating payee during such calendar year exceeds the dollar amount specified in section 6050W(e)(1) at the time of such payment.

“(B) EXCEPTION IF THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS MADE IN PRIOR YEAR WERE REPORTABLE.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to payments to any participating payee during any calendar year if one or more payments in settlement of third party network transactions made by the payor to the participating payee during the preceding calendar year were reportable payments.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70433. INCREASE IN THRESHOLD FOR REQUIRING INFORMATION REPORTING WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN PAYEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6041(a) is amended by striking “\$600” and inserting “\$2,000”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 6041 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any calendar year after 2026, the dollar amount in subsection (a) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(1) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(2) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for such calendar year, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under the preceding sentence is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.”.

(c) APPLICATION TO REPORTING ON REMUNERATION FOR SERVICES.—Section 6041A(a)(2)

is amended by striking “is \$600 or more” and inserting “equals or exceeds the dollar amount in effect for such calendar year under section 6041(a)”.

(d) APPLICATION TO BACKUP WITHHOLDING.—Section 3406(b)(6) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$600” in subparagraph (A) and inserting “the dollar amount in effect for such calendar year under section 6041(a)”, and

(2) by striking “ONLY WHERE AGGREGATE FOR CALENDAR YEAR IS \$600 OR MORE” in the heading and inserting “ONLY WHERE IN EXCESS OF THRESHOLD”.

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading of section 6041(a) is amended by striking “OF \$600 OR MORE” and inserting “EXCEEDING THRESHOLD”.

(2) Section 6041(a) is amended by striking “taxable year” and inserting “calendar year”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to payments made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70434. TREATMENT OF CERTAIN QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTIONS.

(a) ELECTION TO TREAT COSTS AS EXPENSES.—Section 181(a)(1) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production, and any qualified live theatrical production,” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, and any qualified sound recording production”.

(b) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—Section 181(a)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to so much of the aggregate cost of any qualified sound recording production, or to so much of the aggregate, cumulative cost of all such qualified sound recording productions in the taxable year, as exceeds \$150,000.”.

(c) NO OTHER DEDUCTION OR AMORTIZATION DEDUCTION ALLOWABLE.—Section 181(b) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production or any qualified live theatrical production” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, or any qualified sound recording production”.

(d) ELECTION.—Section 181(c)(1) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production or any qualified live theatrical production” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, or any qualified sound recording production”.

(e) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION DEFINED.—Section 181 is amended by redesignating subsections (f) and (g) as subsections (g) and (h), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified sound recording production’ means a sound recording (as defined in section 101 of title 17, United States Code) produced and recorded in the United States.”.

(f) APPLICATION OF TERMINATION.—Section 181(h), as redesignated by subsection (e), is amended by striking “qualified film and television productions or qualified live theatrical productions” and inserting “qualified film and television productions, qualified live theatrical productions, or qualified sound recording productions”.

(g) BONUS DEPRECIATION.—

(1) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION AS QUALIFIED PROPERTY.—Section 168(k)(2)(A)(i) is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of subclause (IV), by inserting “or” at the end of subclause (V), and by inserting after subclause (V) the following:

“(VI) which is a qualified sound recording production (as defined in subsection (f) of

section 181) for which a deduction would have been allowable under section 181 without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (h) of such section or this subsection, and", and

(B) in subclauses (IV) and (V) (as so amended) by striking "without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (g)" both places it appears and inserting "without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (h)".

(2) PRODUCTION PLACED IN SERVICE.—Section 168(k)(2)(H) is amended by striking "and" at the end of clause (i), by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting ", and", and by adding after clause (ii) the following:

"(iii) a qualified sound recording production shall be considered to be placed in service at the time of initial release or broadcast."

(h) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading for section 181 is amended to read as follows: "**TREATMENT OF CERTAIN QUALIFIED PRODUCTIONS.**"

(2) The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking the item relating to section 181 and inserting the following new item:

"Sec. 181. Treatment of certain qualified productions."

(i) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to productions commencing in taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70435. EXCLUSION OF INTEREST ON LOANS SECURED BY RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after section 139K the following new section:

"SEC. 139L. INTEREST ON LOANS SECURED BY RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income shall not include 25 percent of the interest received by a qualified lender on any qualified real estate loan.

"(b) QUALIFIED LENDER.—For purposes of this section, the term 'qualified lender' means—

"(1) any bank or savings association the deposits of which are insured under the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1811 et seq.),

"(2) any State- or federally-regulated insurance company,

"(3) any entity wholly owned, directly or indirectly, by a company that is treated as a bank holding company for purposes of section 8 of the International Banking Act of 1978 (12 U.S.C. 3106) if—

"(A) such entity is organized, incorporated, or established under the laws of the United States or any State, and

"(B) the principal place of business of such entity is in the United States (including any territory of the United States),

"(4) any entity wholly owned, directly or indirectly, by a company that is considered an insurance holding company under the laws of any State if such entity satisfies the requirements described in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (3), and

"(5) with respect to interest received on a qualified real estate loan secured by real estate described in subsection (c)(3)(A), any federally chartered instrumentality of the United States established under section 8.1(a) of the Farm Credit Act of 1971 (12 U.S.C. 2279aa-1(a)).

"(c) QUALIFIED REAL ESTATE LOAN.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The term 'qualified real estate loan' means any loan—

"(A) secured by—

"(i) rural or agricultural real estate, or

"(ii) a leasehold mortgage (with a status as a lien) on rural or agricultural real estate,

"(B) made to a person other than a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)), and

"(C) made after the date of the enactment of this section.

For purposes of the preceding sentence, the determination of whether property securing such loan is rural or agricultural real estate shall be made as of the time the interest income on such loan is accrued.

"(2) REFINANCINGS.—For purposes of subparagraphs (A) and (C) of paragraph (1), a loan shall not be treated as made after the date of the enactment of this section to the extent that the proceeds of such loan are used to refinance a loan which was made on or before the date of the enactment of this section (or, in the case of any series of refinancings, the original loan was made on or before such date).

"(3) RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL ESTATE.—The term 'rural or agricultural real estate' means—

"(A) any real property which is substantially used for the production of one or more agricultural products,

"(B) any real property which is substantially used in the trade or business of fishing or seafood processing, and

"(C) any aquaculture facility. Such term shall not include any property which is not located in a State or a possession of the United States.

"(4) AQUACULTURE FACILITY.—The term 'aquaculture facility' means any land, structure, or other appurtenance that is used for aquaculture (including any hatchery, rearing pond, raceway, pen, or incubator).

"(d) COORDINATION WITH SECTION 265.—25 percent of any qualified real estate loan shall be treated as an obligation described in section 265(a)(2) the interest on which is wholly exempt from the taxes imposed by this subtitle."

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 139K the following new item:

"Sec. 139L. Interest on loans secured by rural or agricultural real property."

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70436. REDUCTION OF TRANSFER AND MANUFACTURING TAXES FOR CERTAIN DEVICES.

(a) TRANSFER TAX.—Section 5811(a) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) RATE.—There shall be levied, collected, and paid on firearms transferred a tax at the rate of—

"(1) \$200 for each firearm transferred in the case of a machinegun or a destructive device, and

"(2) \$0 for any firearm transferred which is not described in paragraph (1)."

(b) MAKING TAX.—Section 5821(a) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) RATE.—There shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the making of a firearm a tax at the rate of—

"(1) \$200 for each firearm made in the case of a machinegun or a destructive device, and

"(2) \$0 for any firearm made which is not described in paragraph (1)."

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 4182(a) is amended by adding at the end the following: "For purposes of the preceding sentence, any firearm described in section 5811(a)(2) shall be deemed to be a firearm on which the tax provided by section 5811 has been paid."

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to calendar quarters beginning more than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70437. TREATMENT OF CAPITAL GAINS FROM THE SALE OF CERTAIN FARM-LAND PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating section 1062 as section 1063 and by inserting after section 1061 the following new section: "**SEC. 1062. GAIN FROM THE SALE OR EXCHANGE OF QUALIFIED FARMLAND PROPERTY TO QUALIFIED FARMERS.**

"(a) ELECTION TO PAY TAX IN INSTALLMENTS.—In the case of gain from the sale or exchange of qualified farmland property to a qualified farmer, at the election of the taxpayer, the portion of the net income tax of such taxpayer for the taxable year of the sale or exchange which is equal to the applicable net tax liability shall be paid in 4 equal installments.

"(b) RULES RELATING TO INSTALLMENT PAYMENTS.—

"(1) DATE FOR PAYMENT OF INSTALLMENTS.—If an election is made under subsection (a), the first installment shall be paid on the due date (determined without regard to any extension of time for filing the return) for the return of tax for the taxable year in which the sale or exchange occurs and each succeeding installment shall be paid on the due date (as so determined) for the return of tax for the taxable year following the taxable year with respect to which the preceding installment was made.

"(2) ACCELERATION OF PAYMENT.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—If there is an addition to tax for failure to timely pay any installment required under this section, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be due on the date of such failure.

"(B) INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual, if the individual dies, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installment shall be paid on the due date for the return of tax for the taxable year in which the taxpayer dies.

"(C) C CORPORATIONS.—In the case of a taxpayer which is a C corporation, trust, or estate, if there is a liquidation or sale of substantially all the assets of the taxpayer (including in a title 11 or similar case), a cessation of business by the taxpayer (in the case of a C corporation), or any similar circumstance, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be due on the date of such event (or in the case of a title 11 or similar case, the day before the petition is filed). The preceding sentence shall not apply to the sale of substantially all the assets of a taxpayer to a buyer if such buyer enters into an agreement with the Secretary under which such buyer is liable for the remaining installments due under this subsection in the same manner as if such buyer were the taxpayer.

"(3) PRORATION OF DEFICIENCY TO INSTALLMENTS.—If an election is made under subsection (a) to pay the applicable net tax liability in installments and a deficiency has been assessed with respect to such applicable net tax liability, the deficiency shall be prorated to the installments payable under subsection (a). The part of the deficiency so prorated to any installment the date for payment of which has not arrived shall be collected at the same time as, and as a part of, such installment. The part of the deficiency so prorated to any installment the date for payment of which has arrived shall be paid upon notice and demand from the Secretary. This section shall not apply if the deficiency is due to negligence, to intentional disregard of rules and regulations, or to fraud with intent to evade tax.

"(c) ELECTION.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Any election under subsection (a) shall be made not later than the

due date for the return of tax for the taxable year described in subsection (a).

“(2) PARTNERSHIPS AND S CORPORATIONS.—In the case of a sale or exchange described in subsection (a) by a partnership or S corporation, the election under subsection (a) shall be made at the partner or shareholder level. The Secretary may prescribe such regulations or other guidance as necessary to carry out the purposes of this paragraph.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) APPLICABLE NET TAX LIABILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The applicable net tax liability with respect to the sale or exchange of any property described in subsection (a) is the excess (if any) of—

“(i) such taxpayer’s net income tax for the taxable year, over

“(ii) such taxpayer’s net income tax for such taxable year determined without regard to any gain recognized from the sale or exchange of such property.

“(B) NET INCOME TAX.—The term ‘net income tax’ means the regular tax liability reduced by the credits allowed under subparts A, B, and D of part IV of subchapter A.

“(2) QUALIFIED FARMLAND PROPERTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified farmland property’ means real property located in the United States—

“(i) which—

“(I) has been used by the taxpayer as a farm for farming purposes, or

“(II) leased by the taxpayer to a qualified farmer for farming purposes, during substantially all of the 10-year period ending on the date of the qualified sale or exchange, and

“(ii) which is subject to a covenant or other legally enforceable restriction which prohibits the use of such property other than as a farm for farming purposes for any period before the date that is 10 years after the date of the sale or exchange described in subsection (a).

For purposes of clause (i), property which is used or leased by a partnership or S corporation in a manner described in such clause shall be treated as used or leased in such manner by each person who holds a direct or indirect interest in such partnership or S corporation.

“(B) FARM; FARMING PURPOSES.—The terms ‘farm’ and ‘farming purposes’ have the respective meanings given such terms under section 2032A(e).

“(3) QUALIFIED FARMER.—The term ‘qualified farmer’ means any individual who is actively engaged in farming (within the meaning of subsections (b) and (c) of section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1986 (7 U.S.C. 1308–1(b) and (c))).

“(e) RETURN REQUIREMENT.—A taxpayer making an election under subsection (a) shall include with the return for the taxable year of the sale or exchange described in subsection (a) a copy of the covenant or other legally enforceable restriction described in subsection (d)(2)(A)(ii).”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 1062 as relating to section 1063 and by inserting after the item relating to section 1061 the following new item:

“Sec. 1062. Gain from the sale or exchange of qualified farmland property to qualified farmers.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to sales or exchanges in taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70438. EXTENSION OF RULES FOR TREATMENT OF CERTAIN DISASTER-RELATED PERSONAL CASUALTY LOSSES.

For purposes of applying section 304(b) of the Taxpayer Certainty and Disaster Tax Re-

lief Act of 2020 (division EE of Public Law 116–260), section 301 of such Act shall be applied by substituting the date of the enactment of this section for “the date of the enactment of this Act” each place it appears.

CHAPTER 5—ENDING GREEN NEW DEAL SPENDING, PROMOTING AMERICA-FIRST ENERGY, AND OTHER REFORMS

Subchapter A—Termination of Green New Deal Subsidies

SEC. 70501. TERMINATION OF PREVIOUSLY-OWNED CLEAN VEHICLE CREDIT.

Section 25E(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “September 30, 2025”.

SEC. 70502. TERMINATION OF CLEAN VEHICLE CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 30D(h) is amended by striking “placed in service after December 31, 2032” and inserting “acquired after September 30, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 30D(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(B)—

(A) in clause (iii), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(B) in clause (iv), by striking “, and” and inserting a period, and

(C) by striking clause (v), and

(2) in paragraph (2)(B)—

(A) in clause (ii), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the comma at the end and inserting a period, and

(C) by striking clauses (iv) through (vi).

SEC. 70503. TERMINATION OF QUALIFIED COMMERCIAL CLEAN VEHICLES CREDIT.

Section 45W(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “September 30, 2025”.

SEC. 70504. TERMINATION OF ALTERNATIVE FUEL VEHICLE REFUELING PROPERTY CREDIT.

Section 30C(i) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “June 30, 2026”.

SEC. 70505. TERMINATION OF ENERGY EFFICIENT HOME IMPROVEMENT CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 25C(h) is amended by striking “placed in service” and all that follows through “December 31, 2032” and inserting “placed in service after December 31, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 25C(d)(2)(C) is amended to read as follows:

“(C) Any oil furnace or hot water boiler which—

“(i) meets or exceeds 2021 Energy Star efficiency criteria, and

“(ii) is rated by the manufacturer for use with fuel blends at least 20 percent of the volume of which consists of an eligible fuel.”

SEC. 70506. TERMINATION OF RESIDENTIAL CLEAN ENERGY CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 25D(h) is amended by striking “to property placed in service after December 31, 2034” and inserting “with respect to any expenditures made after December 31, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 25D(g) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(2) in paragraph (3), by striking “ and before January 1, 2033, 30 percent,” and inserting “30 percent.”, and

(3) by striking paragraphs (4) and (5).

SEC. 70507. TERMINATION OF ENERGY EFFICIENT COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS DEDUCTION.

Section 179D is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(i) TERMINATION.—This section shall not apply with respect to property the construction of which begins after June 30, 2026.”

SEC. 70508. TERMINATION OF NEW ENERGY EFFICIENT HOME CREDIT.

Section 45L(h) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “June 30, 2026”.

SEC. 70509. TERMINATION OF COST RECOVERY FOR ENERGY PROPERTY AND QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.

(a) ENERGY PROPERTY.—Section 168(e)(3)(B)(vi), as amended by section 13703 of Public Law 117–169, is amended—

(1) by striking subclause (I), and

(2) by redesignating subclauses (II) and (III) as subclauses (I) and (II), respectively.

(b) QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.—Section 168(e)(3)(B), as amended by section 13703 of Public Law 117–169 and by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) in clause (vi)(II), by adding “and” at the end,

(2) in clause (vii), by striking “, and” and inserting a period, and

(3) by striking clause (viii).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) ENERGY PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2024.

(2) QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to property placed in service after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70510. MODIFICATIONS OF ZERO-EMISSION NUCLEAR POWER PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45U(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).

“(B) OTHER PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”

(b) PROHIBITION WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR POWER FACILITIES USING NUCLEAR FUEL PRODUCED IN COVERED NATIONS OR BY COVERED ENTITIES.—Section 45U, as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) and (C) as subparagraphs (C) and (D), respectively, and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (A) the following new subparagraph:

“(B) which satisfies the requirements described in subsection (c)(4).”, and

(2) in subsection (c), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO USE OF CERTAIN IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For any taxable year, the requirements described in this paragraph with respect to any nuclear facility are that—

“(i) with respect to any nuclear fuel used by such facility during such taxable year, such fuel was not—

“(I) produced in a covered nation or by a covered entity,

“(II) exchanged with, traded for, or substituted for nuclear fuel described in subclause (I), or

“(III) otherwise obtained in lieu of nuclear fuel described in subclause (I) in a manner

which is designed to circumvent the purposes of this paragraph, and

“(i) the taxpayer shall certify to the Secretary (at such time and in such form and manner as the Secretary may prescribe) that any fuel used by such facility during such taxable year complies with the requirements described in clause (i).

“(B) EXCEPTION.—The requirements described in subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to any nuclear fuel which was acquired by the taxpayer pursuant to a binding written contract in effect before January 1, 2023, and which was not modified in any material respect on or after such date.

“(C) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph—

“(i) COVERED ENTITY.—The term ‘covered entity’ means an entity organized under the laws of, or otherwise subject to the jurisdiction of, the government of a covered nation.

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f) of title 10, United States Code.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO USE OF CERTAIN IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2027.

SEC. 70511. TERMINATION OF CLEAN HYDROGEN PRODUCTION CREDIT.

Section 45V(c)(3)(C) is amended by striking “January 1, 2033” and inserting “January 1, 2028”.

SEC. 70512. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 45Y(d) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

“(3) APPLICABLE YEAR.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘applicable year’ means calendar year 2032.

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply with respect to any applicable facility placed in service after December 31, 2027.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Y is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any facility for which construction begins after December 31, 2025 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in subsection (d)(4)(B), after June 16, 2025), if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a pro-

hibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”, and

(2) in subsection (g), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(1).”

(c) DEFINITIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 7701(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(51) PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—

“(i) DEFINITION.—The term ‘prohibited foreign entity’ means a specified foreign entity or a foreign-influenced entity.

“(ii) DETERMINATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subclause (II), for any taxable year, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity or foreign-influenced entity shall be made as of the last day of such taxable year.

“(II) INITIAL TAXABLE YEAR.—For purposes of the first taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity described in clauses (i) through (iv) of subparagraph (B) shall be made as of the first day of such taxable year.

“(B) SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified foreign entity’ means—

“(i) a foreign entity of concern described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), or (E) of section 9901(8) of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 15 U.S.C. 4651),

“(ii) an entity identified as a Chinese military company operating in the United States in accordance with section 1260H of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 10 U.S.C. 113 note),

“(iii) an entity included on a list required by clause (i), (ii), (iv), or (v) of section 2(d)(2)(B) of Public Law 117-78 (135 Stat. 1527),

“(iv) an entity specified under section 154(b) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2024 (Public Law 118-31; 10 U.S.C. note prec. 4651), or

“(v) a foreign-controlled entity.

“(C) FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (B), the term ‘foreign-controlled entity’ means—

“(i) the government (including any level of government below the national level) of a covered nation,

“(ii) an agency or instrumentality of a government described in clause (i),

“(iii) a person who is a citizen or national of a covered nation, provided that such person is not an individual who is a citizen, national, or lawful permanent resident of the United States,

“(iv) an entity or a qualified business unit (as defined in section 989(a)) incorporated or organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a covered nation, or

“(v) an entity (including subsidiary entities) controlled (as determined under sub-

paragraph (G)) by an entity described in clause (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv).

“(D) FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘foreign-influenced entity’ means an entity—

“(I) with respect to which, during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the direct authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity owns at least 25 percent of such entity,

“(cc) one or more specified foreign entities own in the aggregate at least 40 percent of such entity, or

“(dd) at least 15 percent of the debt of such entity has been issued, in the aggregate, to 1 or more specified foreign entities, or

“(II) which, during the previous taxable year, made a payment to a specified foreign entity pursuant to a contract, agreement, or other arrangement which entitles such specified foreign entity (or an entity related to such specified foreign entity) to exercise effective control over—

“(aa) any qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer), or

“(bb) with respect to any eligible component produced by the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer)—

“(AA) the extraction, processing, or recycling of any applicable critical mineral, or

“(BB) the production of an eligible component which is not an applicable critical mineral.

“(ii) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—

“(aa) GENERAL RULE.—Subject to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means 1 or more agreements or arrangements similar to those described in subclauses (II) and (III) which provide 1 or more contractual counterparties of a taxpayer with specific authority over key aspects of the production of eligible components, energy generation in a qualified facility, or energy storage which are not included in the measures of control through authority, ownership, or debt held which are described in clause (i)(I).

“(bb) GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this clause, including the establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions described in subparagraph (C) and subclauses (II) and (III) of this clause through a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(II) APPLICATION OF RULES PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF GUIDANCE.—During any period prior to the date that the guidance described in subclause (I)(bb) is issued by the Secretary, for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means the unrestricted contractual right of a contractual counterparty to—

“(aa) determine the quantity or timing of production of an eligible component produced by the taxpayer,

“(bb) determine the amount or timing of activities related to the production of electricity undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer or the storage of electrical energy in energy storage technology of the taxpayer,

“(cc) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a production unit of the taxpayer that produces eligible components,

“(dd) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a qualified facility of the taxpayer,

“(ee) restrict access to data critical to production or storage of energy undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer, or to the site of production or any part of a qualified

facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer, to the personnel or agents of such contractual counterparty, or

“(ff) on an exclusive basis, maintain, repair, or operate any plant or equipment which is necessary to the production by the taxpayer of eligible components or electricity.

“(III) LICENSING AND OTHER AGREEMENTS.—

“(aa) IN GENERAL.—In addition to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means, with respect to a licensing agreement for the provision of intellectual property or any other contract, agreement, or other arrangement entered into with a contractual counterparty which is related to such licensing agreement and to a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or the production of an eligible component, any of the following:

“(AA) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to specify or otherwise direct 1 or more sources of components, subcomponents, or applicable critical minerals utilized in a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(BB) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct the operation of any qualified facility, any energy storage technology, or any production unit that produces an eligible component.

“(CC) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to limit the taxpayer’s utilization of intellectual property related to the operation of a qualified facility or energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(DD) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to receive royalties under the licensing agreement or any similar agreement (or payments under any related agreement) beyond the 10th year of the agreement (including modifications or extensions thereof).

“(EE) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct or otherwise require the taxpayer to enter into an agreement for the provision of services for a duration longer than 2 years (including any modifications or extensions thereof).

“(FF) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement does not provide the licensee with all the technical data, information, and know-how necessary to enable the licensee to produce the eligible component or components subject to the contract, agreement, or other arrangement without further involvement from the contractual counterparty or a specified foreign entity.

“(GG) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement was entered into (or modified) on or after June 16, 2025.

“(bb) EXCEPTION.—

“(AA) IN GENERAL.—Item (aa) shall not apply in the case of a bona fide purchase or sale of intellectual property.

“(BB) BONA FIDE PURCHASE OR SALE.—For purposes of item (aa), any purchase or sale of intellectual property where the agreement provides that ownership of the intellectual property reverts to the contractual counterparty after a period of time shall not be considered a bona-fide purchase or sale.

“(IV) PERSONS RELATED TO THE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of subclauses (I), (II), and (III), the term ‘taxpayer’ shall include any person related to the taxpayer.

“(V) CONTRACTUAL COUNTERPARTY.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘contractual counterparty’ means an entity with which the taxpayer has entered into a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(iii) GUIDANCE.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this subparagraph, including establishment of rules to prevent entities from

evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions against impermissible technology licensing arrangements with specified foreign entities, such as through temporary transfers of intellectual property, retention by a specified foreign entity of a reversionary interest in transferred intellectual property, or otherwise.

“(E) PUBLICLY TRADED ENTITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—

“(I) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (C)(v) shall not apply in the case of any entity the securities of which are regularly traded on—

“(aa) a national securities exchange which is registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission,

“(bb) the national market system established pursuant to section 11A of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934, or

“(cc) any other exchange or other market which the Secretary has determined in guidance issued under section 1296(e)(1)(A)(ii) has rules adequate to carry out the purposes of part VI of subchapter P of chapter 1 of subtitle A.

“(II) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (D)(i)(I) shall not apply in the case of any entity—

“(aa) the securities of which are regularly traded in a manner described in subclause (I), or

“(bb) for which not less than 80 percent of the equity securities of such entity are owned directly or indirectly by an entity which is described in item (aa).

“(III) EXCLUSION OF EXCHANGES OR MARKETS IN COVERED NATIONS.—Subclause (I)(cc) shall not apply with respect to any exchange or market which—

“(aa) is incorporated or organized under the laws of a covered nation, or

“(bb) has its principal place of business in a covered nation.

“(ii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(I), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-controlled entity under subparagraph (C)(v) if such entity is controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by—

“(I) 1 or more specified foreign entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (B)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in clause (iii)(D)(bb), or

“(II) 1 or more foreign-controlled entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (C)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in such clause.

“(iii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(II), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-influenced entity under subparagraph (D)(i)(I) if—

“(I) during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity required to report its beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 (or, in the case of an exchange or market described in clause (i)(I)(cc), an equivalent rule) owns not less than 25 percent of such entity, or

“(cc) 1 or more specified foreign entities that are each required to report their beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 own, in the aggregate, not less than 40 percent of such entity, or

“(II) such entity has issued debt, as part of an original issuance, in excess of 15 percent

of its publicly-traded debt to 1 or more specified foreign entities.

“(F) COVERED OFFICER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘covered officer’ means, with respect to an entity—

“(i) a member of the board of directors, board of supervisors, or equivalent governing body,

“(ii) an executive-level officer, including the president, chief executive officer, chief operating officer, chief financial officer, general counsel, or senior vice president, or

“(iii) an individual having powers or responsibilities similar to those of officers or members described in clause (i) or (ii).

“(G) DETERMINATION OF CONTROL.—For purposes of subparagraph (C)(v), the term ‘control’ means—

“(i) in the case of a corporation, ownership (by vote or value) of more than 50 percent of the stock in such corporation,

“(ii) in the case of a partnership, ownership of more than 50 percent of the profits interests or capital interests in such partnership, or

“(iii) in any other case, ownership of more than 50 percent of the beneficial interests in the entity.

“(H) DETERMINATION OF OWNERSHIP.—For purposes of this section, section 318(a)(2) shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of stock in a corporation. Similar principles shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of interests in any other entity.

“(I) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL.—The term ‘applicable critical mineral’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(6).

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f)(2) of title 10, United States Code.

“(iii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(1).

“(iv) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(v) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1), and

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3).

“(vi) RELATED.—The term ‘related’ shall have the same meaning given such term under sections 267(b) and 707(b).

“(J) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of applying any provision under this paragraph, the beginning of construction with respect to any property shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules under Internal Revenue Service Notice 2013-29 and Internal Revenue Service Notice 2018-59 (as well as any subsequently issued guidance clarifying, modifying, or updating either such Notice), as in effect on January 1, 2025.

“(K) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including rules to prevent the circumvention of any rules or restrictions with respect to prohibited foreign entities.

“(52) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity’ means—

“(i) with respect to any qualified facility or energy storage technology, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the

threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (B), or

“(i) with respect to any facility which produces eligible components, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (C).

“(B) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(i) in the case of a qualified facility the construction of which begins—

“(I) after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 37.5 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2026, 40 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2027, 45 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2028, 50 percent,

“(V) during calendar year 2029, 55 percent,

and

“(VI) after December 31, 2029, 60 percent,

and

“(ii) in the case of energy storage technology the construction of which begins—

“(I) during calendar year 2026, 55 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2028, 65 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2029, 70 percent,

and

“(V) after December 31, 2029, 75 percent.

“(C) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(I) in the case of any solar energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(3)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

“(II) in the case of any wind energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(4)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 85 percent,

and

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 90 percent,

“(III) in the case of any inverter described in subparagraphs (B) through (G) of section 45X(c)(2) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 55 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 60 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 65 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 70 percent,

“(IV) in the case of any qualifying battery component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(5)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 60 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 65 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

and

“(V) subject to clause (ii), in the case of any applicable critical mineral (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(6)) which is sold—

“(aa) after December 31, 2025, and before January 1, 2030, 0 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2030, 25 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2031, 30 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2032, 40 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2032, 50 percent.

“(ii) ADJUSTED THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS.—Not later than December 31, 2027, the Secretary shall issue threshold percentages for each of the applicable critical minerals described in section 45X(c)(6), which shall—

“(I) apply in lieu of the threshold percentage determined under clause (i)(V) for each calendar year, and

“(II) equal or exceed the threshold percentage which would otherwise apply with respect to such applicable critical mineral under such clause for such calendar year, taking into account—

“(aa) domestic geographic availability,

“(bb) supply chain constraints,

“(cc) domestic processing capacity needs,

and

“(dd) national security concerns.

“(D) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO.—

“(i) QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, minus

“(bb) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are—

“(AA) incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, and

“(BB) mined, produced, or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(ii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component, minus

“(bb) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component that are attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(iii) SAFE HARBOR TABLES.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue safe harbor tables (and such other guidance as deemed necessary) to—

“(aa) identify the percentage of total direct costs of any manufactured product which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity,

“(bb) identify the percentage of total direct material costs of any eligible component which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(cc) provide all rules necessary to determine the amount of a taxpayer’s material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity within the meaning of this paragraph.

“(II) SAFE HARBORS PRIOR TO ISSUANCE.—For purposes of this paragraph, prior to the date on which the Secretary issues the safe harbor tables described in subclause (I), and for construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology which begins on or before the date which is 60 days after the date of issuance of such tables, a taxpayer may—

“(aa) use the tables included in Internal Revenue Service Notice 2025–08 to establish the percentage of the total direct costs of any listed eligible component and any manufactured product, and

“(bb) rely on a certification by the supplier of the manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component—

“(AA) of the total direct costs or the total direct material costs, as applicable, of such product or component that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(BB) that such product or component was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(III) EXCEPTION.—Notwithstanding subclauses (I) and (II)—

“(aa) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that a manufactured product or eligible component was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, the taxpayer shall treat all direct costs with respect to such manufactured product, or all direct material costs with respect to such eligible component, as attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(bb) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) pertaining to a manufactured product or eligible component is inaccurate, the taxpayer may not rely on such certification.

“(IV) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—In a manner consistent with Treasury Regulation section 1.45X–4(c)(4)(i) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) shall—

“(aa) include—

“(AA) the supplier’s employer identification number, or

“(BB) any such similar identification number issued by a foreign government,

“(bb) be signed under penalties of perjury,

“(cc) be retained by the supplier and the taxpayer for a period of not less than 6 years and shall be provided to the Secretary upon request, and

“(dd) be from the supplier from which the taxpayer purchased any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent elements, materials, or subcomponents of an eligible component, stating either—

“(AA) that such property was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity and that the supplier is not aware that any prior supplier in the chain of production of that property is a prohibited foreign entity,

“(BB) for purposes of section 45X, the total direct material costs for each component, constituent element, material, or subcomponent that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(CC) for purposes of section 45Y or section 48E, the total direct costs attributable to all manufactured products that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(iv) EXISTING CONTRACT.—Upon the election of the taxpayer (in such form and manner as the Secretary shall designate), in the case of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component which is—

“(I) acquired by the taxpayer, or manufactured or assembled by or for the taxpayer, pursuant to a binding written contract which was entered into prior to June 16, 2025, and

“(II)(aa) placed into service before January 1, 2030 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in section 45Y(d)(4)(B), before January 1, 2028), or

“(bb) in the case of a constituent element, material, or subcomponent, used in a product sold before January 1, 2030,

the cost to the taxpayer with respect to such product, component, element, material, or

subcomponent shall not be included for purposes of determining the material assistance cost ratio under this subparagraph.

“(v) ANTI-CIRCUMVENTION RULES.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to prevent circumvention of the rules under this subparagraph, including prevention of—

“(I) any abuse of the exception provided under clause (iv) through the stockpiling of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component during any period prior to the application of the requirements under this paragraph, or

“(II) any evasion with respect to the requirements of this subparagraph where the facts and circumstances demonstrate that the beginning of construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology has not in fact occurred.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ means—

“(I) any property described in section 45X(c)(1), or

“(II) any component which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(ii) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(iii) MANUFACTURED PRODUCT.—The term ‘manufactured product’ means—

“(I) a manufactured product which is a component of a qualified facility, as described in section 45Y(g)(11)(B) and any guidance issued thereunder, or

“(II) any product which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(iv) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1),

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3), and

“(III) any qualified interconnection property (as defined in section 48E(b)(4)) which is part of the qualified investment with respect to a qualified facility (as described in section 48E(b)(1)).

“(F) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—Rules similar to the rules under paragraph (51)(J) shall apply for purposes of this paragraph.

“(G) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including—

“(i) identification of components or products for purposes of clauses (i) and (iii) of subparagraph (E), and

“(ii) for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), rules to address facilities which produce more than one eligible component.”.

(d) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—Section 45Y is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section with respect to any production of electricity during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘lessee’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”.

(e) EMISSIONS RATES TABLES.—Section 45Y(b)(2)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXISTING STUDIES.—For purposes of clause (i), in determining greenhouse gas emissions rates for types or categories of fac-

ilities for the purpose of determining whether a facility satisfies the requirements under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall consider studies published on or before the date of enactment of this clause which demonstrate a net lifecycle greenhouse gas emissions rate which is not greater than zero using widely accepted lifecycle assessment concepts, such as concepts described in standards developed by the International Organization for Standardization.”.

(f) NUCLEAR ENERGY COMMUNITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45(b)(11) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (ii)(II), by striking “or” at the end,

(ii) in clause (iii)(II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or”, and

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

“(iv) for purposes of any qualified facility which is an advanced nuclear facility, a metropolitan statistical area which has (or, at any time during the period beginning after December 31, 2009, had) 0.17 percent or greater direct employment related to the advancement of nuclear power, including employment related to—

“(I) an advanced nuclear facility,

“(II) advanced nuclear power research and development,

“(III) nuclear fuel cycle research, development, or production, including mining, enrichment, manufacture, storage, disposal, or recycling of nuclear fuel, and

“(IV) the manufacturing or assembly of components used in an advanced nuclear facility.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) ADVANCED NUCLEAR FACILITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), for purposes of subparagraph (B)(iv), the term ‘advanced nuclear facility’ means any nuclear facility the reactor design for which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2).

“(ii) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of clause (i), a facility shall be deemed to have a reactor design which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2) if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has authorized construction and issued a site-specific construction permit or combined license with respect to such facility.”.

(2) NONAPPLICATION FOR CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.—Section 48E(a)(3)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “, as applied without regard to clause (iv) thereof” after “section 45(b)(11)(B)”.

(g) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Paragraph (1) of section 48D(c) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) is not a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), and”.

(2) Section 45Y(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraph (D) as subparagraph (E), and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DETERMINATION OF CAPACITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (C), additions of capacity of a facility shall be determined in any reasonable manner, including based on—

“(i) determinations by, or reports to, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (including interconnection agreements), the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, or any similar entity, reflecting additions of capacity,

“(ii) determinations or reports reflecting additions of capacity made by an independent professional engineer,

“(iii) reports to, or issued by, regional transmission organizations or independent system operators reflecting additions of capacity, or

“(iv) any other method or manner provided by the Secretary.”.

(h) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 6418(g) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—With respect to any eligible credit described in clause (iii), (iv), (vi), (vii), (viii), or (xi) of subsection (f)(1)(A), an eligible taxpayer may not elect to transfer any portion of such credit to a taxpayer that is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).”.

(i) EXTENSION OF PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS FOR ERRORS RELATING TO DETERMINING OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—Section 6501 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—In the case of a deficiency attributable to an error with respect to the determination under section 7701(a)(52) for any taxable year, such deficiency may be assessed at any time within 6 years after the return for such year was filed.”.

(j) IMPOSITION OF ACCURACY-RELATED PENALTIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6662 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(m) SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTATEMENT OF INCOME TAX DUE TO DISALLOWANCE OF APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which there is a disallowance of an applicable energy credit for any taxable year, for purposes of determining whether there is a substantial understatement of income tax for such taxable year, subsection (d)(1) shall be applied—

“(A) in subparagraphs (A) and (B), by substituting ‘1 percent’ for ‘10 percent’ each place it appears, and

“(B) without regard to subparagraph (C).

“(2) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘disallowance of an applicable energy credit’ means the disallowance of a credit under section 45X, 45Y, or 48E by reason of overstating the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)) with respect to any qualified facility, energy storage technology, or facility which produces eligible components.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 6417(d)(6) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—In the case of an applicable entity which made an election under subsection (a) with respect to an applicable credit for which there is a disallowance described in section 6662(m)(2), subparagraph (A) shall apply with respect to any excessive payment resulting from such disallowance.”.

(k) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6695A the following new section:

“SEC. 6695B. PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.

“(a) IMPOSITION OF PENALTY.—If—

“(1) a person—

“(A) provides a certification described in clause (iii)(II)(bb) of section 7701(a)(52)(D) with respect to any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component, and

“(B) knows, or reasonably should have known, that the certification would be used in connection with a determination under such section,

“(2) such certification is inaccurate or false with respect to—

“(A) whether such property was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(B) the total direct costs or total direct material costs of such property that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity that were provided on such certification, and

“(3) the inaccuracy or falsity described in paragraph (2) resulted in the disallowance of an applicable energy credit (as defined in section 6662(m)(2)) and an understatement of income tax (within the meaning of section 6662(d)(2)) for the taxable year in an amount which exceeds the lesser of—

“(A) 5 percent of the tax required to be shown on the return for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$100,000,

then such person shall pay a penalty in the amount determined under subsection (b).

“(b) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—The amount of the penalty imposed under subsection (a) on any person with respect to a certification shall be equal to the greater of—

“(1) 10 percent of the amount of the underpayment (as defined in section 6664(a)) solely attributable to the inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2), or

“(2) \$5,000.

“(c) EXCEPTION.—No penalty shall be imposed under subsection (a) if the person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that any inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2) is due to a reasonable cause and not willful neglect.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in section 7701(a)(52) shall have the meaning given such term in such section.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 6696 is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “AND 6695A” and inserting “6695A, AND 6695B”.

(ii) in subsections (a), (b), and (e), by striking “and 6695A” each place it appears and inserting “6695A, and 6695B”.

(iii) in subsection (c), by striking “or 6695A” and inserting “6695A, or 6695B”, and

(iv) in subsection (d)—

(I) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, in the case of any penalty under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “assessed within 3 years”, and

(II) in paragraph (2), by inserting “(or, in the case of any claim for refund of an overpayment of any penalty assessed under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “filed within 3 years”.

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after item relating to section 6695A the following new item:

“Sec. 6695B. Penalty for substantial misstatements on certification provided by supplier.”.

(1) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES

“Sec. 5000E-1. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 5000E-1. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable facility for which there is a material assistance cost ratio violation, a tax is hereby imposed for the taxable year in which such facility is placed in service in the amount determined under subsection (d) with respect to such facility.

“(b) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a facility owned by the taxpayer—

“(1) which—

“(A) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(B) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), and

“(2) either—

“(A) the construction of which begins after the date of the enactment of this section and before January 1, 2028, and which is placed in service after December 31, 2027, or

“(B) the construction of which begins after December 31, 2027, and before January 1, 2036.

“(c) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO VIOLATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘material assistance cost ratio violation’ means, with respect to an applicable facility, that the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(d) AMOUNT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount determined under this subsection with respect to any applicable facility shall be equal to the applicable percentage of the amount equal to the product of—

“(A) the amount (expressed in percentage points) by which the threshold percentage (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(B)(i)) exceeds the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)), multiplied by

“(B) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the applicable facility upon completion of construction (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)(I)).

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable percentage shall be—

“(A) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (A) of subsection (b)(1), 30 percent, or

“(B) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (B) of such subsection, 50 percent.

“(e) RULE OF APPLICATION.—For purposes of this section, with respect to the application of section 7701(a)(52) or any provision thereof, such section shall be applied by substituting ‘applicable facility’ for ‘qualified facility’ each place it appears.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters for subtitle D is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50A the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES”.

(m) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (b)(1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(3) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(4) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED

BY SUPPLIER.—The amendments made by subsection (k) shall apply to certifications provided after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70513. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 48E(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

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

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply to any qualified property placed in service by the taxpayer after December 31, 2027, which is part of an applicable facility.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).

“(C) EXCEPTION.—This paragraph shall not apply with respect to any energy storage technology which is placed in service at any applicable facility.”.

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 48E is amended—

(A) in subsection (b)—

(i) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7), and

(ii) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following new paragraph:

“(6) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the terms ‘qualified facility’ and ‘qualified interconnection property’ shall not include any facility or property the construction, reconstruction, or erection of which begins after December 31, 2025, if the construction, reconstruction, or erection of such facility or property includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any applicable facility (as defined in subsection (e)(4)(B)) for which construction begins after June 16, 2025, if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”, and

(B) in subsection (c), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ shall not include any property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2025, if the construction of such property includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”.

(2) ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS.—Section 48E(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(3) or energy storage technology described in subsection (c)(2).”.

(3) RECAPTURE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 50(a) is amended—

(i) by redesignating paragraphs (4) through (6) as paragraphs (5) through (7), respectively,

(ii) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) PAYMENTS TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If there is an applicable payment made by a specified taxpayer before the close of the 10-year period beginning on the date such taxpayer placed in service investment credit property which is eligible for the clean electricity investment credit under section 48E(a), then the tax under this chapter for the taxable year in which such applicable payment occurs shall be increased by 100 percent of the aggregate decrease in the credits allowed under section 38 for all prior taxable years which would have resulted solely from reducing to zero any credit determined under section 46 which is attributable to the clean electricity investment credit under section 48E(a) with respect to such property.

“(B) APPLICABLE PAYMENT.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable payment’ means, with respect to any taxable year, a payment or payments described in section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II).

“(C) SPECIFIED TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified taxpayer’ means any taxpayer who has been allowed a credit under section 48E(a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph.”.

(iii) in paragraph (5), as redesignated by clause (i), by striking “or any applicable transaction to which paragraph (3)(A) applies,” and inserting “any applicable transaction to which paragraph (3)(A) applies, or any applicable payment to which paragraph (4)(A) applies,” and

(iv) in paragraph (7), as redesignated by clause (i), by striking “or (3)” and inserting “(3), or (4)”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(i) Section 1371(d)(1) is amended by striking “section 50(a)(5)” and inserting “section 50(a)(6)”.

(ii) Section 6418(g)(3) is amended by striking “subsection (a)(5)” each place it appears and inserting “subsection (a)(7)”.

(C) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 48E is amended—

(A) by redesignating subsection (i) as subsection (j), and

(B) by inserting after subsection (h) the following new subsection:

“(i) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section for any qualified investment during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘les-

see’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”.

(2) CONFORMING RULES.—Section 50 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) RULES FOR GEOTHERMAL HEAT PUMPS.—For purposes of this section and section 168, the ownership of energy property described in section 48(a)(3)(A)(vii) shall be determined without regard to whether such property is readily usable by a person other than the lessee or service recipient.”.

(d) DOMESTIC CONTENT RULES.—Subparagraph (B) of section 48E(a)(3) is amended to read as follows:

“(B) DOMESTIC CONTENT.—Rules similar to the rules of section 48(a)(12) shall apply, except that, for purposes of subparagraph (B) of such section and the application of rules similar to the rules of section 45(b)(9)(B), the adjusted percentage (as determined under section 45(b)(9)(C)) shall be determined as follows:

“(i) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins before June 16, 2025, 40 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 20 percent).

“(ii) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins on or after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 45 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 27.5 percent).

“(iii) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins during calendar year 2026, 50 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 35 percent).

“(iv) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins after December 31, 2026, 55 percent.”.

(e) ELIMINATION OF ENERGY CREDIT FOR CERTAIN ENERGY PROPERTY.—Section 48(a)(2) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by striking “2 percent” and inserting “0 percent”, and

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

“(C) NONAPPLICATION OF INCREASES TO ENERGY PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of energy property described in subparagraph (A)(ii), the energy percentage applicable to such property pursuant to such subparagraph shall not be increased or otherwise adjusted by any provision of this section.”.

(f) APPLICATION OF CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—Section 48E, as amended by subsection (c), is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (j) as subsection (k), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (i) the following new subsection:

“(j) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—For purposes of this section, in the case of any qualified fuel cell property (as defined in section 48(c)(1), as applied without regard to subparagraph (E) thereof)—

“(1) subsection (b)(3)(A) shall be applied without regard to clause (iii) thereof,

“(2) for purposes of subsection (a)(1), the applicable percentage shall be 30 percent and such percentage shall not be increased or otherwise adjusted by any other provision of this section, and

“(3) subsection (g) shall not apply.”.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) DOMESTIC CONTENT RULES.—The amendment made by subsection (d) shall apply on or after June 16, 2025.

(3) ELIMINATION OF ENERGY CREDIT FOR CERTAIN ENERGY PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (e) shall apply to property the construction of which begins on or after June 16, 2025.

(4) APPLICATION OF CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (f) shall apply to property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70514. PHASE-OUT AND RESTRICTIONS ON ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) MODIFICATION OF PROVISION RELATING TO SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—Paragraph (4) of section 45X(d) is amended to read as follows:

“(4) SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, a person shall be treated as having sold an eligible component to an unrelated person if—

“(i) such component (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘primary component’) is integrated, incorporated, or assembled into another eligible component (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘secondary component’) produced within the same manufacturing facility as the primary component, and

“(ii) the secondary component is sold to an unrelated person.

“(B) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—Subparagraph (A) shall only apply with respect to a secondary component for which not less than 65 percent of the total direct material costs which are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer to produce such secondary component are attributable to primary components which are mined, produced, or manufactured in the United States.”.

(b) PHASE OUT AND TERMINATION.—Section 45X(b)(3) is amended—

(1) in the heading, by inserting “AND TERMINATION” after “PHASE OUT”,

(2) in subparagraph (A), in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “subparagraph (C)” and inserting “subparagraphs (C) and (D)”, and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following:

“(C) PHASE OUT FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS OTHER THAN METALLURGICAL COAL.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any applicable critical mineral (other than metallurgical coal) produced after December 31, 2030, the amount determined under this subsection with respect to such mineral shall be equal to the product of—

“(I) the amount determined under paragraph (1) with respect to such mineral, as determined without regard to this subparagraph, multiplied by

“(II) the phase out percentage under clause (ii).

“(ii) PHASE OUT PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS OTHER THAN METALLURGICAL COAL.—The phase out percentage under this clause is equal to—

“(I) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2031, 75 percent,

“(II) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2032, 50 percent,

“(III) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2033, 25 percent, and

“(IV) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced after December 31, 2033, 0 percent.

“(D) TERMINATION FOR WIND ENERGY COMPONENTS.—This section shall not apply to any wind energy component produced and sold after December 31, 2027.

“(E) TERMINATION FOR METALLURGICAL COAL.—This section shall not apply to any metallurgical coal produced after December 31, 2029.”.

(C) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45X is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—In the case of taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the term ‘eligible component’ shall not include any property which includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52), as applied by substituting ‘used in a product sold before January 1, 2027’ for ‘used in a product sold before January 1, 2030’ in subparagraph (D)(iii)(V)(bb) thereof),” and

(2) in subsection (d), as amended by subsection (a) of this section, by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to an eligible component described in subsection (c)(1).”.

(d) MODIFICATION OF DEFINITION OF BATTERY MODULE.—Section 45X(c)(5)(B)(iii) is amended—

(1) in subclause (I)(bb), by striking “and” at the end,

(2) in subclause (II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) which is comprised of all other essential equipment needed for battery functionality, such as current collector assemblies and voltage sense harnesses, thermal collection assemblies, or other essential energy collection equipment.”.

(e) INCLUSION OF METALLURGICAL COAL AS AN APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL FOR PURPOSES OF THE ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45X(c)(6) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (R) through (Z) as subparagraphs (S) through (AA), respectively, and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (Q) the following new subparagraph:

“(R) METALLURGICAL COAL.—Metallurgical coal which is suitable for use in the production of steel (within the meaning of the notice published by the Department of Energy entitled ‘Critical Material List; Addition of Metallurgical Coal Used for Steelmaking’ (90 Fed. Reg. 22711 (May 29, 2025))), regardless of whether such production occurs inside or outside of the United States.”.

(2) CREDIT AMOUNT.—Section 45X(b)(1)(M) is amended by inserting “(2.5 percent in the case of metallurgical coal)” after “10 percent”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MODIFICATION OF PROVISION RELATING TO SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to components sold during taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 70515. RESTRICTION ON THE EXTENSION OF ADVANCED ENERGY PROJECT CREDIT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 48C(e)(3)(C) is amended by striking “shall be increased” and inserting “shall not be increased”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

Subchapter B—Enhancement of America-first Energy Policy

SEC. 70521. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) PROHIBITION ON FOREIGN FEEDSTOCKS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(f)(1)(A) is amended—

(A) in clause (i)(II)(bb), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iii) such fuel is exclusively derived from a feedstock which was produced or grown in the United States, Mexico, or Canada.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(b) PROHIBITION ON NEGATIVE EMISSION RATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following:

“(C) ROUNDING OF EMISSIONS RATE.—The Secretary may round the emissions rates under subparagraph (B) to the nearest multiple of 5 kilograms of CO₂e per mmBTU.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) PROHIBITION ON NEGATIVE EMISSION RATES.—For purposes of this section, the emissions rate for a transportation fuel may not be less than zero.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to emissions rates published for transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(c) DETERMINATION OF EMISSIONS RATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(b)(1)(B) is amended by adding at the end the following new clauses:

“(iv) EXCLUSION OF INDIRECT LAND USE CHANGES.—Notwithstanding clauses (i), (ii), and (iii), the emissions rate shall be adjusted as necessary to exclude any emissions attributed to indirect land use change. Any such adjustment shall be based on regulations or methodologies determined by the Secretary.

“(v) ANIMAL MANURES.—With respect to any transportation fuel which is derived from animal manure, the Secretary—

“(I) shall provide a distinct emissions rate with respect to such fuel based on the specific animal manure feedstock, which may include dairy manure, swine manure, poultry manure, or any other sources as are determined appropriate by the Secretary, and

“(II) notwithstanding subparagraph (E), may provide an emissions rate that is less than zero.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 45Z(b)(1)(B)(i) is amended by striking “clauses (i) and (iii)” and inserting “clauses (ii), (iii), (iv), and (v)”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to emissions rates published for transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(d) EXTENSION OF CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—Section 45Z(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2027” and inserting “December 31, 2029”.

(e) PREVENTING DOUBLE CREDIT.—Section 45Z(d)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iv) is not produced from a fuel for which a credit under this section is allowable.”, and

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

“(C) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of subparagraph (A)(iv).”.

(f) SALES TO UNRELATED PERSONS.—Section 45Z(f)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following: “The Secretary may prescribe additional related person rules similar to the rule described in the preceding sentence for entities which are not described in such sentence, including rules for related persons with respect to which the taxpayer has reason to believe will sell fuel to an unrelated person in a manner described in subsection (a)(4).”.

(g) TREATMENT OF SUSTAINABLE AVIATION FUEL.—

(1) COORDINATION OF CREDITS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(a)(3) is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “SPECIAL” and inserting “ADJUSTED”, and

(ii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) COORDINATION OF CREDITS.—In the case of a transportation fuel which is sustainable aviation fuel which is sold before October 1, 2025, the amount of the credit determined under paragraph (1) with respect to any gallon of such fuel shall be reduced by an amount equal to the amount of the sustainable aviation fuel credit allowable under section 6426(k)(1).”.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to fuel sold after December 31, 2024.

(2) ELIMINATION OF SPECIAL RATE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(a)(3), as amended by paragraph (1), is amended by—

(i) striking subparagraph (A), and

(ii) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (A).

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 45Z(c)(1) is amended by striking “, the \$1.00 amount in subsection (a)(2)(B), the 35 cent amount in subsection (a)(3)(A)(i), and the \$1.75 amount in subsection (a)(3)(A)(ii)” and inserting “and the \$1.00 amount in subsection (a)(2)(B)”.

(C) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(h) SUSTAINABLE AVIATION FUEL CREDIT.—Section 6426(k) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) TERMINATION.—This subsection shall not apply to any sale or use for any period after September 30, 2025.”.

(i) REGISTRATION OF PRODUCERS OF FUEL ELIGIBLE FOR CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 13704(b)(5) of Public Law 117-169 is amended by striking “after ‘section 6426(k)(3),’” and inserting “after ‘section 40B),’”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2024.

(j) EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF SMALL AGRI-BIODIESEL PRODUCER CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 40A is amended—

(A) in subsection (b)(4)—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “10 cents” and inserting “20 cents”,

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “in a manner which complies with the requirements under section 45Z(f)(1)(A)(iii)” after “produced by an eligible small agri-biodiesel producer”, and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) COORDINATION WITH CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—The credit determined under this paragraph with respect to any gallon of fuel shall be in addition to any credit determined under section 45Z with respect to such gallon of fuel.”, and

(B) in subsection (g), by inserting “(or, in the case of the small agri-biodiesel producer credit, any sale or use after December 31, 2026)” after “December 31, 2024”.

(2) TRANSFER OF CREDIT.—Section 6418(f)(1)(A) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xi) So much of the biodiesel fuels credit determined under section 40A which consists of the small agri-biodiesel producer credit determined under subsection (b)(4) of such section.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to fuel sold or used after June 30, 2025.

(k) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).

“(B) OTHER PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D)), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70522. RESTRICTIONS ON CARBON OXIDE SEQUESTRATION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Q(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(10) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is—

“(A) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(B) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D)), determined without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof.”.

(b) PARITY FOR DIFFERENT USES AND UTILIZATIONS OF QUALIFIED CARBON OXIDE.—Section 45Q is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (2)(B)(ii), by adding “and” at the end,

(B) in paragraph (3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) disposed of by the taxpayer in secure geological storage and not used by the taxpayer as described in clause (ii) or (iii),

“(ii) used by the taxpayer as a tertiary injectant in a qualified enhanced oil or natural gas recovery project and disposed of by the taxpayer in secure geological storage, or

“(iii) utilized by the taxpayer in a manner described in subsection (f)(5).”, and

(C) by striking paragraph (4),

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B) or (C), the applicable dollar amount shall be an amount equal to—

“(i) for any taxable year beginning in a calendar year after 2024 and before 2027, \$17, and

“(ii) for any taxable year beginning in a calendar year after 2026, an amount equal to the product of \$17 and the inflation adjustment factor for such calendar year determined under section 43(b)(3)(B) for such calendar year, determined by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘1990’.”, and

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking “shall be applied” and all that follows through the period and inserting “shall be applied by substituting ‘\$36’ for ‘\$17’ each place it appears.”.

(B) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “paragraphs (3)(A) and (4)(A)” and inserting “paragraph (3)(A)”, and

(C) in paragraph (3), by striking “the dollar amounts applicable under paragraph (3) or (4)” and inserting “the dollar amount applicable under paragraph (3)”.

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5)(B)(i), by striking “(4)(B)(ii)” and inserting “(3)(B)(iii)”, and

(B) in paragraph (9), by striking “paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (a)” and inserting “subsection (a)(3)”, and

(4) in subsection (h)(3)(A)(ii), by striking “paragraph (3)(A) or (4)(A) of subsection (a)” and inserting “subsection (a)(3)(A)”.—Section 6417(d)(3)(C)(i)(II)(bb) is amended by striking “paragraph (3)(A) or (4)(A) of section 45Q(a)” and inserting “section 45Q(a)(3)(A)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) PARITY FOR DIFFERENT USES AND UTILIZATIONS OF QUALIFIED CARBON OXIDE.—The amendments made subsections (b) and (c) shall apply to facilities or equipment placed in service after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70523. INTANGIBLE DRILLING AND DEVELOPMENT COSTS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT FOR PURPOSES OF COMPUTING ADJUSTED FINANCIAL STATEMENT INCOME.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 56A(c)(13) is amended—

(1) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) reduced by—

“(i) depreciation deductions allowed under section 167 with respect to property to which section 168 applies to the extent of the amount allowed as deductions in computing taxable income for the year, and

“(ii) any deduction allowed for expenses under section 263(c) (including any deduction for such expenses under section 59(e) or 291(b)(2)) with respect to property described therein to the extent of the amount allowed

as deductions in computing taxable income for the year, and”, and

(2) by striking subparagraph (B)(i) and inserting the following:

“(i) to disregard any amount of—

“(I) depreciation expense that is taken into account on the taxpayer’s applicable financial statement with respect to such property, and

“(II) depletion expense that is taken into account on the taxpayer’s applicable financial statement with respect to the intangible drilling and development costs of such property, and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70524. INCOME FROM HYDROGEN STORAGE, CARBON CAPTURE, ADVANCED NUCLEAR, HYDROPOWER, AND GEOTHERMAL ENERGY ADDED TO QUALIFYING INCOME OF CERTAIN PUBLICLY TRADED PARTNERSHIPS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 7704(d)(1)(E) is amended—

(1) by striking “income and gains derived from the exploration” and inserting the following: “income and gains derived from—

“(i) the exploration”.

(2) by inserting “or” before “industrial source”, and

(3) by striking “or the transportation or storage” and all that follows and inserting the following:

“(ii) the transportation or storage of—

“(I) any fuel described in subsection (b), (c), (d), (e), or (k) of section 6426, or any alcohol fuel defined in section 6426(b)(4)(A) or any biodiesel fuel as defined in section 40A(d)(1) or sustainable aviation fuel as defined in section 40B(d)(1), or

“(II) liquefied hydrogen or compressed hydrogen,

“(iii) in the case of a qualified facility (as defined in section 45Q(d), without regard to any date by which construction of the facility or equipment is required to begin) not less than 50 percent of the total carbon oxide production of which is qualified carbon oxide (as defined in section 45Q(c))—

“(I) the generation, availability for such generation, or storage of electric power at such facility, or

“(II) the capture of carbon dioxide by such facility,

“(iv) the production of electricity from any advanced nuclear facility (as defined in section 45J(d)(2)),

“(v) the production of electricity or thermal energy exclusively using a qualified energy resource described in subparagraph (D) or (H) of section 45(c)(1), or

“(vi) the operation of energy property described in clause (iii) or (vii) of section 48(a)(3)(A) (determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70525. ALLOW FOR PAYMENTS TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS WHO DYE FUEL.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 65, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6435. DYED FUEL.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—If a person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that such person meets the requirements of subsection (b) with respect to diesel fuel or kerosene, then the Secretary shall pay to such person an amount (without interest) equal to the tax described in subsection (b)(2)(A) with respect to such diesel fuel or kerosene.

“(b) REQUIREMENTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—A person meets the requirements of this subsection with respect to

diesel fuel or kerosene if such person removes from a terminal eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene.

“(2) ELIGIBLE INDELIBLY DYED DIESEL FUEL OR KEROSENE DEFINED.—The term ‘eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene’ means diesel fuel or kerosene—

“(A) with respect to which a tax under section 4081 was previously paid (and not credited or refunded), and

“(B) which is exempt from taxation under section 4082(a).

“(c) CROSS REFERENCE.—For civil penalty for excessive claims under this section, see section 6675.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 6206 is amended—

(A) by striking “or 6427” each place it appears and inserting “6427, or 6435”, and

(B) by striking “6420 and 6421” and inserting “6420, 6421, and 6435”.

(2) Section 6430 is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) which are removed as eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene under section 6435.”

(3) Section 6675 is amended—

(A) in subsection (a), by striking “or 6427 (relating to fuels not used for taxable purposes)” and inserting “6427 (relating to fuels not used for taxable purposes), or 6435 (relating to eligible indelibly dyed fuel)”, and

(B) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “6421, or 6427,” and inserting “6421, 6427, or 6435.”

(4) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6435. Dyed fuel.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene removed on or after the date that is 180 days after the date of the enactment of this section.

Subchapter C—Other Reforms

SEC. 70531. MODIFICATIONS TO DE MINIMIS ENTRY PRIVILEGE FOR COMMERCIAL SHIPMENTS.

(a) CIVIL PENALTY.—

(1) ADDITIONAL PENALTY IMPOSED.—Section 321 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1321) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(c) Any person who enters, introduces, facilitates, or attempts to introduce an article into the United States using the privilege of this section, the importation of which violates any other provision of United States customs law, shall be assessed, in addition to any other penalty permitted by law, a civil penalty of up to \$5,000 for the first violation and up to \$10,000 for each subsequent violation.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall take effect 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) REPEAL OF COMMERCIAL SHIPMENT EXEMPTION.—

(1) REPEAL.—Section 321(a)(2) of such Act (19 U.S.C. 1321(a)(2)) is amended by striking “of this Act, or” and all that follows through “subdivision (2); and” and inserting “of this Act; and”.

(2) CONFORMING REPEAL.—Subsection (c) of such section 321, as added by subsection (a) of this section, is repealed.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on July 1, 2027.

CHAPTER 6—ENHANCING DEDUCTION AND INCOME TAX CREDIT GUARDRAILS, AND OTHER REFORMS

SEC. 70601. MODIFICATION AND EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON EXCESS BUSINESS LOSSES OF NONCORPORATE TAXPAYERS.

(a) RULE MADE PERMANENT.—Section 461(l)(1) is amended by striking “and before January 1, 2029,” each place it appears.

(b) ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR CALCULATION OF EXCESS BUSINESS LOSS.—Section 461(l)(3)(C) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “December 31, 2018” and inserting “December 31, 2025”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “2017” and inserting “2024”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RULE MADE PERMANENT.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

(2) ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR CALCULATION OF EXCESS BUSINESS LOSS.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70602. TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FROM PARTNERSHIPS TO PARTNERS FOR PROPERTY OR SERVICES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 707(a)(2) is amended by striking “Under regulations prescribed” and inserting “Except as provided”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to services performed, and property transferred, after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section, or the amendments made by this section, shall be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper treatment under section 707(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to payments from a partnership to a partner for services performed, or property transferred, on or before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70603. EXCESSIVE EMPLOYEE REMUNERATION FROM CONTROLLED GROUP MEMBERS AND ALLOCATION OF DEDUCTION.

(a) APPLICATION OF AGGREGATION RULES.—Section 162(m) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) REMUNERATION FROM CONTROLLED GROUP MEMBERS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any publicly held corporation which is a member of a controlled group—

“(i) paragraph (1) shall be applied by substituting ‘specified covered employee’ for ‘covered employee’, and

“(ii) if any person which is a member of such controlled group (other than such publicly held corporation) provides applicable employee remuneration to an individual who is a specified covered employee of such controlled group and the aggregate amount described in subparagraph (B)(ii) with respect to such specified covered employee exceeds \$1,000,000—

“(I) paragraph (1) shall apply to such person with respect to such remuneration, and

“(II) paragraph (1) shall apply to such publicly held corporation and to each such related person by substituting ‘the allocable limitation amount’ for ‘\$1,000,000’.

“(B) ALLOCABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘allocable limitation amount’ means, with respect to any member of the controlled group referred to in subparagraph (A) with respect to any specified covered employee of such controlled group, the amount which bears the same ratio to \$1,000,000 as—

“(i) the amount of applicable employee remuneration provided by such member with

respect to such specified covered employee, bears to

“(ii) the aggregate amount of applicable employee remuneration provided by all such members with respect to such specified covered employee.

“(C) SPECIFIED COVERED EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified covered employee’ means, with respect to any controlled group—

“(i) any employee described in subparagraph (A), (B), or (D) of paragraph (3), with respect to the publicly held corporation which is a member of such controlled group, and

“(ii) any employee who would be described in subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3) if such subparagraph were applied by taking into account the employees of all members of the controlled group.

“(D) CONTROLLED GROUP.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘controlled group’ means any group treated as a single employer under subsection (b), (c), (m), or (o) of section 414.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70604. THIRD PARTY LITIGATION FUNDING REFORM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50C—LITIGATION FINANCING

“Sec. 5000F-1. Tax imposed.

“Sec. 5000F-2. Definitions.

“Sec. 5000F-3. Special rules.

“SEC. 5000F-1. TAX IMPOSED.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A tax is hereby imposed for each taxable year in an amount equal to 31.8 percent of any qualified litigation proceeds received by a covered party.

“(b) APPLICATION OF TAX FOR PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES.—In the case of a covered party that is a partnership, S corporation, or other pass-through entity, the tax imposed under subsection (a) shall be applied at the entity level.

“SEC. 5000F-2. DEFINITIONS.

“In this chapter—

“(1) CIVIL ACTION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘civil action’ means any civil action, administrative proceeding, claim, or cause of action.

“(B) MULTIPLE ACTIONS.—The term ‘civil action’ may, unless otherwise indicated, include more than 1 civil action.

“(2) COVERED PARTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘covered party’ means, with respect to any civil action, any third party (including an individual, corporation, partnership, or sovereign wealth fund) to such action which—

“(i) receives funds pursuant to a litigation financing agreement, and

“(ii) is not an attorney representing a party to such civil action.

“(B) INCLUSION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Subparagraph (A) shall apply to any third party without regard to whether such party is created or organized in the United States or under the law of the United States or of any State.

“(3) LITIGATION FINANCING AGREEMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ means, with respect to any civil action, a written agreement—

“(i) whereby a third party agrees to provide funds to one of the named parties or any law firm affiliated with such civil action, and

“(ii) which creates a direct or collateralized interest in the proceeds of such action (by settlement, verdict, judgment or otherwise) which—

“(I) is based, in whole or in part, on a funding-based obligation to—

“(aa) such civil action,
 “(bb) the appearing counsel,
 “(cc) any contractual co-counsel, or
 “(dd) the law firm of such counsel or co-counsel, and

“(II) is executed with—
 “(aa) any attorney representing a party to such civil action,

“(bb) any co-counsel in such civil action with a contingent fee interest in the representation of such party,

“(cc) any third party that has a collateral-based interest in the contingency fees of the counsel or co-counsel firm which is related, in whole or part, to the fees derived from representing such party, or

“(dd) any named party in such civil action.

“(B) SUBSTANTIALLY SIMILAR AGREEMENTS.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ shall include any contract (including any option, forward contract, futures contract, short position, swap, or similar contract) or other agreement which, as determined by the Secretary, is substantially similar to an agreement described in subparagraph (A).

“(C) EXCEPTIONS.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ shall not include any agreement—

“(i) under which the total amount of funds described in subparagraph (A)(i) with respect to an individual civil action is less than \$10,000, or

“(ii) in which the third party described in subparagraph (A)—

“(I) has a right to receive proceeds which are derived from, or pursuant to, such agreement that are limited to—

“(aa) repayment of the principal of a loan,

“(bb) repayment of the principal of a loan plus any interest on such loan, provided that the rate of interest does not exceed the greater of—

“(AA) 7 percent, or

“(BB) a rate equal to twice the average annual yield on 30-year United States Treasury securities (as determined for the year preceding the date on which such agreement was executed), or

“(cc) reimbursement of attorney’s fees, or

“(II) bears a relationship described in section 267(b) to the named party receiving the payment described in subparagraph (A)(i).

“(4) QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified litigation proceeds’ means, with respect to any taxable year, an amount equal to the realized gains, net income, or other profit received by a covered party during such taxable year which is derived from, or pursuant to, any litigation financing agreement.

“(B) ANTI-NETTING.—Any gains, income, or profit described in subparagraph (A) shall not be reduced or offset by any ordinary or capital loss in the taxable year.

“(C) PROHIBITION ON EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS.—In determining the amount of realized gain under subparagraph (A), amounts described in section 104(a)(2) and 892(a)(1) shall not be excluded.

“SEC. 5000F-3. SPECIAL RULES.

“(a) WITHHOLDING OF TAX ON LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—Any applicable person having the control, receipt, or custody of any proceeds from a civil action (by settlement, judgment, or otherwise) with respect to which such person had entered into a litigation financing agreement shall deduct and withhold from such proceeds a tax equal to 15.9 percent of the qualified litigation proceeds which are required to be paid to a third party pursuant to such agreement.

“(b) APPLICABLE PERSON.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable person’ means any person which—

“(1) is a named party in a civil action or a law firm affiliated with such civil action, and

“(2) has entered into a litigation financing agreement with respect to such civil action.

“(c) APPLICATION OF WITHHOLDING PROVISIONS.—

“(1) LIABILITY FOR WITHHELD TAX.—Every person required to deduct and withhold any tax under this chapter is hereby made liable for such tax and is hereby indemnified against the claims and demands of any person for the amount of any payments made in accordance with the provisions of this chapter.

“(2) WITHHELD TAX AS CREDIT TO RECIPIENT OF QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—Qualified litigation proceeds on which any tax is required to be withheld at the source under this chapter shall be included in the return of the recipient of such proceeds, but any amount of tax so withheld shall be credited against the amount of tax as computed in such return.

“(3) TAX PAID BY RECIPIENT OF QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—If—

“(A) any person, in violation of the provisions of this chapter, fails to deduct and withhold any tax under this chapter, and

“(B) thereafter the tax against which such tax may be credited is paid,

the tax so required to be deducted and withheld shall not be collected from such person, but this paragraph shall in no case relieve such person from liability for interest or any penalties or additions to the tax otherwise applicable in respect of such failure to deduct and withhold.

“(4) REFUNDS AND CREDITS WITH RESPECT TO WITHHELD TAX.—Where there has been an overpayment of tax under this chapter, any refund or credit made under chapter 65 shall be made to the withholding agent unless the amount of such tax was actually withheld by the withholding agent.”

(b) EXCLUSION FROM DEFINITION OF CAPITAL ASSET.—Section 1221(a) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking “or” at the end,

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(9) any financial arrangement created by, or any proceeds derived from, a litigation financing agreement (as defined under section 5000F-2).”

(c) REMOVAL FROM GROSS INCOME.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after section 139L the following new section:

“SEC. 139M. QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.

“Gross income shall not include any qualified litigation proceeds (as defined in section 5000F-2).”

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 7701(a)(16) is amended by inserting “5000F-3(c)(1),” before “1411”.

(2) The table of chapters for subtitle D, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50B the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50C—LITIGATION FINANCING”.

(3) The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 139L the following new item:

“Sec. 139M. Qualified litigation proceeds.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70605. EXCISE TAX ON CERTAIN REMITTANCE TRANSFERS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 36 is amended by inserting after subchapter B the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter C—Remittance Transfers

“Sec. 4475. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 4475. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There is hereby imposed on any remittance transfer a tax equal to 1 percent of the amount of such transfer.

“(b) PAYMENT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The tax imposed by this section with respect to any remittance transfer shall be paid by the sender with respect to such transfer.

“(2) COLLECTION OF TAX.—The remittance transfer provider with respect to any remittance transfer shall collect the amount of the tax imposed under subsection (a) with respect to such transfer from the sender and remit such tax quarterly to the Secretary at such time and in such manner as provided by the Secretary.

“(3) SECONDARY LIABILITY.—Where any tax imposed by subsection (a) is not paid at the time the transfer is made, then to the extent that such tax is not collected, such tax shall be paid by the remittance transfer provider.

“(c) TAX LIMITED TO CASH AND SIMILAR INSTRUMENTS.—The tax imposed under subsection (a) shall apply only to any remittance transfer for which the sender provides cash, a money order, a cashier’s check, or any other similar physical instrument (as determined by the Secretary) to the remittance transfer provider.

“(d) NONAPPLICATION TO CERTAIN NONCASH REMITTANCE TRANSFERS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to any remittance transfer for which the funds being transferred are—

“(1) withdrawn from an account held in or by a financial institution—

“(A) which is described in subparagraphs (A) through (H) of section 5312(a)(2) of title 31, United States Code, and

“(B) that is subject to the requirements under subchapter II of chapter 53 of such title, or

“(2) funded with a debit card or a credit card which is issued in the United States.

“(e) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The terms ‘remittance transfer’, ‘remittance transfer provider’, and ‘sender’ shall each have the respective meanings given such terms by section 919(g) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-1(g)).

“(2) CREDIT CARD.—The term ‘credit card’ has the same meaning given such term under section 920(c)(3) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-2(c)(3)).

“(3) DEBIT CARD.—The term ‘debit card’ has the same meaning given such term under section 920(c)(2) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-2(c)(2)), without regard to subparagraph (B) of such section.

“(f) APPLICATION OF ANTI-CONDUIT RULES.—For purposes of section 7701(l), with respect to any multiple-party arrangements involving the sender, a remittance transfer shall be treated as a financing transaction.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 36 is amended by inserting after the item relating to subchapter B the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER C—REMITTANCE TRANSFERS”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to transfers made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70606. ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO COVID-RELATED EMPLOYEE RETENTION CREDITS.

(a) ASSESSABLE PENALTY FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Any COVID-ERTC promoter which provides aid, assistance, or advice with respect to any COVID-ERTC document and which fails to comply with due diligence requirements imposed by the Secretary with respect to determining eligibility for, or the amount of, any credit or advance payment of a credit under section 3134

of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall pay a penalty of \$1,000 for each such failure.

(2) DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS.—The due diligence requirements referred to in paragraph (1) shall be similar to the due diligence requirements imposed under section 6695(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(3) RESTRICTION TO DOCUMENTS USED IN CONNECTION WITH RETURNS OR CLAIMS FOR REFUND.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to any COVID-ERTC document unless such document constitutes, or relates to, a return or claim for refund.

(4) TREATMENT AS ASSESSABLE PENALTY, ETC.—For purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the penalty imposed under paragraph (1) shall be treated as a penalty which is imposed under section 6695(g) of such Code and assessed under section 6201 of such Code.

(5) SECRETARY.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary’s delegate.

(b) COVID-ERTC PROMOTER.—For purposes of this section—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The term “COVID-ERTC promoter” means, with respect to any COVID-ERTC document, any person which provides aid, assistance, or advice with respect to such document if—

(A) such person charges or receives a fee for such aid, assistance, or advice which is based on the amount of the refund or credit with respect to such document and, with respect to such person’s taxable year in which such person provided such assistance or the preceding taxable year, the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents exceeds 20 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, or

(B) with respect to such person’s taxable year in which such person provided such assistance or the preceding taxable year—

(i) the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents exceeds 50 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, or

(ii) both—

(I) such aggregate gross receipts exceed 20 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, and

(II) the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents (determined after application of paragraph (3)) exceeds \$500,000.

(2) EXCEPTION FOR CERTIFIED PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS.—The term “COVID-ERTC promoter” shall not include a certified professional employer organization (as defined in section 7705 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).

(3) AGGREGATION RULE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), all persons treated as a single employer under subsection (a) or (b) of section 52 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or subsection (m) or (o) of section 414 of such Code, shall be treated as 1 person.

(4) SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.—In the case of any taxable year of less than 12 months, a person shall be treated as a COVID-ERTC promoter if such person is described in paragraph (1) either with respect to such taxable year or by treating any reference to such taxable year as a reference to the calendar year in which such taxable year begins.

(c) COVID-ERTC DOCUMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term “COVID-ERTC document” means any return, affidavit, claim, or other document related to any credit or advance payment of a credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, including any document related to eligibility for, or the calculation or determination of

any amount directly related to, any such credit or advance payment.

(d) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Notwithstanding section 6511 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, no credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be allowed, and no refund with respect to any such credit shall be made, after the date of the enactment of this Act, unless a claim for such credit or refund was filed by the taxpayer on or before January 31, 2024.

(e) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—Section 3134(l) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 6501, the limitation on the time period for the assessment of any amount attributable to a credit claimed under this section shall not expire before the date that is 6 years after the latest of—

“(A) the date on which the original return which includes the calendar quarter with respect to which such credit is determined is filed,

“(B) the date on which such return is treated as filed under section 6501(b)(2), or

“(C) the date on which the claim for credit or refund with respect to such credit is made.

“(2) DEDUCTION FOR WAGES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DETERMINING IMPROPERLY CLAIMED CREDIT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 6511, in the case of an assessment attributable to a credit claimed under this section, the limitation on the time period for credit or refund of any amount attributable to a deduction for improperly claimed ERTC wages shall not expire before the time period for such assessment expires under paragraph (1).

“(B) IMPROPERLY CLAIMED ERTC WAGES.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘improperly claimed ERTC wages’ means, with respect to an assessment attributable to a credit claimed under this section, the wages with respect to which a deduction would not have been allowed if the portion of the credit to which such assessment relates had been properly claimed.”

(f) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—Section 6676(a) is amended by striking “income tax” and inserting “income or employment tax”.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The provisions of this section shall apply to aid, assistance, and advice provided after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Subsection (d) shall apply to credits and refunds allowed or made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(3) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—The amendment made by subsection (e) shall apply to assessments made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(4) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—The amendment made by subsection (f) shall apply to claims for credit or refund after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary (as defined in subsection (a)(5)) shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section (and the amendments made by this section).

SEC. 70607. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT FOR AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY AND LIFETIME LEARNING CREDITS.

(a) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER OF TAXPAYER REQUIRED.—Section 25A(g)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT.—No credit shall be allowed under sub-

section (a) to an individual unless the individual includes on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(i) such individual’s social security number, and

“(ii) in the case of a credit with respect to the qualified tuition and related expenses of an individual other than the taxpayer or the taxpayer’s spouse, the name and social security number of such individual.

“(B) INSTITUTION.—No American Opportunity Tax Credit shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes the employer identification number of any institution to which the taxpayer paid qualified tuition and related expenses taken into account under this section on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(C) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).”

(b) OMISSION TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2)(J) is amended by striking “TIN” and inserting “social security number or employer identification number”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70608. TASK FORCE ON THE REPLACEMENT OF DIRECT FILE.

Out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, there is hereby appropriated for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2026, \$15,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2026, for necessary expenses of the Department of the Treasury to deliver to Congress, within 90 days following the date of the enactment of this Act, a report on—

(1) the cost of enhancing and establishing public-private partnerships which provide for free tax filing for up to 70 percent of all taxpayers calculated by adjusted gross income, and to replace any direct e-file programs run by the Internal Revenue Service;

(2) taxpayer opinions and preferences regarding a taxpayer-funded, government-run service or a free service provided by the private sector;

(3) assessment of the feasibility of a new approach, how to make the options consistent and simple for taxpayers across all participating providers, and how to provide features to address taxpayer needs; and

(4) the cost (including options for differential coverage based on taxpayer adjusted gross income and return complexity) of developing and running a free direct e-file tax return system, including costs to build and administer each release.

Subtitle B—Health

CHAPTER 1—MEDICAID

Subchapter A—Reducing Fraud and Improving Enrollment Processes

SEC. 71101. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY AND ENROLLMENT IN MEDICARE SAVINGS PROGRAMS.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on September 21, 2023, and titled “Streamlining Medicaid; Medicare Savings Program Eligibility Determination and Enrollment” (88 Fed. Reg. 65230) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) Section 406.21(c).
- (2) Section 435.4.
- (3) Section 435.601.
- (4) Section 435.909.

- (5) Section 435.911.
- (6) Section 435.952.

SEC. 71102. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY AND ENROLLMENT FOR MEDICAID, CHIP, AND THE BASIC HEALTH PROGRAM.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on April 2, 2024, and titled “Medicaid Program; Streamlining the Medicaid, Children’s Health Insurance Program, and Basic Health Program Application, Eligibility Determination, Enrollment, and Renewal Processes” (89 Fed. Reg. 22780) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) PART 431.—
 - (A) Section 431.10(c)(1)(i)(A)(2).
 - (B) Section 431.10(c)(1)(i)(A)(3).
 - (C) Section 431.213(d).
- (2) PART 435.—
 - (A) Section 435.222.
 - (B) Section 435.223.
 - (C) Section 435.407.
 - (D) Section 435.601.
 - (E) Section 435.608.
 - (F) Section 435.831(g).
 - (G) Section 435.907.
 - (H) Section 435.911(c).
 - (I) Section 435.912.
 - (J) Section 435.916.
 - (K) Section 435.919.
 - (L) Section 435.940.
 - (M) Section 435.952.
 - (N) Section 435.1200.
- (3) PART 436.—
 - (A) Section 436.608.
 - (B) Section 436.831(g).
- (4) PART 447.—Section 447.56(a)(1)(v).
- (5) PART 457.—
 - (A) Section 457.65(d).
 - (B) Section 457.340(d).
 - (C) Section 457.340(f).
 - (D) Section 457.344.
 - (E) Section 457.348.
 - (F) Section 457.350.
 - (G) Section 457.480.
 - (H) Section 457.570.
 - (I) Section 457.805(b).
 - (J) Section 457.810(a).
 - (K) Section 457.960.
 - (L) Section 457.1140(d)(4).
 - (M) Section 457.1170.
 - (N) Section 457.1180.

SEC. 71103. REDUCING DUPLICATE ENROLLMENT UNDER THE MEDICAID AND CHIP PROGRAMS.

(a) MEDICAID.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

- (i) in paragraph (86), by striking “and” at the end;
- (ii) in paragraph (87), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and
- (iii) by inserting after paragraph (87) the following new paragraph:
 - “(88) provide—
 - “(A) beginning not later than January 1, 2027, in the case of 1 of the 50 States and the District of Columbia, for a process to regularly obtain address information for individuals enrolled under such plan (or a waiver of such plan) in accordance with subsection (vv); and
 - “(B) beginning not later than October 1, 2029—
 - “(i) for the State to submit to the system established by the Secretary under subsection (uu), with respect to an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under such

plan, not less frequently than once each month and during each determination or re-determination of the eligibility of such individual for medical assistance under such plan (or waiver of such plan)—

“(I) the social security number of such individual, if such individual has a social security number and is required to provide such number to enroll under such plan (or waiver); and

“(II) such other information with respect to such individual as determined necessary by the Secretary for purposes of preventing individuals from simultaneously being enrolled under State plans (or waivers of such plans) of multiple States;

“(i) for the use of such system to prevent such simultaneous enrollment; and

“(iii) in the case that such system indicates that an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under such plan (or waiver of such plan) is enrolled under a State plan (or waiver of such a plan) of another State, for the taking of appropriate action (as determined by the Secretary) to identify whether such an individual resides in the State and disenroll an individual from the State plan of such State if such individual does not reside in such State (unless such individual meets such an exception as the Secretary may specify).”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(uu) PREVENTION OF ENROLLMENT UNDER MULTIPLE STATE PLANS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than October 1, 2029, the Secretary shall establish a system to be utilized by the Secretary and States to prevent an individual from being simultaneously enrolled under the State plans (or waivers of such plans) of multiple States. Such system shall—

“(A) provide for the receipt of information submitted by a State under subsection (a)(88)(B)(i); and

“(B) not less than once each month, transmit information to a State (or allow the Secretary to transmit information to a State) regarding whether an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under the State plan of such State (or waiver of such plan) is enrolled under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) of another State.

“(2) STANDARDS.—The Secretary shall establish such standards as determined necessary by the Secretary to limit and protect information submitted under such system and ensure the privacy of such information, consistent with subsection (a)(7).

“(3) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—There are appropriated to the Secretary, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in addition to amounts otherwise available—

“(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$10,000,000 for purposes of establishing the system and standards required under this subsection, to remain available until expended; and

“(B) for fiscal year 2029, \$20,000,000 for purposes of maintaining such system, to remain available until expended.

“(vv) PROCESS TO OBTAIN ENROLLEE ADDRESS INFORMATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(88)(A), a process to regularly obtain address information for individuals enrolled under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) shall obtain address information from reliable data sources described in paragraph (2) and take such actions as the Secretary shall specify with respect to any changes to such address based on such information.

“(2) RELIABLE DATA SOURCES DESCRIBED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the reliable data sources described in this paragraph are the following:

“(A) Mail returned to the State by the United States Postal Service with a forwarding address.

“(B) The National Change of Address Database maintained by the United States Postal Service.

“(C) A managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B)) or prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)) that has a contract under the State plan if the address information is provided to such entity or plan directly from, or verified by such entity or plan directly with, such individual.

“(D) Other data sources as identified by the State and approved by the Secretary.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) PARIS.—Section 1903(r)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(r)(3)) is amended—

(i) by striking “In order” and inserting “(A) In order”; and

(ii) by striking “through the Public” and inserting “through—

“(i) the Public”; and

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and

“(ii) beginning October 1, 2029, the system established by the Secretary under section 1902(uu).”; and

(iv) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) Beginning October 1, 2029, the Secretary may determine that a State is not required to have in operation an eligibility determination system which provides for data matching (for purposes of address verification under section 1902(vv)) through the system described in subparagraph (A)(i) to meet the requirements of this paragraph.”.

(B) MANAGED CARE.—Section 1932 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u–2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(j) TRANSMISSION OF ADDRESS INFORMATION.—Beginning January 1, 2027, each contract under a State plan with a managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B)) or with a prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)), shall provide that such entity or plan shall promptly transmit to the State any address information for an individual enrolled with such entity or plan that is provided to such entity or plan directly from, or verified by such entity or plan directly with, such individual.”.

(b) CHIP.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 2107(e)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (H) through (U) as subparagraphs (I) through (V), respectively; and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (G) the following new subparagraph:

“(H) Section 1902(a)(88) (relating to address information for enrollees and prevention of simultaneous enrollments).”.

(2) MANAGED CARE.—Section 2103(f)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397cc(f)(3)) is amended by striking “and (e)” and inserting “(e), and (j)”.

SEC. 71104. ENSURING DECEASED INDIVIDUALS DO NOT REMAIN ENROLLED.

Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a), as amended by section 71103, is further amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (87), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(B) in paragraph (88), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (88) the following new paragraph:

“(89) provide that the State shall comply with the eligibility verification requirements under subsection (ww), except that this paragraph shall apply only in the case of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.”; and

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

“(ww) VERIFICATION OF CERTAIN ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(89), the eligibility verification requirements, beginning January 1, 2028, are as follows:

“(A) QUARTERLY SCREENING TO VERIFY ENROLLEE STATUS.—The State shall, not less frequently than quarterly, review the Death Master File (as such term is defined in section 203(d) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013) or a successor system that provides such information needed to determine whether any individuals enrolled for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) are deceased.

“(B) DISENROLLMENT UNDER STATE PLAN.—If the State determines, based on information obtained from the Death Master File, that an individual enrolled for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) is deceased, the State shall—

“(i) treat such information as factual information confirming the death of a beneficiary;

“(ii) disenroll such individual from the State plan (or waiver of such plan) in accordance with subsection (a)(3); and

“(iii) discontinue any payments for medical assistance under this title made on behalf of such individual (other than payments for any items or services furnished to such individual prior to the death of such individual).

“(C) REINSTATEMENT OF COVERAGE IN THE EVENT OF ERROR.—If a State determines that an individual was misidentified as deceased based on information obtained from the Death Master File and was erroneously disenrolled from medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) based on such misidentification, the State shall immediately re-enroll such individual under the State plan (or waiver of such plan), retroactive to the date of such disenrollment.

“(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing under this subsection shall be construed to preclude the ability of a State to use other electronic data sources to timely identify potentially deceased beneficiaries, so long as the State is also in compliance with the requirements of this subsection (and all other requirements under this title relating to Medicaid eligibility determination and redetermination).”.

SEC. 71105. ENSURING DECEASED PROVIDERS DO NOT REMAIN ENROLLED.

Section 1902(kk)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(kk)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The State” and inserting: “(A) IN GENERAL.—The State”; and

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

“(B) PROVIDER SCREENING AGAINST DEATH MASTER FILE.—Beginning January 1, 2028, as part of the enrollment (or reenrollment or revalidation of enrollment) of a provider or supplier under this title, and not less frequently than quarterly during the period that such provider or supplier is so enrolled, the State conducts a check of the Death Master File (as such term is defined in section 203(d) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013) to determine whether such provider or supplier is deceased.”.

SEC. 71106. PAYMENT REDUCTION RELATED TO CERTAIN ERRONEOUS EXCESS PAYMENTS UNDER MEDICAID.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1903(u)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(u)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “for any audits conducted by the Secretary, or, at the option of the Secretary, audits conducted by the State” after “exceeds 0.03”; and

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “The Secretary” and inserting “(i) Subject to clause (ii), the Secretary”; and

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

“(ii) The amount waived under clause (i) for a fiscal year may not exceed an amount equal to the erroneous excess payments for medical assistance described in subparagraph (D)(i)(II) made for such fiscal year.”.

(3) in subparagraph (C), by striking “he” in each place it appears and inserting “the Secretary” in each such place; and

(4) in subparagraph (D)(i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subclause (II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or payments where insufficient information is available to confirm eligibility, and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) payments (other than payments described in subclause (I)) for items and services furnished to an individual who is not eligible for medical assistance under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) with respect to such items and services, or payments where insufficient information is available to confirm eligibility.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply beginning with respect to fiscal year 2030.

SEC. 71107. ELIGIBILITY REDETERMINATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902(e)(14) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(e)(14)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(L) FREQUENCY OF ELIGIBILITY REDETERMINATIONS FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), with respect to redeterminations of eligibility for medical assistance under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) scheduled on or after the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026, a State shall make such a redetermination once every 6 months for the following individuals:

“(I) Individuals enrolled under subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(II) Individuals described in such subsection who are otherwise enrolled under a waiver of such plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) to all individuals described in subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(ii) EXEMPTION.—The requirements described in clause (i) shall not apply to any individual described in subsection (xx)(9)(A)(ii)(II).

“(iii) STATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.”.

(b) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services, shall issue guidance relating to the implementation of the amendments made by this section.

SEC. 71108. REVISING HOME EQUITY LIMIT FOR DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY FOR LONG-TERM CARE SERVICES UNDER THE MEDICAID PROGRAM.

(a) REVISING HOME EQUITY LIMIT.—Section 1917(f)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396p(f)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “A State” and inserting “(i) A State”; and

(B) in clause (i), as inserted by subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “\$500,000” and inserting “the amount specified in subparagraph (A)”; and

(ii) by inserting “, in the case of an individual’s home that is located on a lot that is zoned for agricultural use,” after “apply subparagraph (A)”; and

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

“(ii) A State may elect, without regard to the requirements of section 1902(a)(1) (relating to statewideness) and section 1902(a)(10)(B) (relating to comparability), to apply subparagraph (A), in the case of an individual’s home that is not described in clause (i), by substituting for the amount specified in such subparagraph, an amount that exceeds such amount, but does not exceed \$1,000,000.”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) by inserting “(other than the amount specified in subparagraph (B)(ii) (relating to certain non-agricultural homes))” after “specified in this paragraph”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new sentence: “In the case that application of the preceding sentence would result in a dollar amount (other than the amount specified in subparagraph (B)(i) (relating to certain agricultural homes)) exceeding \$1,000,000, such amount shall be deemed to be equal to \$1,000,000.”.

(b) CLARIFICATION.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a) is amended—

(1) in subsection (r)(2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) This paragraph shall not be construed as permitting a State to determine the eligibility of an individual for medical assistance with respect to nursing facility services or other long-term care services without application of the limit under section 1917(f)(1).”; and

(2) in subsection (e)(14)(D)(iv)—

(A) by striking “Subparagraphs” and inserting

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraphs”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(II) APPLICATION OF HOME EQUITY INTEREST LIMIT.—Section 1917(f) shall apply for purposes of determining the eligibility of an individual for medical assistance with respect to nursing facility services or other long-term care services.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply beginning on January 1, 2028.

SEC. 71109. ALIEN MEDICAID ELIGIBILITY.

(a) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(v) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(v)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “and (4)” and inserting “, (4), and (5)”; and

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

“(5) Notwithstanding the preceding paragraphs of this subsection, beginning on October 1, 2026, except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (4), in no event shall payment be made to a State under this section for medical assistance furnished to an individual unless such individual is—

“(A) a resident of 1 of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, or a territory of the United States; and

“(B) either—

“(i) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(ii) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding, among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country;

“(iii) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(iv) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.”

(b) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, as amended by section 71103(b), is further amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (R) through (V) as paragraphs (S) through (W), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (Q) the following:

“(R) Section 1903(v)(5) (relating to payments for medical assistance furnished to aliens), except in relation to payments for services provided under section 2105(a)(1)(D)(ii).”

SEC. 71110. EXPANSION FMAP FOR CERTAIN STATES PROVIDING PAYMENTS FOR HEALTH CARE FURNISHED TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (y)—

(A) in paragraph (1)(E), by inserting “(or, for calendar quarters beginning on or after October 1, 2027, in the case such State is a specified State with respect to such calendar quarter, 80 percent)” after “thereafter”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIFIED STATE.—The term ‘specified State’ means, with respect to a quarter, a State that—

“(i) provides any form of financial assistance from a State general fund during such quarter, in whole or in part, whether or not made under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) under this title or under another program established by the State, to or on behalf of an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not a child or pregnant woman who is lawfully residing in the United States and eligible for medical assistance pursuant to section 1903(v)(4) or for child health assistance or pregnancy-related assistance pursuant to section 2107(e)(1)(Q), for the purchasing of health insurance coverage (as defined in section 2791(b)(1) of the Public Health Service Act) for an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not such a child or pregnant woman; or

“(ii) provides any form of comprehensive health benefits coverage, except such coverage required by Federal law, during such quarter, whether or not under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) under this title or under another program established by the State, and regardless of the source of funding for such coverage, to an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not such a child or pregnant woman.

“(D) IMMIGRATION TERMS.—

“(i) ALIEN.—The term ‘alien’ has the meaning given such term in section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

“(ii) QUALIFIED ALIEN.—The term ‘qualified alien’ has the meaning given such term in section 431 of the Personal Responsibility

and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, except that the references to ‘(in the opinion of the agency providing such benefits)’ in subsection (c) of such section 431 shall be treated as references to ‘(in the opinion of the State in which such comprehensive health benefits coverage or such financial assistance is provided, as applicable)’; and

(2) in subsection (z)(2)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “for such year” and inserting “for such quarter”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)(i)—

(i) in the matter preceding subclause (I), by striking “for a year” and inserting “for a calendar quarter in a year”; and

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “for the year” and inserting “for the quarter for the State”.

SEC. 71111. EXPANSION FMAP FOR EMERGENCY MEDICAID.

Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(kk) FMAP FOR TREATMENT OF AN EMERGENCY MEDICAL CONDITION.—Notwithstanding subsection (y) and (z), beginning on October 1, 2026, the Federal medical assistance percentage for payments for care and services described in paragraph (2) of subsection 1903(v) furnished to an alien described in paragraph (1) of such subsection shall not exceed the Federal medical assistance percentage determined under subsection (b) for such State.”

Subchapter B—Preventing Wasteful Spending

SEC. 71112. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO STAFFING STANDARDS FOR LONG-TERM CARE FACILITIES UNDER THE MEDICARE AND MEDICAID PROGRAMS.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on May 10, 2024, and titled “Medicare and Medicaid Programs; Minimum Staffing Standards for Long-Term Care Facilities and Medicaid Institutional Payment Transparency Reporting” (89 Fed. Reg. 40876) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of part 483 of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) Section 483.5.
- (2) Section 483.35.

SEC. 71113. REDUCING STATE MEDICAID COSTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902(a)(34) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(34)) is amended to read as follows:

“(34) provide that in the case of any individual who has been determined to be eligible for medical assistance under the plan and—

“(A) is enrolled under paragraph (10)(A)(i)(VIII), such assistance will be made available to the individual for care and services included under the plan and furnished in or after the month before the month in which the individual made application (or application was made on the individual’s behalf in the case of a deceased individual) for such assistance if such individual was (or upon application would have been) eligible for such assistance at the time such care and services were furnished; or

“(B) is not described in subparagraph (A), such assistance will be made available to the individual for care and services included under the plan and furnished in or after the second month before the month in which the individual made application (or application was made on the individual’s behalf in the

case of a deceased individual) for such assistance if such individual was (or upon application would have been) eligible for such assistance at the time such care and services were furnished;”.

(b) DEFINITION OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE.—Section 1905(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(a)) is amended by striking “in or after the third month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance” and inserting “, with respect to an individual described in section 1902(a)(34)(A), in or after the month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance, and with respect to an individual described in section 1902(a)(34)(B), in or after the second month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance”.

(c) CHIP.—Section 2102(b)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397bb(b)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) in clause (iv), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in clause (v), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

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

“(vi) shall, in the case that the State elects to provide child health or pregnancy-related assistance to an individual for any period prior to the month in which the individual made application for such assistance (or application was made on behalf of the individual), provide that such assistance is not made available to such individual for items and services included under the State child health plan (or waiver of such plan) that are furnished before the second month preceding the month in which such individual made application (or application was made on behalf of such individual) for assistance.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to medical assistance, child health assistance, and pregnancy-related assistance with respect to individuals whose eligibility for such medical assistance, child health assistance, or pregnancy-related assistance is based on an application made on or after the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 71114. PROHIBITING FEDERAL MEDICAID AND CHIP FUNDING FOR CERTAIN ITEMS AND SERVICES.

(a) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(i) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(i)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (26), by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in paragraph (27), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”;

(3) by inserting after paragraph (27) the following new paragraph:

“(28) with respect to any amount expended for specified gender transition procedures (as defined in section 1905(11)) furnished to an individual enrolled in a State plan (or waiver of such plan).”; and

(4) in the flush left matter at the end, by striking “and (18),” and inserting “(18), and (28)”.

(b) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1)(O) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)(O)), as redesignated by section 71103(b)(1)(A), is amended by striking “and (17)” and inserting “(17), and (28)”.

(c) SPECIFIED GENDER TRANSITION PROCEDURES DEFINED.—Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(1) SPECIFIED GENDER TRANSITION PROCEDURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 1903(i)(28), except as provided in paragraph (2), the term ‘specified gender transition procedure’ means, with respect to an individual, any of the following when performed

for the purpose of intentionally changing the body of such individual (including by disrupting the body's development, inhibiting its natural functions, or modifying its appearance) to no longer correspond to the individual's sex:

“(A) Performing any surgery, including—

“(i) castration;

“(ii) sterilization;

“(iii) orchiectomy;

“(iv) scrotoplasty;

“(v) vasectomy;

“(vi) tubal ligation;

“(vii) hysterectomy;

“(viii) oophorectomy;

“(ix) ovariectomy;

“(x) metoidioplasty;

“(xi) clitoroplasty;

“(xii) reconstruction of the fixed part of the urethra with or without a metoidioplasty or a phalloplasty;

“(xiii) penectomy;

“(xiv) phalloplasty;

“(xv) vaginoplasty;

“(xvi) vaginectomy;

“(xvii) vulvoplasty;

“(xviii) reduction thyrochondroplasty;

“(xix) chondrolaryngoplasty;

“(xx) mastectomy; and

“(xxi) any plastic, cosmetic, or aesthetic surgery that feminizes or masculinizes the facial or other body features of an individual.

“(B) Any placement of chest implants to create feminine breasts or any placement of erection or testicular prostheses.

“(C) Any placement of fat or artificial implants in the gluteal region.

“(D) Administering, prescribing, or dispensing to an individual medications, including—

“(i) gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) analogues or other puberty-blocking drugs to stop or delay normal puberty; and

“(ii) testosterone, estrogen, or other androgens to an individual at doses that are supraphysiologic than would normally be produced endogenously in a healthy individual of the same age and sex.

“(2) EXCEPTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the following when furnished to an individual by a health care provider if the individual is a minor with the consent of such individual's parent or legal guardian:

“(A) Puberty suppression or blocking prescription drugs for the purpose of normalizing puberty for an individual experiencing precocious puberty.

“(B) Medically necessary procedures or treatments to correct for—

“(i) a medically verifiable disorder of sex development, including—

“(I) 46,XX chromosomes with virilization;

“(II) 46,XY chromosomes with undervirilization; and

“(III) both ovarian and testicular tissue;

“(ii) sex chromosome structure, sex steroid hormone production, or sex hormone action, if determined to be abnormal by a physician through genetic or biochemical testing;

“(iii) infection, disease, injury, or disorder caused or exacerbated by a previous procedure described in paragraph (1), or a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness that would, as certified by a physician, place the individual in danger of death or impairment of a major bodily function unless the procedure is performed, not including procedures performed for the alleviation of mental distress; or

“(iv) procedures to restore or reconstruct the body of the individual in order to correspond to the individual's sex after one or more previous procedures described in paragraph (1), which may include the removal of a pseudo phallus or breast augmentation.

“(3) SEX.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘sex’ means either male or female,

as biologically determined and defined in paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively.

“(4) FEMALE.—For purposes of paragraph (3), the term ‘female’ means an individual who naturally has, had, will have, or would have, but for a developmental or genetic anomaly or historical accident, the reproductive system that at some point produces, transports, and utilizes eggs for fertilization.

“(5) MALE.—For purposes of paragraph (3), the term ‘male’ means an individual who naturally has, had, will have, or would have, but for a developmental or genetic anomaly or historical accident, the reproductive system that at some point produces, transports, and utilizes sperm for fertilization.”.

SEC. 71115. FEDERAL PAYMENTS TO PROHIBITED ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—No Federal funds that are considered direct spending and provided to carry out a State plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act or a waiver of such a plan shall be used to make payments to a prohibited entity for items and services furnished during the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, including any payments made directly to the prohibited entity or under a contract or other arrangement between a State and a covered organization.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) PROHIBITED ENTITY.—The term “prohibited entity” means an entity, including its affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, and clinics—

(A) that, as of the first day of the first quarter beginning after the date of enactment of this Act—

(i) is an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt from tax under section 501(a) of such Code;

(ii) is an essential community provider described in section 156.235 of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act), that is primarily engaged in family planning services, reproductive health, and related medical care; and

(iii) provides for abortions, other than an abortion—

(I) if the pregnancy is the result of an act of rape or incest; or

(II) in the case where a woman suffers from a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness, including a life-endangering physical condition caused by or arising from the pregnancy itself, that would, as certified by a physician, place the woman in danger of death unless an abortion is performed; and

(B) for which the total amount of Federal and State expenditures under the Medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act for medical assistance furnished in fiscal year 2023 made directly, or by a covered organization, to the entity or to any affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, or clinics of the entity, or made to the entity or to any affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, or clinics of the entity as part of a nationwide health care provider network, exceeded \$800,000.

(2) DIRECT SPENDING.—The term “direct spending” has the meaning given that term under section 250(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 900(c)).

(3) COVERED ORGANIZATION.—The term “covered organization” means a managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u-2(a)(1)(B))) or a prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(m)(9)(D))).

(4) STATE.—The term “State” has the meaning given such term in section 1101 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1301).

Subchapter C—Stopping Abusive Financing Practices

SEC. 71116. SUNSETTING INCREASED FMAP INCENTIVE.

Section 1905(ii)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(ii)(3)) is amended—

(1) by striking “which has not” and inserting the following: “which—

“(A) has not”;

(2) in subparagraph (A), as so inserted, by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) begins to expend amounts for all such individuals prior to January 1, 2026.”.

SEC. 71117. PROVIDER TAXES.

(a) CHANGE IN THRESHOLD FOR HOLD HARMLESS PROVISION OF BROAD-BASED HEALTH CARE RELATED TAXES.—Section 1903(w)(4) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)(ii), by inserting “, and for fiscal years beginning on or after October 1, 2026, the applicable percent determined under subparagraph (D) shall be substituted for ‘6 percent’ each place it appears” after “each place it appears”; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (C)(ii), the following new subparagraph:

“(D)(i) For purposes of subparagraph (C)(ii), the applicable percent determined under this subparagraph is—

“(I) in the case of a non-expansion State and a class of health care items or services described in section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025)—

“(aa) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the non-expansion State has enacted a tax and imposes such tax on such class and the Secretary determines that the tax is within the hold harmless threshold as of that date, the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined; and

“(bb) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the non-expansion State has not enacted or does not impose a tax with respect to such class, 0 percent; and

“(II) in the case of an expansion State and a class of health care items or services described in section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025), subject to clause (iv)—

“(aa) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the expansion State has enacted a tax and imposes such tax on such class and the Secretary determines that the tax is within the hold harmless threshold as of that date, the lower of—

“(AA) the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined; and

“(BB) the applicable percent specified in clause (i) for the fiscal year; and

“(bb) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the expansion State has not enacted or does not impose a tax with respect to such class, 0 percent.

“(ii) For purposes of clause (i)(II)(aa)(BB), the applicable percent is—

“(I) for fiscal year 2028, 5.5 percent;

“(II) for fiscal year 2029, 5 percent;

“(III) for fiscal year 2030, 4.5 percent;

“(IV) for fiscal year 2031, 4 percent; and

“(V) for fiscal year 2032 and each subsequent fiscal year, 3.5 percent.

“(iii) For purposes of clause (i):

“(I) EXPANSION STATE.—The term ‘expansion State’ means a State that, beginning on January 1, 2014, or on any date thereafter, elects to provide medical assistance to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) under the State plan under this title or under a waiver of such plan.

“(II) NON-EXPANSION STATE.—The term ‘non-expansion State’ means a State that is not an expansion State.

“(iv) In the case of a tax of an expansion State in effect on the date of enactment of this clause, that applies to a class of health care items or services that is described in paragraph (3) or (4) of section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025), and for which, on such date of enactment, is within the hold harmless threshold (as determined by the Secretary), the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined shall apply for a fiscal year instead of the applicable percent specified in clause (ii) for the fiscal year.”.

(b) NON-APPLICATION TO TERRITORIES.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply with respect to a State that is 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(c) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71118. STATE DIRECTED PAYMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), the Secretary of Health and Human Services (in this section referred to as the Secretary) shall revise section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) such that, with respect to a payment described in such section made for a service furnished during a rating period beginning on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, the total payment rate for such service is limited to—

(1) in the case of a State that provides coverage to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII)) that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) of such State under title XIX of such Act, 100 percent of the specified total published Medicare payment rate (or, in the absence of a specified total published Medicare payment rate, the payment rate under a Medicaid State plan (or under a waiver of such plan)); or

(2) in the case of a State other than a State described in paragraph (1), 110 percent of the specified total published Medicare payment rate (or, in the absence of a specified total published Medicare payment rate, the payment rate under a Medicaid State plan (or under a waiver of such plan)).

(b) GRANDFATHERING CERTAIN PAYMENTS.—In the case of a payment described in section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) for which written prior approval (or a good faith effort to receive such approval, as determined by the Secretary) was made before May 1, 2025, or a payment described in such section for a rural hospital (as defined in subsection (d)(2)) for which written prior approval (or a good faith effort to receive such approval, as determined by the Secretary) was made by the date of enactment of this Act, for the rating period occurring within 180 days of the date of the enactment of this Act, beginning with the rating period on or after January 1, 2028, the total amount of such payment shall be reduced by 10 percentage points each year until the total payment rate for such service is equal to the rate for such service specified in subsection (a).

(c) TREATMENT OF EXPANSION STATES.—The revisions described in subsection (a) shall

provide that, with respect to a State that begins providing the coverage described in paragraph (1) of such subsection on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, the limitation described in such paragraph shall apply to such State with respect to a payment described in section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) for a service furnished during a rating period beginning on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) RATING PERIOD.—The term “rating period” has the meaning given such term in section 438.2 of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(2) RURAL HOSPITAL.—The term “rural hospital” means the following:

(A) A subsection (d) hospital (as defined in paragraph (1)(B) of section 1886(d)) that—

(i) is located in a rural area (as defined in paragraph (2)(D) of such section);

(ii) is treated as being located in a rural area pursuant to paragraph (8)(E) of such section; or

(iii) is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

(B) A critical access hospital (as defined in section 1861(mmm)(1)).

(C) A sole community hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(D)(iii)).

(D) A Medicare-dependent, small rural hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(G)(iv)).

(E) A low-volume hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(12)(C)).

(F) A rural emergency hospital (as defined in section 1861(kkk)(2)).

(3) STATE.—The term “State” means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(4) TOTAL PUBLISHED MEDICARE PAYMENT RATE.—The term “total published Medicare payment rate” means amounts calculated as payment for specific services including the service furnished that have been developed under part A or part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.).

(5) WRITTEN PRIOR APPROVAL.—The term “written prior approval” has the meaning given such term in section 438.6(c)(2)(i) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(e) FUNDING.—There are appropriated out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated \$7,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2033 for purposes of carrying out this section, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71119. REQUIREMENTS REGARDING WAIVER OF UNIFORM TAX REQUIREMENT FOR MEDICAID PROVIDER TAX.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1903(w) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3)(E), by inserting after clause (ii)(II) the following new clause:

“(iii) For purposes of clause (ii)(I), a tax is not considered to be generally redistributive if any of the following conditions apply:

“(I) Within a permissible class, the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group (as defined in paragraph (7)(J)) explicitly defined by its relatively lower volume or percentage of Medicaid taxable units (as defined in paragraph (7)(H)) is lower than the tax rate imposed on any other taxpayer or tax rate group explicitly defined by its relatively higher volume or percentage of Medicaid taxable units.

“(II) Within a permissible class, the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group (as so defined) based upon its Medicaid taxable units (as so defined) is higher than the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group based upon its non-Medicaid taxable unit (as defined in paragraph (7)(I)).

“(III) The tax excludes or imposes a lower tax rate on a taxpayer or tax rate group (as so defined) based on or defined by any description that results in the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II) for a taxpayer or tax rate group. Characteristics that may indicate such type of exclusion include the use of terminology to establish a tax rate group—

“(aa) based on payments or expenditures made under the program under this title without mentioning the term ‘Medicaid’ (or any similar term) to accomplish the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II); or

“(bb) that closely approximates a taxpayer or tax rate group under the program under this title, to the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II).”; and

(2) in paragraph (7), by adding at the end the following new subparagraphs:

“(H) The term ‘Medicaid taxable unit’ means a unit that is being taxed within a health care related tax that is applicable to the program under this title. Such term includes a unit that is used as the basis for—

“(i) payment under the program under this title (such as Medicaid bed days);

“(ii) Medicaid revenue;

“(iii) costs associated with the program under this title (such as Medicaid charges, claims, or expenditures); and

“(iv) other units associated with the program under this title, as determined by the Secretary.

“(I) The term ‘non-Medicaid taxable unit’ means a unit that is being taxed within a health care related tax that is not applicable to the program under this title. Such term includes a unit that is used as the basis for—

“(i) payment by non-Medicaid payers (such as non-Medicaid bed days);

“(ii) non-Medicaid revenue;

“(iii) costs that are not associated with the program under this title (such as non-Medicaid charges, non-Medicaid claims, or non-Medicaid expenditures); and

“(iv) other units not associated with the program under this title, as determined by the Secretary.

“(J) The term ‘tax rate group’ means a group of entities contained within a permissible class of a health care related tax that are taxed at the same rate.”.

(b) NON-APPLICATION TO TERRITORIES.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply with respect to a State that is 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, subject to any applicable transition period determined appropriate by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, not to exceed 3 fiscal years.

SEC. 71120. REQUIRING BUDGET NEUTRALITY FOR MEDICAID DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS UNDER SECTION 1115.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) REQUIREMENT OF BUDGET NEUTRALITY FOR MEDICAID DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Beginning January 1 2027, the Secretary may not approve an application for (or renewal or amendment of) an experimental, pilot, or demonstration project undertaken under subsection (a) to promote the objectives of title XIX in a State (in this subsection referred to as a ‘Medicaid demonstration project’) unless the Chief Actuary for the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services certifies that such project, based on expenditures for the State program in the preceding fiscal year or, in the case of a renewal, the duration of the preceding waiver, is not expected to result in an increase in the amount of Federal expenditures

compared to the amount that such expenditures would otherwise be in the absence of such project. For purposes of this subsection, expenditures for the coverage of populations and services that the State could have otherwise provided through its Medicaid State plan or other authority under title XIX, including expenditures that could be made under such authority but for the provision of such services at a different site of service than authorized under such State plan or other authority, shall be considered expenditures in the absence of such a project.

“(2) TREATMENT OF SAVINGS.—In the event that expenditures with respect to a State under a Medicaid demonstration project are, during an approval period for such project, less than the amount of such expenditures that would have otherwise been made in the absence of such project, the Secretary shall specify the methodology to be used with respect to the subsequent approval period for such project for purposes of taking the difference between such expenditures into account.”.

(b) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$5,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 and 2027, to remain available until expended.

Subchapter D—Increasing Personal Accountability

SEC. 71121. REQUIREMENT FOR STATES TO ESTABLISH MEDICAID COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a), as amended by sections 71103 and 71104, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(xx) COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENT FOR APPLICABLE INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (11), beginning not later than the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026, or, at the option of the State under a waiver or demonstration project under section 1115 or the State plan, such earlier date as the State may specify, subject to the succeeding provisions of this subsection, a State shall provide, as a condition of eligibility for medical assistance for an applicable individual, that such individual is required to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (2)—

“(A) in the case of an applicable individual who has filed an application for medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, for 1 or more but not more than 3 (as specified by the State) consecutive months immediately preceding the month during which such individual applies for such medical assistance; and

“(B) in the case of an applicable individual enrolled and receiving medical assistance under a State plan (or under a waiver of such plan) under this title, for 1 or more (as specified by the State) months, whether or not consecutive—

“(i) during the period between such individual’s most recent determination (or redetermination, as applicable) of eligibility and such individual’s next regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility (as verified by the State as part of such regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility); or

“(ii) in the case of a State that has elected under paragraph (4) to conduct more frequent verifications of compliance with the requirement to demonstrate community engagement, during the period between the most recent and next such verification with respect to such individual.

“(2) COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT COMPLIANCE DESCRIBED.—Subject to paragraph (3), an applicable individual demonstrates community engagement under this paragraph for a month if such individual meets 1 or more of the following conditions with respect to such month, as determined in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary through regulation:

“(A) The individual works not less than 80 hours.

“(B) The individual completes not less than 80 hours of community service.

“(C) The individual participates in a work program for not less than 80 hours.

“(D) The individual is enrolled in an educational program at least half-time.

“(E) The individual engages in any combination of the activities described in subparagraphs (A) through (D), for a total of not less than 80 hours.

“(F) The individual has a monthly income that is not less than the applicable minimum wage requirement under section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, multiplied by 80 hours.

“(G) The individual had an average monthly income over the preceding 6 months that is not less than the applicable minimum wage requirement under section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 multiplied by 80 hours, and is a seasonal worker, as described in section 45R(d)(5)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 .

“(3) EXCEPTIONS.—

“(A) MANDATORY EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—The State shall deem an applicable individual to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (2) for a month, and may elect to not require an individual to verify information resulting in such deeming, if—

“(i) for part or all of such month, the individual—

“(I) was a specified excluded individual (as defined in paragraph (9)(A)(ii)); or

“(II) was—

“(aa) under the age of 19;

“(bb) entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII; or

“(cc) described in any of subclauses (I) through (VII) of subsection (a)(10)(A)(i); or

“(ii) at any point during the 3-month period ending on the first day of such month, the individual was an inmate of a public institution.

“(B) OPTIONAL EXCEPTION FOR SHORT-TERM HARDSHIP EVENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The State plan (or waiver of such plan) may provide, in the case of an applicable individual who experiences a short-term hardship event during a month, that the State shall, under procedures established by the State (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary), in the case of a short-term hardship event described in clause (ii)(II) and, upon the request of such individual, a short-term hardship event described in subclause (I) or (III) of clause (ii), deem such individual to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (2) for such month.

“(ii) SHORT-TERM HARDSHIP EVENT DEFINED.—For purposes of this subparagraph, an applicable individual experiences a short-term hardship event during a month if, for part or all of such month—

“(I) such individual receives inpatient hospital services, nursing facility services, services in an intermediate care facility for individuals with intellectual disabilities, inpatient psychiatric hospital services, or such other services of similar acuity (including outpatient care relating to other services specified in this subclause) as the Secretary determines appropriate;

“(II) such individual resides in a county (or equivalent unit of local government)—

“(aa) in which there exists an emergency or disaster declared by the President pursuant to the National Emergencies Act or the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act; or

“(bb) that, subject to a request from the State to the Secretary, made in such form, at such time, and containing such information as the Secretary may require, has an unemployment rate that is at or above the lesser of—

“(AA) 8 percent; or

“(BB) 1.5 times the national unemployment rate; or

“(III) such individual or their dependent must travel outside of their community for an extended period of time to receive medical services necessary to treat a serious or complex medical condition (as described in paragraph (9)(A)(ii)(V)(ee)) that are not available within their community of residence.

“(4) OPTION TO CONDUCT MORE FREQUENT COMPLIANCE VERIFICATIONS.—With respect to an applicable individual enrolled and receiving medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, the State shall verify (in accordance with procedures specified by the Secretary) that each such individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1) during each such individual’s regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility, except that a State may provide for such verifications more frequently.

“(5) EX PARTE VERIFICATIONS.—For purposes of verifying that an applicable individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1), or determining such individual to be deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3), or that an individual is a specified excluded individual under paragraph (9)(A)(ii), the State shall, in accordance with standards established by the Secretary, establish processes and use reliable information available to the State (such as payroll data or payments or encounter data under this title for individuals and data on payments to such individuals for the provision of services covered under this title) without requiring, where possible, the applicable individual to submit additional information.

“(6) PROCEDURE IN THE CASE OF NONCOMPLIANCE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If a State is unable to verify that an applicable individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1) (including, if applicable, by verifying that such individual was deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3)) the State shall (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary)—

“(i) provide such individual with the notice of noncompliance described in subparagraph (B);

“(ii)(I) provide such individual with a period of 30 calendar days, beginning on the date on which such notice of noncompliance is received by the individual, to—

“(aa) make a satisfactory showing to the State of compliance with such requirement (including, if applicable, by showing that such individual was or should be deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3)); or

“(bb) make a satisfactory showing to the State that such requirement does not apply to such individual on the basis that such individual does not meet the definition of applicable individual under paragraph (9)(A); and

“(II) if such individual is enrolled under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan)

under this title, continue to provide such individual with medical assistance during such 30-calendar-day period; and

“(iii) if no such satisfactory showing is made and the individual is not a specified excluded individual described in paragraph (9)(A)(ii), deny such individual’s application for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) or, as applicable, disenroll such individual from the plan (or waiver of such plan) not later than the end of the month following the month in which such 30-calendar-day period ends, provided that—

“(I) the State first determines whether, with respect to the individual, there is any other basis for eligibility for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) or for another insurance affordability program; and

“(II) the individual is provided written notice and granted an opportunity for a fair hearing in accordance with subsection (a)(3).

“(B) NOTICE.—The notice of noncompliance provided to an applicable individual under subparagraph (A)(i) shall include information (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary) on—

“(i) how such individual may make a satisfactory showing of compliance with such requirement (as described in subparagraph (A)(ii)) or make a satisfactory showing that such requirement does not apply to such individual on the basis that such individual does not meet the definition of applicable individual under paragraph (9)(A); and

“(ii) how such individual may reapply for medical assistance under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title in the case that such individuals’ application is denied or, as applicable, in the case that such individual is disenrolled from the plan (or waiver).

“(7) TREATMENT OF NONCOMPLIANT INDIVIDUALS IN RELATION TO CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

“(A) CERTAIN FMAP INCREASES.—A State shall not be treated as not providing medical assistance to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII), or as not expending amounts for all such individuals under the State plan (or waiver of such plan), solely because such an individual is determined ineligible for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver) on the basis of a failure to meet the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1).

“(B) OTHER PROVISIONS.—For purposes of section 36B(c)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, an individual shall be deemed to be eligible for minimum essential coverage described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A)(ii) of such Code for a month if such individual would have been eligible for medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title but for a failure to meet the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1).

“(8) OUTREACH.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In accordance with standards specified by the Secretary, beginning not later than the date that precedes December 31, 2026 (or, if the State elects under paragraph (1) to specify an earlier date, such earlier date) by the number of months specified by the State under paragraph (1)(A) plus 3 months, and periodically thereafter, the State shall notify applicable individuals enrolled under a State plan (or waiver) under this title of the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under this subsection. Such notice shall include information on—

“(i) how to comply with such requirement, including an explanation of the exceptions to such requirement under paragraph (3) and the definition of the term ‘applicable individual’ under paragraph (9)(A);

“(ii) the consequences of noncompliance with such requirement; and

“(iii) how to report to the State any change in the individual’s status that could result in—

“(I) the applicability of an exception under paragraph (3) (or the end of the applicability of such an exception); or

“(II) the individual qualifying as a specified excluded individual under paragraph (9)(A)(ii).

“(B) FORM OF OUTREACH NOTICE.—A notice required under subparagraph (A) shall be delivered—

“(i) by regular mail (or, if elected by the individual, in an electronic format); and

“(ii) in 1 or more additional forms, which may include telephone, text message, an internet website, other commonly available electronic means, and such other forms as the Secretary determines appropriate.

“(9) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(A) APPLICABLE INDIVIDUAL.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable individual’ means an individual (other than a specified excluded individual (as defined in clause (ii)))—

“(I) who is eligible to enroll (or is enrolled) under the State plan under subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII); or

“(II) who—

“(aa) is otherwise eligible to enroll (or is enrolled) under a waiver of such plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and as determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations); and

“(bb) has attained the age of 19 and is under 65 years of age, is not pregnant, is not entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII, and is not otherwise eligible to enroll under such plan.

“(ii) SPECIFIED EXCLUDED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘specified excluded individual’ means an individual, as determined by the State (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary)—

“(I) who is described in subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(IX);

“(II) who—

“(aa) is an Indian or an Urban Indian (as such terms are defined in paragraphs (13) and (28) of section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act);

“(bb) is a California Indian described in section 809(a) of such Act; or

“(cc) has otherwise been determined eligible as an Indian for the Indian Health Service under regulations promulgated by the Secretary;

“(III) who is the parent, guardian, caretaker relative, or family caregiver (as defined in section 2 of the RAISE Family Caregivers Act) of a dependent child 13 years of age and under or a disabled individual;

“(IV) who is a veteran with a disability rated as total under section 1155 of title 38, United States Code;

“(V) who is medically frail or otherwise has special medical needs (as defined by the Secretary), including an individual—

“(aa) who is blind or disabled (as defined in section 1614);

“(bb) with a substance use disorder;

“(cc) with a disabling mental disorder;

“(dd) with a physical, intellectual or developmental disability that significantly impairs their ability to perform 1 or more activities of daily living; or

“(ee) with a serious or complex medical condition;

“(VI) who—

“(aa) is in compliance with any requirements imposed by the State pursuant to section 407; or

“(bb) is a member of a household that receives supplemental nutrition assistance program benefits under the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 and is not exempt from a work requirement under such Act;

“(VII) who is participating in a drug addiction or alcoholic treatment and rehabilitation program (as defined in section 3(h) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008);

“(VIII) who is an inmate of a public institution; or

“(IX) who is pregnant or entitled to postpartum medical assistance under paragraph (5) or (16) of subsection (e).

“(B) EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM.—The term ‘educational program’ includes—

“(i) an institution of higher education (as defined in section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965); and

“(ii) a program of career and technical education (as defined in section 3 of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006).

“(C) STATE.—The term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

“(D) WORK PROGRAM.—The term ‘work program’ has the meaning given such term in section 6(o)(1) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008.

“(10) PROHIBITING WAIVER OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENTS.—Notwithstanding section 1115(a), the provisions of this subsection may not be waived.

“(1) SPECIAL IMPLEMENTATION RULE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (C), the Secretary may exempt a State from compliance with the requirements of this subsection if—

“(i) the State submits to the Secretary a request for such exemption, made in such form and at such time as the Secretary may require, and including the information specified in subparagraph (B); and

“(ii) the Secretary determines that based on such request, the State is demonstrating a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of this subsection.

“(B) GOOD FAITH EFFORT DETERMINATION.—In determining whether a State is demonstrating a good faith effort for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the Secretary shall consider—

“(i) any actions taken by the State toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection;

“(ii) any significant barriers to or challenges in meeting such requirements, including related to funding, design, development, procurement, or installation of necessary systems or resources;

“(iii) the State’s detailed plan and timeline for achieving full compliance with such requirements, including any milestones of such plan (as defined by the Secretary); and

“(iv) any other criteria determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(C) DURATION OF EXEMPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An exemption granted under subparagraph (A) shall expire not later than December 31, 2028, and may not be renewed beyond such date.

“(ii) EARLY TERMINATION.—The Secretary may terminate an exemption granted under subparagraph (A) prior to the expiration date of such exemption if the Secretary determined that the State has—

“(I) failed to comply with the reporting requirements described in subparagraph (D); or

“(II) based on the information provided pursuant to subparagraph (D), failed to make continued good faith efforts toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection.

“(D) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—A State granted an exemption under subparagraph (A) shall submit to the Secretary—

“(i) quarterly progress reports on the State’s status in achieving the milestones toward full compliance described in subparagraph (B)(iii); and

“(ii) information on specific risks or newly identified barriers or challenges to full compliance, including the State’s plan to mitigate such risks, barriers, or challenges.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII)) is amended by striking “subject to subsection (k)” and inserting “subject to subsections (k) and (xx)”.

(c) PROHIBITING CONFLICTS OF INTEREST.—A State shall not use a Medicaid managed care entity or other specified entity (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)), or other contractor to determine beneficiary compliance under such section unless the contractor has no direct or indirect financial relationship with any Medicaid managed care entity or other specified entity that is responsible for providing or arranging for coverage of medical assistance for individuals enrolled with the entity pursuant to a contract with such State.

(d) INTERIM FINAL RULEMAKING.—Not later than June 1, 2026, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall promulgate an interim final rule for purposes of implementing the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section. Any action taken to implement the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section shall not be subject to the provisions of section 553 of title 5, United States Code.

(e) DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY GRANTS TO STATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In order for States to establish systems necessary to carry out the provisions of, and amendments made by, this section [or other sections of this chapter that pertain to conducting eligibility determinations or redeterminations], the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall—

(A) out of amounts appropriated under paragraph (3)(A), award to each State a grant equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2) for such State; and

(B) out of amounts appropriated under paragraph (3)(B), distribute an equal amount among such States.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), the amount specified in this paragraph is an amount that bears the same ratio to the amount appropriated under paragraph (3)(A) as the number of applicable individuals (as defined in section 1902(xx) of the Social Security Act, as added by subsection (a)) residing in such State bears to the total number of such individuals residing in all States, as of March 31, 2025.

(3) FUNDING.—There are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated—

(A) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 for purposes of awarding grants under paragraph (1)(A), to remain available until expended; and

(B) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 for purposes of award grants under paragraph (1)(B), to remain available until expended.

(4) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term “State” means 1 of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

(f) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$50,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71122. MODIFYING COST SHARING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN EXPANSION INDIVIDUALS UNDER THE MEDICAID PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1916 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396o) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “(other than, beginning October 1, 2028, specified individuals (as defined in subsection (k)(3)))” after “individuals”; and

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

“(k) SPECIAL RULES FOR CERTAIN EXPANSION INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) PREMIUMS.—Beginning October 1, 2028, the State plan shall provide that in the case of a specified individual (as defined in paragraph (3)) who is eligible under the plan, no enrollment fee, premium, or similar charge will be imposed under the plan.

“(2) REQUIRED IMPOSITION OF COST SHARING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B) and subsection (j), in the case of a specified individual, the State plan shall, beginning October 1, 2028, provide for the imposition of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges determined appropriate by the State (in an amount greater than \$0) with respect to certain care, items, or services furnished to such an individual, as determined by the State.

“(B) LIMITATIONS.—

“(i) EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN SERVICES.—In no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge be imposed under the State plan with respect to care, items, or services described in any of subparagraphs (B) through (J) of subsection (a)(2), or any primary care services, mental health care services, substance use disorder services, or services provided by a Federally qualified health center (as defined in 1905(l)(2)), certified community behavioral health clinic (as defined in section 1905(jj)(2)), or rural health clinic (as defined in 1905(l)(1)), furnished to a specified individual.

“(ii) ITEM AND SERVICE LIMITATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subclause (II), in no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge imposed under the State plan with respect to care or an item or service furnished to a specified individual exceed \$35.

“(II) SPECIAL RULES FOR PRESCRIPTION DRUGS.—In no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge imposed under the State plan with respect to a prescription drug furnished to a specified individual exceed the limit that would be applicable under paragraph (2)(A)(i) or (2)(B) of section 1916A(c) with respect to such drug and individual if such drug so furnished were subject to cost sharing under such section.

“(iii) MAXIMUM LIMIT ON COST SHARING.—The total aggregate amount of deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges imposed under the State plan for all individuals in the family may not exceed 5 percent of the family income of the family involved, as applied on a quarterly or monthly basis (as specified by the State).

“(C) CASES OF NONPAYMENT.—Notwithstanding subsection (e), a State may permit a provider participating under the State plan to require, as a condition for the provision of care, items, or services to a specified individual entitled to medical assistance under this title for such care, items, or services, the payment of any deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges authorized to be imposed with respect to such care, items, or services. Nothing in this subparagraph shall be construed as preventing a provider from reducing or waiving the application of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges on a case-by-case basis.

“(3) SPECIFIED INDIVIDUAL DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘specified individual’ means an individual who has a family income (as determined in accordance with section 1902(e)(14)) that exceeds the poverty line (as defined in section 2110(c)(5)) applicable to a family of the size involved and—

“(A) is enrolled under section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII); or

“(B) is described in such subsection and otherwise enrolled under a waiver of the State plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(4) STATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) REQUIRED APPLICATION.—Section 1902(a)(14) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(14)) is amended by inserting “and provide for imposition of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges for care, items, or services furnished to specified individuals (as defined in paragraph (3) of section 1916(k)) in accordance with paragraph (2) of such section” after “section 1916”.

(2) NONAPPLICABILITY OF ALTERNATIVE COST SHARING.—Section 1916A(a)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396o-1(a)(1)) is amended, in the second sentence, by striking “or (j)” and inserting “(j), or (k)”.

Subchapter E—Expanding Access to Care
SEC. 71123. MAKING CERTAIN ADJUSTMENTS TO COVERAGE OF HOME OR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES UNDER MEDICAID.

(a) EXPANDING HCBS COVERAGE UNDER SECTION 1915(C) WAIVERS.—Section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by inserting “paragraph (11) or” before “subsection (h)(2)”; and

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

“(11) EXPANDING COVERAGE FOR HOME OR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning July 1, 2028, notwithstanding paragraph (1), the Secretary may approve a waiver that is standalone from any other waiver approved under this subsection to include as medical assistance under the State plan of such State payment for part or all of the cost of home or community-based services (other than room and board (as described in paragraph (1))) approved by the Secretary which are provided pursuant to a written plan of care to individuals described in subparagraph (B)(iii). A waiver approved under this paragraph shall be for an initial term of 3 years and, upon the request of the State, shall be extended for additional 5-year periods unless the Secretary determines that for the previous waiver period the requirements specified under this subsection (excluding those excepted under subparagraph (B)) have not been met.

“(B) STATE REQUIREMENTS.—In addition to the requirements specified under this subsection (except for the requirements described in subparagraphs (C) and (D) of paragraph (2) and any other requirement specified under this subsection that the Secretary determines to be inapplicable in the context of a waiver that does not require individuals to have a determination described in paragraph (1)), a State shall meet the following requirements as a condition of waiver approval:

“(i) As of the date that such State requests a waiver under this subsection to provide home or community-based services to individuals described in clause (iii), all other waivers (if any) granted under this subsection to such State meet the requirements of this subsection.

“(ii) The State demonstrates to the Secretary that approval of a waiver under this subsection with respect to individuals described in clause (iii) will not result in a material increase of the average amount of time that individuals with respect to whom a determination described in paragraph (1) has been made will need to wait to receive home or community-based services under any other waiver granted under this subsection, as determined by the Secretary.

“(iii) The State establishes needs-based criteria, subject to the approval of the Secretary, regarding who will be eligible for home or community-based services under a waiver approved under this paragraph without requiring such individual to have a determination described in paragraph (1), and specifies the home or community-based services such individuals so eligible will receive.

“(iv) The State establishes needs-based criteria for determining whether an individual described in clause (iii) requires the level of care provided in a hospital, nursing facility, or an intermediate care facility for individuals with developmental disabilities under the State plan or under any waiver of such plan that are more stringent than the needs-based criteria established under clause (iii) for determining eligibility for home or community-based services.

“(v) The State attests that the State’s average per capita expenditure for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) provided with respect to such individuals enrolled in a waiver under this paragraph will not exceed the State’s average per capita expenditure for medical assistance for individuals receiving institutional care under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) for the duration that the waiver under this paragraph is in effect.

“(vi) The State provides to the Secretary data (in such form and manner as the Secretary may specify) regarding the number of individuals described in clause (iii) with respect to a State seeking approval of a waiver under this subsection, to whom the State will make such services available under such waiver.

“(vii) The State agrees to provide to the Secretary, not less frequently than annually, data for purposes of paragraph (2)(E) (in such form and manner as the Secretary may specify) regarding, with respect to each preceding year in which a waiver under this subsection to provide home or community-based services to individuals described in clause (iii) was in effect—

“(I) the cost (as such term is defined by the Secretary) of such services furnished to individuals described in clause (iii), broken down by type of service;

“(II) with respect to each type of home or community-based service provided under the waiver, the length of time that such individuals have received such service;

“(III) a comparison between the data described in subclause (I) and any comparable data available with respect to individuals with respect to whom a determination described in paragraph (1) has been made and with respect to individuals receiving institutional care under this title; and

“(IV) the number of individuals who have received home or community-based services under the waiver during the preceding year.

“(C) LIMITATION ON PAYMENTS.—No payments made to carry out this paragraph shall be used to make payments to a third party on behalf of an individual practitioner

for benefits such as health insurance, skills training, and other benefits customary for employees, in the case of a class of practitioners for which the program established under this title is the primary source of revenue.”

(b) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services—

(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$50,000,000 for purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, to remain available until expended; and

(B) for fiscal year 2027, \$100,000,000 for purposes of making payments to States, subject to paragraph (2), to support State systems to deliver home or community-based services under section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) (as amended by this section), to remain available until expended.

(2) PAYMENTS BASED ON STATE HCBS ELIGIBLE POPULATION.—Payments to States from amounts made available by paragraph (1)(B) shall be made, with respect to a State, on the basis of the proportion of the population of the State that is eligible for home or community-based services under section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) (as amended by this section), as compared to all States.

SEC. 71124. DETERMINATION OF FMAP FOR HIGH-POVERTY STATES.

Section 1905(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended in the first sentence—

(1) by striking “and (6)” and inserting “(6)”; and

(2) by inserting before the period the following: “, and (7) only for purposes of payments for medical assistance under this title (excluding any such payments that are based on the enhanced FMAP described in section 2105(b)), in the case of a State for which the Secretary issues under the authority of section 673(2) of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 a separate poverty guideline for any calendar year occurring during or after the date of enactment of this clause that is higher than the poverty guideline issued by the Secretary for such calendar year that is applicable to the majority of States, the regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined for such a State under this subsection (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the 1st fiscal year quarter that begins after such date of enactment, and for each fiscal year quarter beginning thereafter, shall be increased (after such determination but prior to any other increase which may be applicable and in no case to exceed 100 percent) by, in the case of the State with the highest separate poverty guideline for the calendar year, 25 percent of the average regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the fiscal year for States which did not have a separate poverty guideline issued for them for such calendar year, and in the case of the State with the second highest separate poverty guideline for the calendar year, 15 percent of the average regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the fiscal year for States which did not have a separate poverty guideline issued for them for such calendar year”.

CHAPTER 2—MEDICARE

Subchapter A—Strengthening Eligibility Requirements

SEC. 71201. LIMITING MEDICARE COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

Title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 1899C. LIMITING MEDICARE COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), an individual may be entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title only if the individual is—

“(1) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(2) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act;

“(3) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(4) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

“(b) APPLICATION TO INDIVIDUALS CURRENTLY ENTITLED TO OR ENROLLED FOR BENEFITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual who is entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title as of the date of the enactment of this section, subsection (a) shall apply beginning on the date that is 18 months after such date of enactment.

“(2) REVIEW BY COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SECURITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this section, the Commissioner of Social Security shall complete a review of individuals entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title as of such date of enactment for purposes of identifying individuals not described in any of paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (a).

“(B) NOTICE.—The Commissioner of Social Security shall notify each individual identified under the review conducted under subparagraph (A) that such individual’s entitlement to, or enrollment for, benefits under this title will be terminated as of the date that is 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section. Such notification shall be made as soon as practicable after such identification and in a manner designed to ensure such individual’s comprehension of such notification.”

Subchapter B—Improving Services for Seniors

SEC. 71202. TEMPORARY PAYMENT INCREASE UNDER THE MEDICARE PHYSICIAN FEE SCHEDULE TO ACCOUNT FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1848(t)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(t)(1)) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and 2024” and inserting “2024, and 2026”;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(3) in subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(4) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) such services furnished on or after January 1, 2026, and before January 1, 2027, by 2.5 percent.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1848(c)(2)(B)(iv)(V) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(c)(2)(B)(iv)(V)) is amended by striking “or 2024” and inserting “2024, or 2026”.

SEC. 71203. EXPANDING AND CLARIFYING THE EXCLUSION FOR ORPHAN DRUGS UNDER THE DRUG PRICE NEGOTIATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1192(e) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and (3)” and inserting “through (4)”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)(A)—

(A) by striking “only one rare disease or condition” and inserting “one or more rare diseases or conditions”; and

(B) by striking “such disease or condition” and inserting “one or more such rare diseases or conditions (as such term is defined in section 526(a)(2) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act)”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) TREATMENT OF FORMER ORPHAN DRUGS.—In the case of a drug or biological product that, as of the date of the approval or licensure of such drug or biological product, is a drug or biological product described in paragraph (3)(A), paragraph (1)(A)(ii) or (1)(B)(ii) (as applicable) shall apply as if the reference to ‘the date of such approval’ or ‘the date of such licensure’, respectively, were instead a reference to ‘the first day after the date of such approval for which such drug is not a drug described in paragraph (3)(A)’ or ‘the first day after the date of such licensure for which such biological product is not a biological product described in paragraph (3)(A)’, respectively.”.

(b) APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to initial price applicability years (as defined in section 1191(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f(b))) beginning on or after January 1, 2028.

SEC. 71204. APPLICATION OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT TO NON-LABOR RELATED PORTION FOR HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT DEPARTMENT SERVICES FURNISHED IN ALASKA AND HAWAII.

Section 1833(t) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i(t)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(23) APPLICATION OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT TO NON-LABOR RELATED PORTION FOR HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT DEPARTMENT SERVICES FURNISHED IN ALASKA AND HAWAII.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—With respect to OPD services furnished on or after January 1, 2027, the Secretary shall provide for adjustments to the payment amounts under this subsection for such services in the same manner that is provided under section 1886(d)(5)(H) with respect to the application of the cost-of-living adjustment to the non-labor related portion of such payment amounts to take into account the unique circumstances of hospitals located in Alaska or Hawaii. Such adjustment shall not apply to payment amounts for a separately payable drug, biological, or medical device.

“(B) APPLICATION WITHOUT REGARD TO BUDGET NEUTRALITY.—Adjustments to payment amounts made under this paragraph—

“(i) shall not be considered an adjustment under paragraph (2)(E); and

“(ii) shall not be implemented in a budget neutral manner.”.

CHAPTER 3—HEALTH TAX

Subchapter A—Improving Eligibility Criteria
SEC. 71301. PERMITTING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(e)(1) is amended by inserting “or, in the case of aliens who are lawfully present, are not eligible aliens” after “individuals who are not lawfully present”.

(b) ELIGIBLE ALIENS.—Section 36B(e)(2) is amended—

(1) by striking “For purposes of this section, an individual” and inserting “For purposes of this section—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—An individual”, and

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

“(B) ELIGIBLE ALIENS.—An individual who is an alien and lawfully present shall be treated as an eligible alien if such individual is, and is reasonably expected to be for the

entire period of enrollment for which the credit under this section is being claimed—

“(i) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.),

“(ii) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(iii) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1612(b)(2)(G)).”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION.—Section 1411 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18081) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) in paragraph (1), by striking “and section 36B(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986”; and

(ii) in paragraph (2)—

(I) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(II) in subparagraph (B), by adding “and” at the end; and

(III) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) in the case such individual is an alien lawfully present in the United States, whether such individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code);”;

(B) in subsection (b)(3), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) IMMIGRATION STATUS.—In the case the individual’s eligibility is based on an attestation of the enrollee’s immigration status, an attestation that such individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of 36B(e)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).”; and

(C) in subsection (c)(2)(B)(ii), by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) In the case of an individual described in clause (i)(I) with respect to whom a premium tax credit under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is being claimed, the attestation that the individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code).”.

(2) ADVANCE DETERMINATIONS.—Section 1412(d) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18082(d)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, or credits under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for aliens who are not eligible aliens (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code).”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply with respect to plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2027.

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading for section 36B(e) is amended by inserting “AND NOT ELIGIBLE ALIENS” after “INDIVIDUALS NOT LAWFULLY PRESENT”.

(2) The heading for section 36B(e)(2) is amended by inserting “; ELIGIBLE ALIENS” after “LAWFULLY PRESENT”.

(e) REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN MINIMUM ESSENTIAL COVERAGE.—Section 5000A(d)(3) is amended by striking “an alien lawfully present in the United States” and inserting “an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2))”.

(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section (other than the amendments made by subsection (c)) shall apply to

taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 71302. DISALLOWING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT DURING PERIODS OF MEDICAID INELIGIBILITY DUE TO ALIEN STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c)(1) is amended by striking subparagraph (B).

(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter B—Preventing Waste, Fraud, and Abuse

SEC. 71303. REQUIRING VERIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR PREMIUM TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(5) EXCHANGE ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘coverage month’ shall not include, with respect to any individual covered by a qualified health plan enrolled in through an Exchange, any month beginning before the Exchange verifies, using applicable enrollment information that shall be provided or verified by the applicant, such individual’s eligibility—

“(i) to enroll in the plan through the Exchange, and

“(ii) for any advance payment under section 1412 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of the credit allowed under this section.

“(B) APPLICABLE ENROLLMENT INFORMATION.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), applicable enrollment information shall include affirmation of at least the following information (to the extent relevant in determining eligibility described in subparagraph (A)):

“(i) Household income and family size.

“(ii) Whether the individual is an eligible alien.

“(iii) Any health coverage status or eligibility for coverage.

“(iv) Place of residence.

“(v) Such other information as may be determined by the Secretary (in consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services) as necessary to the verification prescribed under subparagraph (A).

“(C) VERIFICATION OF PAST MONTHS.—In the case of a month that begins before verification prescribed by subparagraph (A), such month shall be treated as a coverage month if, and only if, the Exchange verifies for such month (using applicable enrollment information that shall be provided or verified by the applicant) such individual’s eligibility to have so enrolled and for any such advance payment.

“(D) EXCHANGE PARTICIPATION; COORDINATION WITH OTHER PROCEDURES FOR DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY.—An individual shall not, solely by reason of failing to meet the requirements of this paragraph with respect to a month, be treated for such month as ineligible to enroll in a qualified health plan through an Exchange.

“(E) WAIVER FOR CERTAIN SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIODS.—The Secretary may waive the application of subparagraph (A) in the case of an individual who enrolls in a qualified health plan through an Exchange for 1 or more months of the taxable year during a special enrollment period provided by the Exchange on the basis of a change in the family size of the individual.

“(F) INFORMATION AND RELIANCE ON THIRD-PARTY SOURCES.—An Exchange shall be permitted to use any data available to the Exchange and any reliable third-party sources

in collecting information for verification by the applicant.

“(6) EXCHANGE COMPLIANCE WITH FILING REQUIREMENTS.—The term ‘coverage month’ shall not include, with respect to any individual covered by a qualified health plan enrolled in through an Exchange, any month for which the Exchange does not meet the requirements of section 155.305(f)(4)(iii) of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (as published in the Federal Register on June 25, 2025 (90 FR 27074), applied as though it applied to all plan years after 2025), with respect to the individual.”.

(b) PRE-ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION PROCESS REQUIRED.—Section 36B(c)(3)(A) is amended—

(1) by striking “HEALTH PLAN.—The term” and inserting “HEALTH PLAN.—”

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term”, and

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

“(ii) PRE-ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION PROCESS REQUIRED.—Such term shall not include any plan enrolled in through an Exchange, unless such Exchange provides a process for pre-enrollment verification through which any applicant may, beginning not later than August 1, verify with the Exchange the applicant’s household income and eligibility for enrollment in such plan for plan years beginning in the subsequent year.”.

(c) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2027.

SEC. 71304. DISALLOWING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT IN CASE OF CERTAIN COVERAGE ENROLLED IN DURING SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIOD.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c)(3)(A), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXCEPTION IN CASE OF CERTAIN SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIODS.—Such term shall not include any plan enrolled in during a special enrollment period provided for by an Exchange—

“(I) on the basis of the relationship of the individual’s expected household income to such a percentage of the poverty line (or such other amount) as is prescribed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services for purposes of such period, and

“(II) not in connection with the occurrence of an event or change in circumstances specified by the Secretary of Health and Human Services for such purposes.”.

(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to plan years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 71305. ELIMINATING LIMITATION ON RECAPTURE OF ADVANCE PAYMENT OF PREMIUM TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(f)(2) is amended by striking subparagraph (B).

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 36B(f)(2) is amended by striking “ADVANCE PAYMENTS.—” and all that follows through “If the advance payments” and inserting the following: “ADVANCE PAYMENTS.—If the advance payments”.

(2) Section 35(g)(12)(B)(ii) is amended by striking “then section 36B(f)(2)(B) shall be applied by substituting the amount determined under clause (i) for the amount deter-

mined under section 36B(f)(2)(A)” and inserting “then the amount determined under clause (i) shall be substituted for the amount determined under section 36B(f)(2)”.

(c) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TREATED AS APPLICABLE TAXPAYERS.—Paragraph (1) of section 36B(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TREATED AS APPLICABLE TAXPAYERS.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, if an individual—

“(i) is determined by an Exchange at the time of enrollment in a qualified health plan through such Exchange to have a projected annual household income for the taxable year which equals or exceeds 100 percent of an amount equal to the poverty line for a family of the size involved, and

“(ii) receives an advance payment of the credit under this section for 1 or more months during such taxable year under section 1412 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act,

such individual shall not fail to be treated as an applicable taxpayer for such taxable year solely because the actual household income of the individual for the taxable year is less than 100 percent of an amount equal to the poverty line for a family of the size involved, unless the Secretary determines that the individual provided incorrect information to the Exchange with intentional or reckless disregard for the facts.”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter C—Enhancing Choice for Patients

SEC. 71306. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF SAFE HARBOR FOR ABSENCE OF DEDUCTIBLE FOR TELEHEALTH SERVICES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (E) of section 223(c)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(E) SAFE HARBOR FOR ABSENCE OF DEDUCTIBLE FOR TELEHEALTH.—A plan shall not fail to be treated as a high deductible health plan by reason of failing to have a deductible for telehealth and other remote care services.”.

(b) CERTAIN COVERAGE DISREGARDED.—Clause (ii) of section 223(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “(in the case of months or plan years to which paragraph (2)(E) applies)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to plan years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 71307. ALLOWANCE OF BRONZE AND CATASTROPHIC PLANS IN CONNECTION WITH HEALTH SAVINGS ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(H) BRONZE AND CATASTROPHIC PLANS TREATED AS HIGH DEDUCTIBLE HEALTH PLANS.—The term ‘high deductible health plan’ shall include any plan which is—

“(i) available as individual coverage through an Exchange established under section 1311 or 1321 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, and

“(ii) described in subsection (d)(1)(A) or (e) of section 1302 of such Act.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 71308. TREATMENT OF DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) TREATMENT OF DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—A direct primary care service arrangement shall not be treated as a health plan for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii).

“(ii) DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENT.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘direct primary care service arrangement’ means, with respect to any individual, an arrangement under which such individual is provided medical care (as defined in section 213(d)) consisting solely of primary care services provided by primary care practitioners (as defined in section 1833(x)(2)(A) of the Social Security Act, determined without regard to clause (ii) thereof), if the sole compensation for such care is a fixed periodic fee.

“(II) LIMITATION.—With respect to any individual for any month, such term shall not include any arrangement if the aggregate fees for all direct primary care service arrangements (determined without regard to this subclause) with respect to such individual for such month exceed \$150 (twice such dollar amount in the case of an individual with any direct primary care service arrangement (as so determined) that covers more than one individual).

“(iii) CERTAIN SERVICES SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM TREATMENT AS PRIMARY CARE SERVICES.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘primary care services’ shall not include—

“(I) procedures that require the use of general anesthesia,

“(II) prescription drugs (other than vaccines), and

“(III) laboratory services not typically administered in an ambulatory primary care setting.

The Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services, shall issue regulations or other guidance regarding the application of this clause.”.

(b) DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENT FEES TREATED AS MEDICAL EXPENSES.—Section 223(d)(2)(C) is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (iii), by striking the period at the end of clause (iv) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(v) any direct primary care service arrangement.”.

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 223(g)(1) is amended—

(1) by striking “in subsections (b)(2) and (c)(2)(A)” and inserting “in subsections (b)(2), (c)(2)(A), and in the case of taxable years beginning after 2026, (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II)”.

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking “clause (ii)” in clause (i) and inserting “clauses (ii) and (iii)”, by striking “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) in the case of the dollar amount in subsection (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II), ‘calendar year 2025’.”, and

(3) by inserting “, (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II),” after “(b)(2)” in the last sentence.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

CHAPTER 4—PROTECTING RURAL HOSPITALS AND PROVIDERS

SEC. 71401. RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2105 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397ee) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.—

“(1) APPROPRIATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (in this subsection referred to as the

‘Administrator’), to provide allotments to States for purposes of carrying out the activities described in paragraph (6)—

- “(i) \$10,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(ii) \$10,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(iii) \$2,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2030;
- “(iv) \$2,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2031; and
- “(v) \$1,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2032.

“(B) UNEXPENDED OR UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Any amounts appropriated under subparagraph (A) that are unexpended or unobligated as of October 1, 2034, shall be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

“(ii) REDISTRIBUTION OF UNEXPENDED OR UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Administrator shall, not later than March 31, 2030, and annually thereafter through March 31, 2034—

“(I) determine the amount of funds, if any, that are available under such subparagraph for a previous fiscal year, are unexpended or unobligated with respect to such fiscal year, and will not be available to a State in the current fiscal year, pursuant to clause (iii); and

“(II) if the Administrator determines that any such funds from a previous fiscal year remain, redistribute such funds in the current fiscal year to States that have an application approved under this subsection for such fiscal year in accordance with an allotment methodology specified by the Administrator.

“(iii) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Amounts allotted to a State under this subsection for a year shall be available for expenditure by the State through the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such amounts are allotted.

“(II) AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS REDISTRIBUTED.—Amounts redistributed to a State under clause (ii) with respect to a fiscal year shall be available for expenditure by the State through the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such amounts are redistributed (except in the case of amounts redistributed in fiscal year 2034 which shall only be available for expenditure through September 30, 2034).

“(iv) MISUSE OF FUNDS.—If the Administrator determines that a State is not using amounts allotted or redistributed to the State under this subsection in a manner consistent with the description provided by the State in its application approved under paragraph (2), the Administrator may withhold payments to, or reduce payments to, or recover previous payments from, the State under this subsection as the Administrator deems appropriate, and any amounts so withheld, or that remain after any such reduction, or so recovered, shall be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

“(2) APPLICATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—To be eligible for an allotment under this subsection, a State shall submit to the Administrator during an application submission period to be specified by the Administrator (but that ends not later than April 1, 2027) an application in such form and manner as the Administrator may specify, that includes—

“(i) a detailed rural health transformation plan, developed in consultation with the State Office of Rural Health—

“(I) to improve access to hospitals, other health care providers, and health care items and services furnished to rural residents of the State;

“(II) to improve health care outcomes of rural residents of the State;

“(III) to prioritize the use of new and emerging technologies that emphasize prevention and chronic disease management;

“(IV) to initiate, foster, and strengthen local and regional strategic partnerships be-

tween rural hospitals and other health care providers in order to promote measurable quality improvement, increase financial stability, maximize economies of scale, and share best practices in care delivery;

“(V) to enhance economic opportunity for, and the supply of, health care clinicians through enhanced recruitment and training;

“(VI) to prioritize data and technology driven solutions that help rural hospitals and other rural health care providers furnish high-quality health care services as close to a patient’s home as is possible;

“(VII) that outlines strategies to manage long-term financial solvency and operating models of rural hospitals in the State; and

“(VIII) that identifies specific causes driving the accelerating rate of stand-alone rural hospitals becoming at risk of closure, conversion, or service reduction;

“(i) a certification that none of the amounts provided under this subsection shall be used by the State for an expenditure that is attributable to an intergovernmental transfer, certified public expenditure, or any other expenditure to finance the non-Federal share of expenditures required under any provision of law, including under the State plan established under this title, the State plan established under title XIX, or under a waiver of such plans; and

“(ii) such other information as the Administrator may require.

“(B) DEADLINE FOR APPROVAL.—Not later than September 30, 2027, the Administrator shall approve or deny all applications submitted for an allotment under this subsection.

“(C) ONE-TIME APPLICATION.—If an application of a State for an allotment under this subsection is approved by the Administrator, the State shall be eligible for an allotment under this subsection for each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, except as provided in paragraph (1)(B)(iv).

“(D) ELIGIBILITY.—Only the 50 States shall be eligible for an allotment under this subsection and all references in this subsection to a State shall be treated as only referring to the 50 States.

“(3) ALLOTMENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, the Administrator shall determine under subparagraph (B) the amount of the allotment for such fiscal year for each State with an approved application under this subsection.

“(B) AMOUNT DETERMINED.—From the amounts appropriated under paragraph (1)(A) for each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, the Administrator shall allot—

“(i) 50 percent of the amounts appropriated for each such fiscal year equally among all States with an approved application under this subsection; and

“(ii) 50 percent of the amounts appropriated for each such fiscal year among all such States in an amount to be determined by the Administrator in accordance with subparagraph (C).

“(C) CONSIDERATIONS.—In determining the amount to be allotted to a State under subparagraph (B)(ii) for a fiscal year, the Administrator shall consider the following:

“(i) The percentage of the State population that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(ii) The proportion of rural health facilities (as defined in subparagraph (D)) in the State relative to the number of rural health facilities nationwide.

“(iii) The situation of hospitals in the State, as described in section 1902(a)(13)(A)(iv).

“(iv) Any other factors that the Administrator determines appropriate.

“(D) RURAL HEALTH FACILITY DEFINED.—For the purposes of subparagraph (C)(ii), the term ‘rural health facility’ means the following:

“(i) A subsection (d) hospital (as defined in paragraph (1)(B) of section 1886(d)) that—

“(I) is located in a rural area (as defined in paragraph (2)(D) of such section);

“(II) is treated as being located in a rural area pursuant to paragraph (8)(E) of such section; or

“(III) is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(ii) A critical access hospital (as defined in section 1861(mmm)(1)).

“(iii) A sole community hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(D)(iii)).

“(iv) A Medicare-dependent, small rural hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(G)(iv)).

“(v) A low-volume hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(12)(C)).

“(vi) A rural emergency hospital (as defined in section 1861(kkk)(2)).

“(vii) A rural health clinic (as defined in section 1861(aa)(2)).

“(viii) A Federally qualified health center (as defined in section 1861(aa)(4)).

“(ix) A community mental health center (as defined in section 1861(ff)(3)(B)).

“(x) A health center that is receiving a grant under section 330 of the Public Health Service Act.

“(xi) An opioid treatment program (as defined in section 1861(jjj)(2)) that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(xii) A certified community behavioral health clinic (as defined in section 1905(jj)(2)) that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(4) NO MATCHING PAYMENT.—A State approved for an allotment under this subsection for a fiscal year shall not be required to provide any matching funds as a condition for receiving payments from the allotment.

“(5) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The Administrator shall specify such terms and conditions for allotments to States provided under this subsection as the Administrator deems appropriate, including the following:

“(A) Each State shall submit to the Administrator (at a time, and in a form and manner, specified by the Administrator)—

“(i) a plan for the State to use its allotment to carry out 3 or more of the activities described in paragraph (6); and

“(ii) annual reports on the use of allotments, including such additional information as the Administrator determines appropriate.

“(B) Not more than 10 percent of the amount allotted to a State for a fiscal year may be used by the State for administrative expenses.

“(C) In the event that a State uses amounts from an allotment to provide payments to health care providers in accordance with subparagraph (B) or (J) of paragraph (6), the State shall ensure that such amounts are not used to reimburse any expense or loss that—

“(i) has been reimbursed from any other source; or

“(ii) any other source is obligated to reimburse.”

“(6) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts allotted to a State under this subsection shall be used for 3 or more of the following health-related activities:

“(A) Promoting evidence-based, measurable interventions to improve prevention and chronic disease management.

“(B) Providing payments to health care providers, as defined by the Administrator, for the provision of health care items or services, as specified by the Administrator.

“(C) Promoting consumer-facing, technology-driven solutions for the prevention and management of chronic diseases.

“(D) Providing training and technical assistance for the development and adoption of technology-enabled solutions that improve care delivery in rural hospitals, including remote monitoring, robotics, artificial intelligence, and other advanced technologies.

“(E) Recruiting and retaining clinical workforce talent to rural areas, with commitments to serve rural communities for a minimum of 5 years.

“(F) Providing technical assistance, software, and hardware for significant information technology advances designed to improve efficiency, enhance cybersecurity capability development, and improve patient health outcomes.

“(G) Assisting rural communities to right size their health care delivery systems by identifying needed preventative, ambulatory, pre-hospital, emergency, acute inpatient care, outpatient care, and post-acute care service lines.

“(H) Supporting access to opioid use disorder treatment services (as defined in section 1861(jjj)(1)), other substance use disorder treatment services, and mental health services.

“(I) Developing projects that support innovative models of care that include value-based care arrangements and alternative payment models, as appropriate.

“(J) Additional uses designed to promote sustainable access to high quality rural health care services, as determined by the Administrator.

“(7) EXEMPTIONS.—Paragraphs (2), (3), (5), (6), (8), (10), (11), and (12) of subsection (c) do not apply to payments under this subsection.

“(8) REVIEW.—There shall be no administrative or judicial review under section 1116 or otherwise of amounts allotted or redistributed to States under this subsection, payments to States withheld or reduced under this subsection, or previous payments recovered from States under this subsection.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Title XXI of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397aa) is amended—

(1) in section 2101—

(A) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “The purpose” and inserting “Except with respect to the rural health transformation program established in section 2105(h), the purpose”; and

(B) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “subsection (a) or (g) of” before “section 2105”;

(2) in section 2105(c)(1), by striking “and may not include” and inserting “or to carry out the rural health transformation program established in subsection (h) and, except in the case of amounts made available under subsection (h), may not include”; and

(3) in section 2106(a)(1), by inserting “subsection (a) or (g) of” before “section 2105”.

(c) IMPLEMENTATION.—The Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services shall implement this section, including the amendments made by this section, by

program instruction or other forms of program guidance.

Subtitle C—Increase in Debt Limit

SEC. 72001. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The limitation under section 3101(b) of title 31, United States Code, as most recently increased by section 401(b) of Public Law 118–5 (31 U.S.C. 3101 note), is increased by \$500,000,000,000.

TITLE VIII—COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS

Subtitle A—Exemption of Certain Assets

SEC. 80001. EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ASSETS.

(a) EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ASSETS.—Section 480(f)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087vv(f)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking “net value of the” and inserting the following: “net value of—

“(A) the”;

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) a family farm on which the family resides;

“(C) a small business with not more than 100 full-time or full-time equivalent employees (or any part of such a small business) that is owned and controlled by the family; or

“(D) a commercial fishing business and related expenses, including fishing vessels and permits owned and controlled by the family.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year, as determined under the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001 et seq.).

Subtitle B—Loan Limits

SEC. 81001. ESTABLISHMENT OF LOAN LIMITS FOR GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS AND PARENT BORROWERS; TERMINATION OF GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL PLUS LOANS.

Section 455(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in the paragraph heading, by inserting “AND FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS” after “LOANS”;

(B) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO MAKE INTEREST SUBSIDIZED LOANS TO GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS.—Subject to subparagraph (B), and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B—

“(i) for any period of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 2012, a graduate or professional student shall not be eligible to receive a Federal Direct Stafford loan under this part; and

“(ii) for any period of instruction beginning on July 1, 2012, and ending on June 30, 2026, the maximum annual amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans such a student may borrow in any academic year (as defined in section 481(a)(2)) or its equivalent shall be the maximum annual amount for such student determined under section 428H, plus an amount equal to the amount of Federal Direct Stafford loans the student would have received in the absence of this subparagraph.”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO MAKE FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS TO GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, for any period of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 2026, a graduate or professional student shall

not be eligible to receive a Federal Direct PLUS Loan under this part.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL ANNUAL AND AGGREGATE LIMITS FOR FEDERAL DIRECT UNSUBSIDIZED STAFFORD LOANS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) ANNUAL LIMITS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—Subject to paragraphs (7)(A) and (8), beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum annual amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans—

“(i) a graduate student, who is not a professional student, may borrow in any academic year or its equivalent shall be \$20,500; and

“(ii) a professional student may borrow in any academic year or its equivalent shall be \$50,000.

“(B) AGGREGATE LIMITS.—Subject to paragraphs (6), (7)(A), and (8), beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum aggregate amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans, in addition to the amount borrowed for undergraduate education, that—

“(i) a graduate student—

“(I) who is not (and has not been) a professional student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i) shall be \$100,000; or

“(II) who is (or has been) a professional student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i) shall be an amount equal to—

“(aa) \$200,000; minus

“(bb) the amount such student borrowed for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii); and

“(ii) a professional student—

“(I) who is not (and has not been) a graduate student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii) shall be \$200,000; or

“(II) who is (or has been) a graduate student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii) shall be an amount equal to—

“(aa) \$200,000; minus

“(bb) the amount such student borrowed for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i).

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—

“(i) GRADUATE STUDENT.—The term ‘graduate student’ means a student enrolled in a program of study that awards a graduate credential (other than a professional degree) upon completion of the program.

“(ii) PROFESSIONAL STUDENT.—In this paragraph, the term ‘professional student’ means a student enrolled in a program of study that awards a professional degree, as defined under section 668.2 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), upon completion of the program.

“(5) PARENT BORROWER ANNUAL AND AGGREGATE LIMITS FOR FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) ANNUAL LIMITS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, for each dependent student, the total maximum annual amount of Federal Direct PLUS loans that may be borrowed on behalf of that dependent student by all parents of that dependent student shall be \$20,000.

“(B) AGGREGATE LIMITS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, for each dependent student, the total maximum aggregate amount of Federal Direct PLUS loans that may be borrowed on behalf of that dependent student by all parents of that dependent student shall be \$65,000, without regard to any amounts repaid, forgiven, canceled, or otherwise discharged on any such loan.

“(6) LIFETIME MAXIMUM AGGREGATE AMOUNT FOR ALL STUDENTS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum aggregate amount of loans made, insured, or guaranteed under this title that a student may borrow (other than a Federal Direct PLUS loan, or loan under section 428B, made to the student as a parent borrower on behalf of a dependent student) shall be \$257,500, without regard to any amounts repaid, forgiven, canceled, or otherwise discharged on any such loan.

“(7) ADDITIONAL RULES REGARDING ANNUAL LOAN LIMITS.—

“(A) LESS THAN FULL-TIME ENROLLMENT.—Notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, in any case in which a student is enrolled in a program of study of an institution of higher education on less than a full-time basis during any academic year, the amount of a loan that student may borrow for an academic year or its equivalent shall be reduced in direct proportion to the degree to which that student is not so enrolled on a full-time basis, rounded to the nearest whole percentage point, as provided in a schedule of reductions published by the Secretary computed for purposes of this subparagraph.

“(B) INSTITUTIONALLY DETERMINED LIMITS.—Notwithstanding the annual loan limits established under this section and, for undergraduate students, under this part and part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, an institution of higher education (at the discretion of a financial aid administrator at the institution) may limit the total amount of loans made under this part for a program of study for an academic year that a student may borrow, and that a parent may borrow on behalf of such student, as long as any such limit is applied consistently to all students enrolled in such program of study.

“(8) INTERIM EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN STUDENTS.—

“(A) APPLICATION OF PRIOR LIMITS.—Paragraphs (3)(C), (4), (5), and (6) shall not apply, and paragraph (3)(A)(ii) shall apply as such paragraph was in effect for periods of instruction ending before June 30, 2026, during the expected time to credential described in subparagraph (B), with respect to an individual who, as of June 30, 2026—

“(i) is enrolled in a program of study at an institution of higher education; and

“(ii) has received a loan (or on whose behalf a loan was made) under this part for such program of study.

“(B) EXPECTED TIME TO CREDENTIAL.—For purposes of this paragraph, the expected time to credential of an individual shall be equal to the lesser of—

“(i) three academic years; or

“(ii) the period determined by calculating the difference between—

“(I) the program length for the program of study in which the individual is enrolled; and

“(II) the period of such program of study that such individual has completed as of the date of the determination under this subparagraph.

“(C) DEFINITION OF PROGRAM LENGTH.—In this paragraph, the term ‘program length’ means the minimum amount of time in weeks, months, or years that is specified in the catalog, marketing materials, or other official publications of an institution of higher education for a full-time student to complete the requirements for a specific program of study.”

Subtitle C—Loan Repayment

SEC. 82001. LOAN REPAYMENT.

(a) TRANSITION TO INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT PLANS.—

(1) SELECTION.—The Secretary of Education shall take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that before July 1, 2023,

each borrower who has one or more loans that are in a repayment status in accordance with, or an administrative forbearance associated with, an income contingent repayment plan authorized under section 455(e) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (referred to in this subsection as “covered income contingent loans”) selects one of the following income-based repayment plans that is otherwise applicable, and for which that borrower is otherwise eligible, for the repayment of the covered income contingent loans of the borrower:

(A) The Repayment Assistance Plan under section 455(q) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(B) The income-based repayment plan under section 493C of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(C) Any other repayment plan as authorized under section 455(d)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(2) COMMENCEMENT OF NEW REPAYMENT PLAN.—Beginning on July 1, 2023, a borrower described in paragraph (1) shall begin repaying the covered income contingent loans of the borrower in accordance with the repayment plan selected under paragraph (1), unless the borrower chooses to begin repaying in accordance with the repayment plan selected under paragraph (1) before such date.

(3) FAILURE TO SELECT.—In the case of a borrower described in paragraph (1) who fails to select a repayment plan in accordance with such paragraph, the Secretary of Education shall—

(A) enroll the covered income contingent loans of such borrower in—

(i) the Repayment Assistance Plan under section 455(q) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 with respect to loans that are eligible for the Repayment Assistance Plan under such subsection; or

(ii) the income-based repayment plan under section 493C of such Act, with respect to loans that are not eligible for the Repayment Assistance Plan; and

(B) require the borrower to begin repaying covered income contingent loans according to the plans under subparagraph (A) on July 1, 2023.

(b) REPAYMENT PLANS.—Section 455(d) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(d)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by inserting “before July 1, 2026, who has not received a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026,” after “made under this part”; and

(B) in subparagraph (D)—

(i) by inserting “before June 30, 2023,” before “an income contingent repayment plan”; and

(ii) by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(C) in subparagraph (E)—

(i) by striking “that enables borrowers who have a partial financial hardship to make a lower monthly payment”; and

(ii) by striking “a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on such Federal Direct PLUS Loan or a loan under section 428B made on behalf of a dependent student” and inserting “an excepted Consolidation Loan (as defined in section 493C(a)(2))”; and

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(F) beginning on July 1, 2026, the income-based Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q), provided that—

“(i) such Plan shall not be available for the repayment of excepted loans (as defined in paragraph (7)(E)); and

“(ii) the borrower is required to pay each outstanding loan of the borrower made under

this part under such Repayment Assistance Plan, except that a borrower of an excepted loan (as defined in paragraph (7)(E)) may repay the excepted loan separately from other loans under this part obtained by the borrower.”;

(2) in paragraph (5), by amending subparagraph (B) to read as follows:

“(B) repay the loan pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under subsection (q) or section 493C, as applicable.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(6) TERMINATION AND LIMITATION OF REPAYMENT AUTHORITY.—

“(A) SUNSET OF REPAYMENT PLANS AVAILABLE BEFORE JULY 1, 2026.—Paragraphs (1) through (4) of this subsection shall only apply to loans made under this part before July 1, 2026.

“(B) PROHIBITIONS.—The Secretary may not, for any loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026—

“(i) authorize a borrower of such a loan to repay such loan pursuant to a repayment plan that is not described in paragraph (7)(A); or

“(ii) carry out or modify a repayment plan that is not described in such paragraph.

“(7) REPAYMENT PLANS FOR LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) DESIGN AND SELECTION.—Beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall offer a borrower of a loan made under this part on or after such date (including such a borrower who also has a loan made under this part before such date) two plans for repayment of the borrower’s loans under this part, including principal and interest on such loans. The borrower shall be entitled to accelerate, without penalty, repayment on such loans. The borrower may choose—

“(i) a standard repayment plan—

“(I) with a fixed monthly repayment amount paid over a fixed period of time equal to the applicable period determined under subclause (II); and

“(II) with the applicable period of time for repayment determined based on the total outstanding principal of all loans of the borrower made under this part before, on, or after July 1, 2026, at the time the borrower is entering repayment under such plan, as follows—

“(aa) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of less than \$25,000, a period of 10 years;

“(bb) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of not less than \$25,000 and less than \$50,000, a period of 15 years;

“(cc) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of not less than \$50,000 and less than \$100,000, a period of 20 years; and

“(dd) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of \$100,000 or more, a period of 25 years; or

“(ii) the income-based Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q).

“(B) SELECTION BY SECRETARY.—If a borrower of a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026, does not select a repayment plan described in subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall provide the borrower with the standard repayment plan described in subparagraph (A)(i).

“(C) SELECTION APPLIES TO ALL OUTSTANDING LOANS.—A borrower is required to pay each outstanding loan of the borrower made under this part under the same selected repayment plan, except that a borrower who selects the Repayment Assistance Plan and also has an excepted loan that is not eligible for repayment under such Repayment Assistance Plan shall repay the excepted loan separately from other loans under this part obtained by the borrower.

“(D) CHANGES OF REPAYMENT PLAN.—A borrower may change the borrower’s selection of—

“(i) the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(1), or the Secretary’s selection of such plan for the borrower under subparagraph (B), as the case may be, to the Repayment Assistance Plan under subparagraph (A)(ii) at any time; and

“(ii) the Repayment Assistance Plan under subparagraph (A)(ii) to the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i) at any time.

“(E) REPAYMENT FOR BORROWERS WITH EXCEPTED LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—

“(i) STANDARD REPAYMENT PLAN REQUIRED.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (D), beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall require a borrower who has received an excepted loan made on or after such date (including such a borrower who also has an excepted loan made before such date) to repay each excepted loan, including principal and interest on those excepted loans, under the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i). The borrower shall be entitled to accelerate, without penalty, repayment on such loans.

“(ii) EXCEPTED LOAN DEFINED.—For the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘excepted loan’ means a loan with an outstanding balance that is—

“(I) a Federal Direct PLUS Loan that is made on behalf of a dependent student; or

“(II) a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on—

“(aa) an excepted PLUS loan, as defined in section 493C(a)(1); or

“(bb) an excepted consolidation loan (as such term is defined in section 493C(a)(2)(A), notwithstanding subparagraph (B) of such section).”

(C) ELIMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT PLANS.—

(1) REPEAL.—Subsection (e) of section 455 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(e)) is repealed.

(2) FURTHER AMENDMENTS TO ELIMINATE INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT.—

(A) Section 428 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078) is amended—

(i) in subsection (b)(1)(D), by striking “be subject to income contingent repayment in accordance with subsection (m)” and inserting “be subject to income-based repayment in accordance with subsection (m)”;

(ii) in subsection (m)—

(I) in the subsection heading, by striking “INCOME CONTINGENT AND”;

(II) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) AUTHORITY OF SECRETARY TO REQUIRE.—The Secretary may require borrowers who have defaulted on loans made under this part that are assigned to the Secretary under subsection (c)(8) to repay those loans pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C.”; and

(III) in the heading of paragraph (2), by striking “INCOME CONTINGENT OR”.

(B) Section 428C of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078–3) is amended—

(i) in subsection (a)(3)(B)(i)(V)(aa), by striking “for the purposes of obtaining income contingent repayment or income-based repayment” and inserting “for the purposes of qualifying for an income-based repayment plan under section 455(q) or section 493C, as applicable”;

(ii) in subsection (b)(5), by striking “be repaid either pursuant to income contingent repayment under part D of this title, pursuant to income-based repayment under section 493C, or pursuant to any other repayment provision under this section” and inserting “be repaid pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C or any other repayment provision under this section”;

(iii) in subsection (c)—

(I) in paragraph (2)(A), by striking “or by the terms of repayment pursuant to income contingent repayment offered by the Secretary under subsection (b)(5)” and inserting “or by the terms of repayment pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C”; and

(II) in paragraph (3)(B), by striking “except as required by the terms of repayment pursuant to income contingent repayment offered by the Secretary under subsection (b)(5)” and inserting “except as required by the terms of repayment pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C”.

(C) Section 485(d)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1092(d)(1)) is amended by striking “income-contingent and”.

(D) Section 494(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098h(a)(2)) is amended—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by striking “INCOME-CONTINGENT AND INCOME-BASED” and inserting “INCOME-BASED”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “income-contingent or”; and

(II) in clause (ii)(I), by striking “section 455(e)(8) or the equivalent procedures established under section 493C(c)(2)(B), as applicable” and inserting “section 493C(c)(2)”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on July 1, 2028.

(d) REPAYMENT ASSISTANCE PLAN.—Section 455 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(q) REPAYMENT ASSISTANCE PLAN.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall carry out an income-based repayment plan (to be known as the ‘Repayment Assistance Plan’), that shall have the following terms and conditions:

“(A) The total monthly repayment amount owed by a borrower for all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan shall be equal to the applicable monthly payment of a borrower calculated under paragraph (4)(B), except that the borrower may not be precluded from repaying an amount that exceeds such amount for any month.

“(B) The Secretary shall apply the borrower’s applicable monthly payment under this paragraph first toward interest due on each such loan, next toward any fees due on each loan, and then toward the principal of each loan.

“(C) Any principal due and not paid under subparagraph (B) or paragraph (2)(B) shall be deferred.

“(D) A borrower who is not in a period of deferment or forbearance shall make an applicable monthly payment for each month until the earlier of—

“(i) the date on which the outstanding balance of principal and interest due on all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan is \$0; or

“(ii) the date on which the borrower has made 360 qualifying monthly payments.

“(E) The Secretary shall cancel any outstanding balance of principal and interest due on a loan made under this part to a borrower—

“(i) who, for any period of time, participated in the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection;

“(ii) whose most recent payment for such loan prior to the loan cancellation under this subparagraph was made under such Repayment Assistance Plan; and

“(iii) who has made 360 qualifying monthly payments on such loan.

“(F) For the purposes of this subsection, the term ‘qualifying monthly payment’ means any of the following:

“(i) An on-time applicable monthly payment under this subsection.

“(ii) An on-time monthly payment under the standard repayment plan under subsection (d)(7)(A)(i) of not less than the monthly payment required under such plan.

“(iii) A monthly payment under any repayment plan (excluding the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection) of not less than the monthly payment that would be required under a standard repayment plan under section 455(d)(1)(A) with a repayment period of 10 years.

“(iv) A monthly payment under section 493C of not less than the monthly payment required under such section, including a monthly payment equal to the minimum payment amount permitted under such section.

“(v) A monthly payment made before July 1, 2028, under an income contingent repayment plan carried out under section 455(d)(1)(D) (or under an alternative repayment plan in lieu of repayment under such an income contingent repayment plan, if placed in such an alternative repayment plan by the Secretary) of not less than the monthly payment required under such a plan, including a monthly payment equal to the minimum payment amount permitted under such a plan.

“(vi) A month when the borrower did not make a payment because the borrower was in deferment under subsection (f)(2)(B) or due to an economic hardship described in subsection (f)(2)(D).

“(vii) A month that ended before the date of enactment of this subsection when the borrower did not make a payment because the borrower was in a period of deferment or forbearance described in section 685.209(k)(4)(iv) of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this subsection).

“(G) The procedures established by the Secretary under section 493C(c) shall apply for annually determining the borrower’s eligibility for the Repayment Assistance Plan, including verification of a borrower’s annual income and the annual amount due on the total amount of loans eligible to be repaid under this subsection, and such other procedures as are necessary to effectively implement income-based repayment under this subsection. With respect to carrying out section 494(a)(2) for the Repayment Assistance Plan, an individual may elect to opt out of the disclosures required under section 494(a)(2)(A)(ii) in accordance with the procedures established under section 493C(c)(2).

“(2) BALANCE ASSISTANCE FOR DISTRESSED BORROWERS.—

“(A) INTEREST SUBSIDY.—With respect to a borrower of a loan made under this part, for each month for which such a borrower makes an on-time applicable monthly payment required under paragraph (1)(A) and such monthly payment is insufficient to pay the total amount of interest that accrues for the month on all loans of the borrower repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection, the amount of interest accrued and not paid for the month shall not be charged to the borrower.

“(B) MATCHING PRINCIPAL PAYMENT.—With respect to a borrower of a loan made under this part and not in a period of deferment or forbearance, for each month for which a borrower makes an on-time applicable monthly payment required under paragraph (1)(A) and such monthly payment reduces the total outstanding principal balance of all loans of

the borrower repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection by less than \$50, the Secretary shall reduce such total outstanding principal balance of the borrower by an amount that is equal to—

“(i) the amount that is the lesser of—

“(I) \$50; or

“(II) the total amount paid by the borrower for such month pursuant to paragraph (1)(A); minus

“(ii) the total amount paid by the borrower for such month pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) that is applied to such total outstanding principal balance.

“(3) ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS.—A borrower who chooses, or is required, to repay a loan under this subsection, and for whom adjusted gross income is unavailable or does not reasonably reflect the borrower’s current income, shall provide to the Secretary other documentation of income satisfactory to the Secretary, which documentation the Secretary may use to determine repayment under this subsection.

“(4) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(A) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—The term ‘adjusted gross income’, when used with respect to a borrower, means the adjusted gross income (as such term is defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the borrower (and the borrower’s spouse, as applicable) for the most recent taxable year, except that, in the case of a married borrower who files a separate Federal income tax return, the term does not include the adjusted gross income of the borrower’s spouse.

“(B) APPLICABLE MONTHLY PAYMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in clause (ii), (iii), or (vi), the term ‘applicable monthly payment’ means, when used with respect to a borrower, the amount equal to—

“(I) the applicable base payment of the borrower, divided by 12; minus

“(II) \$50 for each dependent of the borrower (which, in the case of a married borrower filing a separate Federal income tax return, shall include only each dependent that the borrower claims on that return).

“(ii) MINIMUM AMOUNT.—In the case of a borrower with an applicable monthly payment amount calculated under clause (i) that is less than \$10, the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be \$10.

“(iii) FINAL PAYMENT.—In the case of a borrower whose total outstanding balance of principal and interest on all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan is less than the applicable monthly payment calculated pursuant to clause (i) or (ii), as applicable, then the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be the total outstanding balance of principal and interest on all such loans.

“(iv) BASE PAYMENT.—The amount of the applicable base payment for a borrower with an adjusted gross income of—

“(I) not more than \$10,000, is \$120;

“(II) more than \$10,000 and not more than \$20,000, is 1 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(III) more than \$20,000 and not more than \$30,000, is 2 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(IV) more than \$30,000 and not more than \$40,000, is 3 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(V) more than \$40,000 and not more than \$50,000, is 4 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VI) more than \$50,000 and not more than \$60,000, is 5 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VII) more than \$60,000 and not more than \$70,000, is 6 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VIII) more than \$70,000 and not more than \$80,000, is 7 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(IX) more than \$80,000 and not more than \$90,000, is 8 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(X) more than \$90,000 and not more than \$100,000, is 9 percent of such adjusted gross income; and

“(XI) more than \$100,000, is 10 percent of such adjusted gross income.

“(v) DEPENDENT.—For the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘dependent’ means an individual who is a dependent under section 152 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

“(vi) SPECIAL RULE.—In the case of a borrower who is required by the Secretary to provide information to the Secretary to determine the applicable monthly payment of the borrower under this subparagraph, and who does not comply with such requirement, the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be—

“(I) the sum of the monthly payment amounts the borrower would have paid for each of the borrower’s loans made under this part under a standard repayment plan with a fixed monthly repayment amount, paid over a period of 10 years, based on the outstanding principal due on such loan when such loan entered repayment; and

“(II) determined pursuant to this clause until the date on which the borrower provides such information to the Secretary.”

(e) FEDERAL CONSOLIDATION LOANS.—Section 455(g) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(g)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) CONSOLIDATION LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—A Federal Direct Consolidation Loan offered to a borrower under this part on or after July 1, 2026, may only be repaid pursuant to a repayment plan described in clause (i) or (ii) of subsection (d)(7)(A) of this section, as applicable, and the repayment schedule of such a Consolidation Loan shall be determined in accordance with such repayment plan.”

(f) INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT.—

(1) AMENDMENTS.—

(A) EXCEPTED CONSOLIDATION LOAN DEFINED.—Section 493C(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(a)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) EXCEPTED CONSOLIDATION LOAN.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘excepted consolidation loan’ means—

“(i) a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on an excepted PLUS loan; or

“(ii) a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan described in clause (i).

“(B) EXCLUSION.—The term ‘excepted consolidation loan’ does not include a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan described in subparagraph (A) that, on any date during the period beginning on the date of enactment of this subparagraph and ending on June 30, 2028, was being repaid—

“(i) pursuant to the Income Contingent Repayment (ICR) plan in accordance with section 685.209(b) of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on June 30, 2023); or

“(ii) pursuant to another income driven repayment plan.”

(B) TERMINATION OF PARTIAL FINANCIAL HARDSHIP ELIGIBILITY.—Section 493C(a)(3) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

“(3) APPLICABLE AMOUNT.—The term ‘applicable amount’ means 15 percent of the result obtained by calculating, on at least an annual basis, the amount by which—

“(A) the borrower’s, and the borrower’s spouse’s (if applicable), adjusted gross income; exceeds

“(B) 150 percent of the poverty line applicable to the borrower’s family size as determined under section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)).”

(C) TERMS OF INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT.—Section 493C(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(b)) is amended—

(i) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) a borrower of any loan made, insured, or guaranteed under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan), may elect to have the borrower’s aggregate monthly payment for all such loans not exceed the applicable amount divided by 12;”

(ii) by striking paragraph (6) and inserting the following:

“(6) if the monthly payment amount calculated under this section for all loans made to the borrower under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan) exceeds the monthly amount calculated under section 428(b)(9)(A)(i) or 455(d)(1)(A), based on a 10-year repayment period, when the borrower first made the election described in this subsection (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘standard monthly repayment amount’), or if the borrower no longer wishes to continue the election under this subsection, then—

“(A) the maximum monthly payment required to be paid for all loans made to the borrower under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan) shall be the standard monthly repayment amount; and

“(B) the amount of time the borrower is permitted to repay such loans may exceed 10 years;”

(iii) in paragraph (7)(B)(iv), by inserting “(as such section was in effect on the day before the date of the repeal of section 455(e))” after “section 455(d)(1)(D)”; and

(iv) in paragraph (8), by inserting “or the Repayment Assistance Program under section 455(q)” after “standard repayment plan”.

(D) ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATIONS.—Section 493C(c) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(c)) is amended to read as follows:

“(c) ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATIONS; AUTOMATIC RECERTIFICATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish procedures for annually determining, in accordance with paragraph (2), the borrower’s eligibility for income-based repayment, including the verification of a borrower’s annual income and the annual amount due on the total amount of loans made, insured, or guaranteed under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan), and such other procedures as are necessary to effectively implement income-based repayment under this section. The Secretary shall consider, but is not limited to, the procedures established in accordance with section 455(e)(1) (as in effect on the day before the date of repeal of subsection (e) of section 455) or in connection with income sensitive repayment schedules under section 428(b)(9)(A)(iii) or 428C(b)(1)(E).

“(2) AUTOMATIC RECERTIFICATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish and implement, with respect to any borrower enrolled in an income-based repayment program under this section or under section 455(q), procedures to—

“(i) use return information disclosed under section 6103(l)(13) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, pursuant to approval provided

under section 494, to determine the repayment obligation of the borrower without further action by the borrower;

“(ii) allow the borrower (or the spouse of the borrower), at any time, to opt out of disclosure under such section 6103(l)(13) and instead provide such information as the Secretary may require to determine the repayment obligation of the borrower (or withdraw from the repayment plan under this section or under section 455(q), as the case may be); and

“(iii) provide the borrower with an opportunity to update the return information so disclosed before the determination of the repayment obligation of the borrower.

“(B) APPLICABILITY.—Subparagraph (A) shall apply to each borrower of a loan eligible to be repaid under this section or under section 455(q), who, on or after the date on which the Secretary establishes procedures under such subparagraph (A)—

“(i) selects, or is required to repay such loan pursuant to, an income-based repayment plan under this section or under section 455(q); or

“(ii) recertifies income or family size under such plan.”.

(E) SPECIAL TERMS FOR NEW BORROWERS ON AND AFTER JULY 1, 2014.—Section 493C(e) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(e)) is amended—

(i) in the subsection heading, by inserting “AND BEFORE JULY 1, 2026” after “AFTER JULY 1, 2014”; and

(ii) by inserting “and before July 1, 2026” after “after July 1, 2014”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of enactment of this title, and shall apply with respect to any borrower who is in repayment before, on, or after the date of enactment of this title.

(g) FFEL ADJUSTMENT.—Section 428(b)(9)(A)(v) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078(b)(9)(A)(v)) is amended by striking “who has a partial financial hardship”.

SEC. 82002. DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE.

(a) SUNSET OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND UNEMPLOYMENT DEFERMENTS.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended—

(1) by striking the subsection heading and inserting the following: “DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE”;

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(B) in subparagraph (D), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(7) SUNSET OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP DEFERMENTS.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2027, shall not be eligible to defer such loan under subparagraph (B) or (D) of paragraph (2).”.

(b) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(8) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2027, may only be eligible for a forbearance on such loan pursuant to section 428(c)(3)(B) that does not exceed 9 months during any 24-month period.”.

SEC. 82003. LOAN REHABILITATION.

(a) UPDATING LOAN REHABILITATION LIMITS.—

(1) FFEL AND DIRECT LOANS.—Section 428F(a)(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965

(20 U.S.C. 1078-6(a)(5)) is amended by striking “one time” and inserting “two times”.

(2) PERKINS LOANS.—Section 464(h)(1)(D) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087dd(h)(1)(D)) is amended by striking “once” and inserting “twice”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect beginning on July 1, 2027, and shall apply with respect to any loan made, insured, or guaranteed under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070 et seq.).

(b) MINIMUM MONTHLY PAYMENT AMOUNT.—Section 428F(a)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-6(a)(1)(B)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“With respect to a borrower who has 1 or more loans made under part D on or after July 1, 2027 that are described in subparagraph (A), the total monthly payment of the borrower for all such loans shall not be less than \$10.”.

SEC. 82004. PUBLIC SERVICE LOAN FORGIVENESS.

Section 455(m)(1)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(m)(1)(A)) is amended—

(1) in clause (iii), by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in clause (iv), by striking “; and” and inserting “(as in effect on the day before the date of the repeal of subsection (e) of this section); or”; and

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

“(v) on-time payments under the Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q); and”.

SEC. 82005. STUDENT LOAN SERVICING.

Paragraph (1) of section 458(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087h(a)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) ADDITIONAL MANDATORY FUNDS FOR SERVICING.—There shall be available to the Secretary (in addition to any other amounts appropriated under any appropriations Act for administrative costs under this part and part B and out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated) \$1,000,000,000 to be obligated for administrative costs under this part and part B, including the costs of servicing the direct student loan programs under this part, which shall remain available until expended.”.

Subtitle D—Pell Grants

SEC. 83001. ELIGIBILITY.

(a) FOREIGN INCOME AND FEDERAL PELL GRANT ELIGIBILITY.—

(1) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME DEFINED.—Section 401(a)(2)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(a)(2)(A)) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) the term ‘adjusted gross income’ means—

“(i) in the case of a dependent student, for the second tax year preceding the academic year—

“(I) the adjusted gross income (as defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the student’s parents; plus

“(II) for Federal Pell Grant determinations made for academic years beginning on or after July 1, 2026, the foreign income (as described in section 480(b)(5)) of the student’s parents; and

“(ii) in the case of an independent student, for the second tax year preceding the academic year—

“(I) the adjusted gross income (as defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the student (and the student’s spouse, if applicable); plus

“(II) for Federal Pell Grant determinations made for academic years beginning on or after July 1, 2026, the foreign income (as described in section 480(b)(5)) of the student (and the student’s spouse, if applicable);”.

(2) SUNSET.—Section 401(b)(1)(D) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(1)(D)) is amended—

(A) by striking “A student” and inserting “For each academic year beginning before July 1, 2026, a student”; and

(B) by inserting “, as in effect for such academic year,” after “section 479A(b)(1)(B)(v)”.

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 479A(b)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087tt(b)(1)(B)) is amended—

(i) by striking clause (v); and

(ii) by redesignating clauses (vi) and (vii) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subparagraph (A) shall take effect on July 1, 2026.

(b) FEDERAL PELL GRANT INELIGIBILITY DUE TO A HIGH STUDENT AID INDEX.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 401(b)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(F) INELIGIBILITY OF STUDENTS WITH A HIGH STUDENT AID INDEX.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), a student shall not be eligible for a Federal Pell Grant under this subsection for an academic year in which the student has a student aid index that equals or exceeds twice the amount of the total maximum Federal Pell Grant for such academic year.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall take effect on July 1, 2026.

SEC. 83002. WORKFORCE PELL GRANTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 401 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(k) WORKFORCE PELL GRANT PROGRAM.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For the award year beginning on July 1, 2026, and each subsequent award year, the Secretary shall award grants (to be known as ‘Workforce Pell Grants’) to eligible students under paragraph (2) in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.—To be eligible to receive a Workforce Pell Grant under this subsection for any period of enrollment, a student shall meet the eligibility requirements for a Federal Pell Grant under this section, except that the student—

“(A) shall be enrolled, or accepted for enrollment, in an eligible program under section 481(b)(3) (hereinafter referred to as an ‘eligible workforce program’); and

“(B) may not—

“(i) be enrolled, or accepted for enrollment, in a program of study that leads to a graduate credential; or

“(ii) have attained such a credential.

“(3) TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF AWARDS.—The Secretary shall award Workforce Pell Grants under this subsection in the same manner and with the same terms and conditions as the Secretary awards Federal Pell Grants under this section, except that—

“(A) each use of the term ‘eligible program’ (except in subsection (b)(9)(A)) shall be substituted by ‘eligible workforce program under section 481(b)(3)’;

“(B) the provisions of subsection (d)(2) shall not be applicable to eligible workforce programs; and

“(C) a student who is eligible for a grant equal to less than the amount of the minimum Federal Pell Grant because the eligible workforce program in which the student is enrolled or accepted for enrollment is less than an academic year (in hours of instruction or weeks of duration) may still be eligible for a Workforce Pell Grant in an amount that is prorated based on the length of the program.

“(4) PREVENTION OF DOUBLE BENEFITS.—No eligible student described in paragraph (2)

may concurrently receive a grant under both this subsection and—

- “(A) subsection (b); or
- “(B) subsection (c).

“(5) DURATION LIMIT.—Any period of study covered by a Workforce Pell Grant awarded under this subsection shall be included in determining a student’s duration limit under subsection (d)(5).”

(b) PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY FOR WORKFORCE PELL GRANTS.—Section 481(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1088(b)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3)(A) A program is an eligible program for purposes of the Workforce Pell Grant program under section 401(k) only if—

“(i) it is a program of at least 150 clock hours of instruction, but less than 600 clock hours of instruction, or an equivalent number of credit hours, offered by an eligible institution during a minimum of 8 weeks, but less than 15 weeks;

“(ii) it is not offered as a correspondence course, as defined in 600.2 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on July 1, 2021);

“(iii) the Governor of a State, after consultation with the State board, determines that the program—

“(I) provides an education aligned with the requirements of high-skill, high-wage (as identified by the State pursuant to section 122 of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act (20 U.S.C. 2342)), or in-demand industry sectors or occupations;

“(II) meets the hiring requirements of potential employers in the sectors or occupations described in subclause (I);

“(III) either—

“(aa) leads to a recognized postsecondary credential that is stackable and portable across more than one employer; or

“(bb) with respect to students enrolled in the program—

“(AA) prepares such students for employment in an occupation for which there is only one recognized postsecondary credential; and

“(BB) provides such students with such a credential upon completion of such program; and

“(IV) prepares students to pursue 1 or more certificate or degree programs at 1 or more institutions of higher education (which may include the eligible institution providing the program), including by ensuring—

“(aa) that a student, upon completion of the program and enrollment in such a related certificate or degree program, will receive academic credit for the Workforce Pell program that will be accepted toward meeting such certificate or degree program requirements; and

“(bb) the acceptability of such credit toward meeting such certificate or degree program requirements; and

“(iv) after the Governor of such State makes the determination that the program meets the requirements under clause (iii), the Secretary determines that—

“(I) the program has been offered by the eligible institution for not less than 1 year prior to the date on which the Secretary makes a determination under this clause;

“(II) for each award year, the program has a verified completion rate of at least 70 percent, within 150 percent of the normal time for completion;

“(III) for each award year, the program has a verified job placement rate of at least 70 percent, measured 180 days after completion; and

“(IV) for each award year, the total amount of the published tuition and fees of

the program for such year is an amount that does not exceed the value-added earnings of students who received Federal financial aid under this title and who completed the program 3 years prior to the award year, as such earnings are determined by calculating the difference between—

“(aa) the median earnings of such students, as adjusted by the State and metropolitan area regional price parities of the Bureau of Economic Analysis based on the location of such program; and

“(bb) 150 percent of the poverty line applicable to a single individual as determined under section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)) for such year.

“(B) In this paragraph:

“(i) The term ‘eligible institution’ means an eligible institution for purposes of section 401.

“(ii) The term ‘Governor’ means the chief executive of a State.

“(iii) The terms ‘in-demand industry sector or occupation’, ‘recognized postsecondary credential’, and ‘State board’ have the meanings given such terms in section 3 of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE; APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026–2027 and each succeeding award year.

SEC. 83003. PELL SHORTFALL.

Section 401(b)(7)(A)(iii) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(7)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking “\$2,170,000,000” and inserting “\$12,670,000,000”.

SEC. 83004. FEDERAL PELL GRANT EXCLUSION RELATING TO OTHER GRANT AID.

Section 401(d) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—Beginning on July 1, 2026, and notwithstanding this subsection or subsection (b), a student shall not be eligible for a Federal Pell Grant under subsection (b) during any period for which the student receives grant aid from non-Federal sources, including States, institutions of higher education, or private sources, in an amount that equals or exceeds the student’s cost of attendance for such period.”

Subtitle E—Accountability

SEC. 84001. INELIGIBILITY BASED ON LOW EARNING OUTCOMES.

Section 454 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) provide assurances that, beginning July 1, 2026, the institution will comply with all requirements of subsection (c); and”;

(2) in subsection (b)(2), by striking “and (6)” and inserting “(6), and (7)”;

(3) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d); and

(4) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

“(c) INELIGIBILITY FOR CERTAIN PROGRAMS BASED ON LOW EARNING OUTCOMES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 481(b), an institution of higher education subject to this subsection shall not use funds under this part for student enrollment in an educational program offered by the institution that is described in paragraph (2).

“(2) LOW-EARNING OUTCOME PROGRAMS DESCRIBED.—An educational program at an institution is described in this paragraph if the

program awards an undergraduate degree, graduate or professional degree, or graduate certificate, for which the median earnings (as determined by the Secretary) of the programmatic cohort of students who received funds under this title for enrollment in such program, who completed such program during the academic year that is 4 years before the year of the determination, who are not enrolled in any institution of higher education, and who are working, are, for not less than 2 of the 3 years immediately preceding the date of the determination, less than the median earnings of a working adult described in paragraph (3) for the corresponding year.

“(3) CALCULATION OF MEDIAN EARNINGS.—

“(A) WORKING ADULT.—For purposes of applying paragraph (2) to an educational program at an institution, a working adult described in this paragraph is a working adult who, for the corresponding year—

“(i) is aged 25 to 34;

“(ii) is not enrolled in an institution of higher education; and

“(iii) (I) in the case of a determination made for an educational program that awards a baccalaureate or lesser degree, has only a high school diploma or its recognized equivalent; or

“(II) in the case of a determination made for a graduate or professional program, has only a baccalaureate degree.

“(B) SOURCE OF DATA.—For purposes of applying paragraph (2) to an educational program at an institution, the median earnings of a working adult, as described in subparagraph (A), shall be based on data from the Bureau of the Census—

“(i) with respect to an educational program that awards a baccalaureate or lesser degree—

“(I) for the State in which the institution is located; or

“(II) if fewer than 50 percent of the students enrolled in the institution reside in the State where the institution is located, for the entire United States; and

“(ii) with respect to an educational program that is a graduate or professional program—

“(I) for the lowest median earnings of—

“(aa) a working adult in the State in which the institution is located;

“(bb) a working adult in the same field of study (as determined by the Secretary, such as by using the 2-digit CIP code) in the State in which the institution is located; and

“(cc) a working adult in the same field of study (as so determined) in the entire United States; or

“(II) if fewer than 50 percent of the students enrolled in the institution reside in the State where the institution is located, for the lower median earnings of—

“(aa) a working adult in the entire United States; or

“(bb) a working adult in the same field of study (as so determined) in the entire United States.

“(4) SMALL PROGRAMMATIC COHORTS.—For any year for which the programmatic cohort described in paragraph (2) for an educational program of an institution is fewer than 30 individuals, the Secretary shall—

“(A) first, aggregate additional years of programmatic data in order to achieve a cohort of at least 30 individuals; and

“(B) second, in cases in which the cohort (including the individuals added under subparagraph (A)) is still fewer than 30 individuals, aggregate additional cohort years of programmatic data for educational programs of equivalent length in order to achieve a cohort of at least 30 individuals.

“(5) APPEALS PROCESS.—An educational program shall not lose eligibility under this subsection unless the institution has had the

opportunity to appeal the programmatic median earnings of students working and not enrolled determination under paragraph (2), through a process established by the Secretary. During such appeal, the Secretary may permit the educational program to continue to participate in the program under this part.

“(6) NOTICE TO STUDENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If an educational program of an institution of higher education subject to this subsection does not meet the cohort median earning requirements, as described in paragraph (2), for one year during the applicable covered period but has not yet failed to meet such requirements for 2 years during such covered period, the institution shall promptly inform each student enrolled in the educational program of the eligible program’s low cohort median earnings and that the educational program is at risk of losing its eligibility for funds under this part.

“(B) COVERED PERIOD.—In this paragraph, the term ‘covered period’ means the period of the 3 years immediately preceding the date of a determination made under paragraph (2).

“(7) REGAINING PROGRAMMATIC ELIGIBILITY.—The Secretary shall establish a process by which an institution of higher education that has an educational program that has lost eligibility under this subsection may, after a period of not less than 2 years of such program’s ineligibility, apply to regain such eligibility, subject to the requirements established by the Secretary that further the purpose of this subsection.”.

Subtitle F—Regulatory Relief

SEC. 85001. DELAY OF RULE RELATING TO BORROWER DEFENSE TO REPAYMENT.

(a) DELAY.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, for loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the provisions of subpart D of part 685 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (relating to borrower defense to repayment), as added or amended by the final regulations published by the Department of Education on November 1, 2022, and titled “Institutional Eligibility Under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as Amended; Student Assistance General Provisions; Federal Perkins Loan Program; Federal Family Education Loan Program; and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program” (87 Fed. Reg. 65904) shall not be in effect.

(b) EFFECT.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, with respect to loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, any regulations relating to borrower defense to repayment that took effect on July 1, 2020, are restored and revived as such regulations were in effect on such date.

SEC. 85002. DELAY OF RULE RELATING TO CLOSED SCHOOL DISCHARGES.

(a) DELAY.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, for loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the provisions of sections 674.33(g), 682.402(d), and 685.214 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (relating to closed school discharges), as added or amended by the final regulations published by the Department of Education on November 1, 2022, and titled “Institutional Eligibility Under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as Amended; Student Assistance General Provisions; Federal Perkins Loan Program; Federal Family Education Loan Program; and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program” (87 Fed. Reg. 65904), shall not be in effect.

(b) EFFECT.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, with respect to loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the portions of the Code of Federal Regulations described in subsection (a) and amended by the final regulations described in subsection (a) shall be in effect as if the amend-

ments made by such final regulations had not been made.

Subtitle G—Limitation on Authority

SEC. 86001. LIMITATION ON PROPOSING OR ISSUING REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.

Part G of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1088 et seq.) is amended by inserting after section 492 the following:

“SEC. 492A. LIMITATION ON PROPOSING OR ISSUING REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.

“(a) PROPOSED OR FINAL REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary may not issue a proposed regulation, final regulation, or executive action to implement this title if the Secretary determines that the regulation or executive action will increase the subsidy cost (as ‘cost’ is defined in section 502 of the Federal Credit Reform Act of 1990 (2 U.S.C. 661a)) of a loan program under this title by more than \$100,000,000.

“(b) RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—The requirements of subsection (a) shall not be construed to affect any other cost analysis required under any source of law for a regulation implementing this title.”.

Subtitle H—Garden of Heroes

SEC. 87001. GARDEN OF HEROES.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the National Endowment for the Humanities for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available through fiscal year 2028, \$40,000,000 for the procurement of statues as described in Executive Order 13934 (85 Fed. Reg. 41165; relating to building and rebuilding monuments to American heroes), Executive Order 13978 (86 Fed. Reg. 6809; relating to building the National Garden of American Heroes), and Executive Order 14189 (90 Fed. Reg. 8849; relating to celebrating America’s birthday).

Subtitle I—Office of Refugee Resettlement

SEC. 88001. POTENTIAL SPONSOR VETTING FOR UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN APPROPRIATION.

(a) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Refugee Resettlement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$300,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for the purposes described in subsection (b).

(b) USE OF FUNDS.—The funds made available under subsection (a) may only be used for the Office of Refugee Resettlement to support costs associated with—

(1) background checks on potential sponsors, which shall include—

(A) the name of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(B) the social security number or tax payer identification number of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(C) the date of birth of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(D) the validated location of the residence at which the unaccompanied alien child will be placed;

(E) an in-person or virtual interview with, and suitability study concerning, the potential sponsor and all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(F) contact information for the potential sponsor and for all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household; and

(G) the results of all background and criminal records checks for the potential sponsor and for all adult residents of the po-

tential sponsor’s household, which shall include, at a minimum, an investigation of the public records sex offender registry, a public records background check, and a national criminal history check based on fingerprints;

(2) home studies of potential sponsors of unaccompanied alien children;

(3) determining whether an unaccompanied alien child poses a danger to self or others by conducting an examination of the unaccompanied alien child for gang-related tattoos and other gang-related markings and covering such tattoos or markings while the child is in the care of the Office of Refugee Resettlement;

(4) data systems improvement and sharing that supports the health, safety, and well being of unaccompanied alien children by determining the appropriateness of potential sponsors of unaccompanied alien children and of adults residing in the household of the potential sponsor and by assisting with the identification and investigation of child labor exploitation and child trafficking; and

(5) coordinating and communicating with State child welfare agencies regarding the placement of unaccompanied alien children in such States by the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

(c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) POTENTIAL SPONSOR.—The term “potential sponsor” means an individual or entity who applies for the custody of an unaccompanied alien child.

(2) UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILD.—The term “unaccompanied alien child” has the meaning given such term in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)).

TITLE IX—COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Subtitle A—Homeland Security Provisions

SEC. 90001. BORDER INFRASTRUCTURE AND WALL SYSTEM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$46,550,000,000 for necessary expenses relating to the following elements of the border infrastructure and wall system:

(1) Construction, installation, or improvement of new or replacement primary, waterborne, and secondary barriers.

(2) Access roads.

(3) Barrier system attributes, including cameras, lights, sensors, and other detection technology.

(4) Any work necessary to prepare the ground at or near the border to allow U.S. Customs and Border Protection to conduct its operations, including the construction and maintenance of the barrier system.

SEC. 90002. U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION PERSONNEL, FLEET VEHICLES, AND FACILITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the following:

(1) PERSONNEL.—\$4,100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to hire and train additional Border Patrol agents, Office of Field Operations officers, Air and Marine agents, rehired annuitants, and U.S. Customs and Border Protection field support personnel.

(2) RETENTION, HIRING, AND PERFORMANCE BONUSES.—\$2,052,630,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to provide recruitment bonuses, performance awards, or annual retention bonuses to eligible Border Patrol agents, Office of Field Operations officers, and Air and Marine agents.

(3) VEHICLES.—\$855,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the repair of existing patrol units and the lease or acquisition of additional patrol units.

(4) FACILITIES.—\$5,000,000,000 for necessary expenses relating to lease, acquisition, construction, design, or improvement of facilities and checkpoints owned, leased, or operated by U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

(b) RESTRICTION.—None of the funds made available by subsection (a) may be used to recruit, hire, or train personnel for the duties of processing coordinators after October 31, 2028.

SEC. 90003. DETENTION CAPACITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated, there is appropriated to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$45,000,000,000, for single adult alien detention capacity and family residential center capacity.

(b) DURATION AND STANDARDS.—Aliens may be detained at family residential centers, as described in subsection (a), pending a decision, under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.), on whether the aliens are to be removed from the United States and, if such aliens are ordered removed from the United States, until such aliens are removed. The detention standards for the single adult detention capacity described in subsection (a) shall be set in the discretion of the Secretary of Homeland Security, consistent with applicable law.

(c) DEFINITION OF FAMILY RESIDENTIAL CENTER.—In this section, the term “family residential center” means a facility used by the Department of Homeland Security to detain family units of aliens (including alien children who are not unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)))) who are encountered or apprehended by the Department of Homeland Security, regardless whether the facility is licensed by the State or a political subdivision of the State in which the facility is located.

SEC. 90004. BORDER SECURITY, TECHNOLOGY, AND SCREENING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$6,168,000,000 for the following:

(1) Procurement and integration of new nonintrusive inspection equipment and associated civil works, including artificial intelligence, machine learning, and other innovative technologies, as well as other mission support, to combat the entry or exit of illicit narcotics at ports of entry and along the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(2) Air and Marine operations’ upgrading and procurement of new platforms for rapid air and marine response capabilities.

(3) Upgrades and procurement of border surveillance technologies along the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(4) Necessary expenses, including the deployment of technology, relating to the biometric entry and exit system under section 7208 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (8 U.S.C. 1365b).

(5) Screening persons entering or exiting the United States.

(6) Initial screenings of unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))), consistent with the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (Public Law 110-457; 122 Stat. 5044).

(7) Enhancing border security by combating drug trafficking, including fentanyl and its precursor chemicals, at the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(8) Commemorating efforts and events related to border security.

(b) RESTRICTIONS.—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for the procurement or deployment of surveillance towers along the southwest border and northern border that have not been tested and accepted by U.S. Customs and Border Protection to deliver autonomous capabilities.

(c) DEFINITION OF AUTONOMOUS.—In this section, with respect to capabilities, the term “autonomous” means a system designed to apply artificial intelligence, machine learning, computer vision, or other algorithms to accurately detect, identify, classify, and track items of interest in real time such that the system can make operational adjustments without the active engagement of personnel or continuous human command or control.

SEC. 90005. STATE AND LOCAL ASSISTANCE.

(a) STATE HOMELAND SECURITY GRANT PROGRAMS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to be administered under the State Homeland Security Grant Program authorized under section 2004 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 605), to enhance State, local, and Tribal security through grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other activities—

(A) \$500,000,000 for State and local capabilities to detect, identify, track, or monitor threats from unmanned aircraft systems (as such term is defined in section 44801 of title 49, United States Code), consistent with titles 18 and 49 of the United States Code;

(B) \$625,000,000 for security and other costs related to the 2026 FIFA World Cup;

(C) \$1,000,000,000 for security, planning, and other costs related to the 2028 Olympics; and

(D) \$450,000,000 for the Operation Stonegarden Grant Program.

(2) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—None of the funds made available under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) shall be subject to the requirements of section 2004(e)(1) or section 2008(a)(12) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 605(e)(1), 609(a)(12)).

(b) STATE BORDER SECURITY REINFORCEMENT FUND.—

(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established, in the Department of Homeland Security, a fund to be known as the “State Border Security Reinforcement Fund.”

(2) PURPOSES.—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the Fund for grants to eligible States and units of local government for any of the following purposes:

(A) Construction or installation of a border wall, border fencing or other barrier, or buoys along the southern border of the United States, which may include planning, procurement of materials, and personnel costs related to such construction or installation.

(B) Any work necessary to prepare the ground at or near land borders to allow construction and maintenance of a border wall or other barrier fencing.

(C) Detection and interdiction of illicit substances and aliens who have unlawfully entered the United States and have committed a crime under Federal, State, or local law, and transfer or referral of such aliens to

the Department of Homeland Security as provided by law.

(D) Relocation of aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States from small population centers to other domestic locations.

(3) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in paragraph (2), there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Department of Homeland Security for the State Border Security Reinforcement Fund established by paragraph (1), \$10,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2034, for qualified expenses for such purposes.

(4) ELIGIBILITY.—The Secretary of Homeland Security may provide grants from the fund established by paragraph (1) to State agencies and units of local governments for expenditures made for completed, ongoing, or new activities, in accordance with law, that occurred on or after January 20, 2021.

(5) APPLICATION.—Each State desiring to apply for a grant under this subsection shall submit an application to the Secretary containing such information in support of the application as the Secretary may require. The Secretary shall require that each State include in its application the purposes for which the State seeks the funds and a description of how the State plans to allocate the funds. The Secretary shall begin to accept applications not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(6) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—Nothing in this subsection shall authorize any State or local government to exercise immigration or border security authorities reserved exclusively to the Federal Government under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.) or the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 101 et seq.). The Federal Emergency Management Agency may use not more than 1 percent of the funds made available under this subsection for the purpose of administering grants provided for in this section.

SEC. 90006. PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE PROTECTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$300,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the reimbursement of extraordinary law enforcement personnel costs for protection activities directly and demonstrably associated with any residence of the President designated pursuant to section 3 or 4 of the Presidential Protection Assistance Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-524; 18 U.S.C. 3056 note) to be secured by the United States Secret Service.

(b) AVAILABILITY.—Funds appropriated under this section shall be available only for costs that a State or local agency—

(1) incurred or incurs on or after July 1, 2024;

(2) demonstrates to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency as being—

(A) in excess of typical law enforcement operation costs;

(B) directly attributable to the provision of protection described in this section; and

(C) associated with a nongovernmental property designated pursuant to section 3 or 4 of the Presidential Protection Assistance Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-524; 18 U.S.C. 3056 note) to be secured by the United States Secret Service; and

(3) certifies to the Administrator as compensating protection activities requested by the United States Secret Service.

(c) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The Federal Emergency Management Agency may use not more than 3 percent of the funds made

available under this section for the purpose of administering grants provided for in this section.

SEC. 90007. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS FOR BORDER SUPPORT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for reimbursement of costs incurred in undertaking activities in support of the Department of Homeland Security's mission to safeguard the borders of the United States.

Subtitle B—Governmental Affairs Provisions
SEC. 90101. FEHB IMPROVEMENTS.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This section may be cited as the “FEHB Protection Act of 2025”.

(b) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

(1) **DIRECTOR.**—The term “Director” means the Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

(2) **HEALTH BENEFITS PLAN; MEMBER OF FAMILY.**—The terms “health benefits plan” and “member of family” have the meanings given those terms in section 8901 of title 5, United States Code.

(3) **OPEN SEASON.**—The term “open season” means an open season described in section 890.301(f) of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation.

(4) **PROGRAM.**—The term “Program” means the health insurance programs carried out under chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code, including the program carried out under section 8903c of that title.

(5) **QUALIFYING LIFE EVENT.**—The term “qualifying life event” has the meaning given the term in section 892.101 of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation.

(c) **VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.**—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall issue regulations and implement a process to verify—

(1) the veracity of any qualifying life event through which an enrollee in the Program seeks to add a member of family with respect to the enrollee to a health benefits plan under the Program; and

(2) that, when an enrollee in the Program seeks to add a member of family with respect to the enrollee to the health benefits plan of the enrollee under the Program, including during any open season, the individual so added is a qualifying member of family with respect to the enrollee.

(d) **FRAUD RISK ASSESSMENT.**—In any fraud risk assessment conducted with respect to the Program on or after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall include an assessment of individuals who are enrolled in, or covered under, a health benefits plan under the Program even though those individuals are not eligible to be so enrolled or covered.

(e) **FAMILY MEMBER ELIGIBILITY VERIFICATION AUDIT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—During the 3-year period beginning on the date that is 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall carry out a comprehensive audit regarding members of family who are covered under an enrollment in a health benefits plan under the Program.

(2) **CONTENTS.**—With respect to the audit carried out under paragraph (1), the Director shall review marriage certificates, birth certificates, and other appropriate documents that are necessary to determine eligibility to enroll in a health benefits plan under the Program.

(f) **DISENROLLMENT OR REMOVAL.**—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall develop a process

by which any individual enrolled in, or covered under, a health benefits plan under the Program who is not eligible to be so enrolled or covered shall be disenrolled or removed from enrollment in, or coverage under, that health benefits plan.

(g) **EARNED BENEFITS AND HEALTH CARE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES ASSOCIATED OVERSIGHT AND AUDIT FUNDING.**—Section 8909 of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, except that the amounts required to be set aside under subsection (b)(2) shall not be subject to the limitations that may be specified annually by Congress”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3); and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

“(2) In fiscal year 2026, \$66,000,000, to be derived from all contributions, and to remain available until the end of fiscal year 2035, for the Director of the Office to carry out subsections (c) through (f) of the FEHB Protection Act of 2025.”.

SEC. 90102. PANDEMIC RESPONSE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE.

(a) **PANDEMIC RESPONSE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE FUNDING AVAILABILITY.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$88,000,000, to remain available until expended, for the Pandemic Response Accountability Committee to support oversight of the Coronavirus response and of funds provided in this Act or any other Act pertaining to the Coronavirus pandemic.

(b) **CARES ACT.**—Section 15010 of the CARES Act (Public Law 116–136; 134 Stat. 533) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(6)—

(A) in subparagraph (E), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (F), by striking “and” at the end and inserting “or”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(G) the Act titled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’; and”;

(2) in subsection (k), by striking “2025” and inserting “2034”.

SEC. 90103. APPROPRIATION FOR THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Management and Budget for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for purposes of finding budget and accounting efficiencies in the executive branch.

TITLE X—COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Subtitle A—Immigration and Law

Enforcement Matters

PART I—IMMIGRATION FEES

SEC. 10001. APPLICABILITY OF THE IMMIGRATION LAWS.

(a) **APPLICABILITY.**—The fees under this subtitle shall apply to aliens in the circumstances described in this subtitle.

(b) **TERMS.**—The terms used under this subtitle shall have the meanings given such terms in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101).

(c) **REFERENCES TO IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT.**—Except as otherwise expressly provided, any reference in this subtitle to a section or other provision shall be considered to be to a section or other provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

SEC. 10002. ASYLUM FEE.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of

Homeland Security or the Attorney General, as applicable, shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section, by any alien who files an application for asylum under section 208 (8 U.S.C. 1158) at the time such application is filed.

(b) **INITIAL AMOUNT.**—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$100; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary or the Attorney General, as applicable, may establish, by rule.

(c) **ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.**—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this section for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(d) **DISPOSITION OF ASYLUM FEE PROCEEDS.**—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees received from aliens filing applications with the Attorney General—

(A) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review; and

(B) may be retained and expended without further appropriation;

(2) 50 percent of fees received from aliens filing applications with the Secretary of Homeland Security—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended without further appropriation; and

(3) any amounts received in fees required under this section that were not credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review pursuant to paragraph (1) or to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to paragraph (2) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) **NO FEE WAIVER.**—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 10003. EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION DOCUMENT FEES.

(a) **ASYLUM APPLICANTS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien who files an initial application for employment authorization under section 208(d)(2) (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(2)) at the time such initial employment authorization application is filed.

(2) **INITIAL AMOUNT.**—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) **ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.**—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this section for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All

Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION DOCUMENT FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(ii) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(iii) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation, provided that not less than 50 percent is used to detect and prevent immigration benefit fraud; and

(B) any amounts collected pursuant to this subsection that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(b) PAROLEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien paroled into the United States for any initial application for employment authorization at the time such initial application is filed. Each initial employment authorization shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the alien's parole, whichever is shorter.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF PAROLEE EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATION FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(c) TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien who files an initial application for employment authorization under section 244(a)(1)(B) (8 U.S.C. 1254a(a)(1)(B)) at the time such initial application is filed. Each initial employment authorization shall be valid for a period of 1 year, or for the duration of the alien's temporary protected status, whichever is shorter.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATION FEES COLLECTED FROM ALIENS GRANTED TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100004. IMMIGRATION PAROLE FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided under subsection (b), the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section and in addition to any other fee authorized by law, by any alien who is paroled into the United States.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—An alien shall not be subject to the fee otherwise required under subsection (a) if the alien establishes, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Homeland Security, on an individual, case-by-case basis, that the alien is being paroled because—

(1)(A) the alien has a medical emergency; and

(B)(i) the alien cannot obtain necessary treatment in the foreign state in which the alien is residing; or

(ii) the medical emergency is life-threatening and there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(2)(A) the alien is the parent or legal guardian of an alien described in paragraph (1); and

(B) the alien described in paragraph (1) is a minor;

(3)(A) the alien is needed in the United States to donate an organ or other tissue for transplant; and

(B) there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(4)(A) the alien has a close family member in the United States whose death is imminent; and

(B) the alien could not arrive in the United States in time to see such family member alive if the alien were to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(5)(A) the alien is seeking to attend the funeral of a close family member; and

(B) the alien could not arrive in the United States in time to attend such funeral if the alien were to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(6) the alien is an adopted child—

(A) who has an urgent medical condition;

(B) who is in the legal custody of the petitioner for a final adoption-related visa; and

(C) whose medical treatment is required before the expected award of a final adoption-related visa;

(7) the alien—

(A) is a lawful applicant for adjustment of status under section 245 (8 U.S.C. 1255); and

(B) is returning to the United States after temporary travel abroad;

(8) the alien—

(A) has been returned to a contiguous country pursuant to section 235(b)(2)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(2)(C)); and

(B) is being paroled into the United States to allow the alien to attend the alien's immigration hearing;

(9) the alien has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant (as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422; 8 U.S.C. 1522 note); or

(10) the Secretary of Homeland Security determines that a significant public benefit has resulted or will result from the parole of an alien—

(A) who has assisted or will assist the United States Government in a law enforcement matter;

(B) whose presence is required by the United States Government in furtherance of such law enforcement matter; and

(C)(i) who is inadmissible or does not satisfy the eligibility requirements for admission as a nonimmigrant; or

(ii) for which there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process.

(c) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$1,000; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(d) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(e) DISPOSITION OF FEES COLLECTED FROM ALIENS GRANTED PAROLE.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(f) NO FEE WAIVER.—Except as provided in subsection (b), fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100005. SPECIAL IMMIGRANT JUVENILE FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section, by any alien, parent, or legal guardian of an alien applying for special immigrant juvenile status under section 101(a)(27)(J) (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(27)(J)).

(b) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$250; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(c) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which

the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(d) DISPOSITION OF SPECIAL IMMIGRANT JUVENILE FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 100006. TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS FEE.

Section 244(c)(1)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1254a(c)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The Attorney General” and inserting the following:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General”;

(2) in clause (i), as redesignated, by striking “\$50” and inserting “\$500, subject to the adjustments required under clause (ii)”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(ii) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the maximum amount of the fee authorized under clause (i) shall be equal to the sum of—

“(I) the maximum amount of the fee authorized under this subparagraph for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

“(II) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subclause (I) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

“(iii) DISPOSITION OF TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subparagraph shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

“(iv) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subparagraph shall not be waived or reduced.”

SEC. 100007. VISA INTEGRITY FEE.

(a) VISA INTEGRITY FEE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien issued a nonimmigrant visa at the time of such issuance.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$250; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(4) DISPOSITION OF VISA INTEGRITY FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section that are not reimbursed pursuant to subsection (b) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(b) FEE REIMBURSEMENT.—The Secretary of Homeland Security may provide a reimbursement to an alien of the fee required under subsection (a) for the issuance of a nonimmigrant visa after the expiration of such nonimmigrant visa’s period of validity if such alien demonstrates that he or she—

(1) after admission to the United States pursuant to such nonimmigrant visa, complied with all conditions of such nonimmigrant visa, including the condition that an alien shall not accept unauthorized employment; and

(2)(A) has not sought to extend his or her period of admission during such period of validity and departed the United States not later than 5 days after the last day of such period; or

(B) during such period of validity, was granted an extension of such nonimmigrant status or an adjustment to the status of a lawful permanent resident.

SEC. 100008. FORM I-94 FEE.

(a) FEE AUTHORIZED.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien who submits an application for a Form I-94 Arrival/Departure Record.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$24; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FORM I-94 FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 20 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be deposited into the Land Border Inspection Fee Account in accordance with section 286(q)(2) (8 U.S.C. 1356(q)(2)); and

(B) shall be made available to U.S. Customs and Border Protection to retain and spend without further appropriation for the purpose of processing Form I-94; and

(2) any amounts not deposited into the Land Border Inspection Fee Account pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100009. ANNUAL ASYLUM FEE.

(a) FEE AUTHORIZED.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, for each calendar year that an alien’s application for asylum remains pending, the Secretary of Homeland Security or the Attorney General, as applicable, shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by such alien.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$100; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(c) DISPOSITION OF ANNUAL ASYLUM FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100010. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR PAROLEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), for any parolee who seeks a renewal or extension of employment authorization based on a grant of parole. The employment authorization for each alien paroled into the United States, or any renewal or extension of such parole, shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the alien’s parole, whichever is shorter.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$275; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR PAROLEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100011. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL OR EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee of not less than \$275 by any alien who has applied for asylum for each renewal or extension of employment authorization based on such application.

(b) TERMINATION.—Each initial employment authorization, or renewal or extension of such authorization, shall terminate—

(1) immediately following the denial of an asylum application by an asylum officer, unless the case is referred to an immigration judge;

(2) on the date that is 30 days after the date on which an immigration judge denies an asylum application, unless the alien makes a timely appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals; or

(3) immediately following the denial by the Board of Immigration Appeals of an appeal of a denial of an asylum application.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100012. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ALIENS GRANTED TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien at the time such alien seeks a renewal or extension of employment authorization based on a grant of temporary protected status. Any employment authorization for an alien granted temporary protected status, or any renewal or extension of such employment authorization, shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the designation of temporary protected status, whichever is shorter.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$275; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same

month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICANTS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100013. FEES RELATING TO APPLICATIONS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS.

(a) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION TO ADJUST STATUS TO THAT OF A LAWFUL PERMANENT RESIDENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien who files an application with an immigration court to adjust the alien's status to that of a lawful permanent resident, or whose application to adjust his or her status to that of a lawful permanent resident is adjudicated in immigration court. Such fee shall be paid at the time such application is filed or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(b) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR WAIVER OF GROUNDS OF INADMISSIBILITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any

alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for a waiver of a ground of inadmissibility, or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,050; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF WAIVER OF GROUND OF ADMISSIBILITY APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(c) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for temporary protected status, or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL OF A DECISION OF AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), the Attorney General shall require, in addition to any other fees authorized by law, the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an appeal from a decision of an immigration judge.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) EXCEPTION.—The fee required under paragraph (1) shall not apply to the appeal of a bond decision.

(4) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING IMMIGRATION JUDGE DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL FROM A DECISION OF AN OFFICER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an appeal of a decision of an officer of the Department of Homeland Security.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY OFFICER DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(f) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL FROM A DECISION OF AN ADJUDICATING OFFICIAL IN A PRACTITIONER DISCIPLINARY CASE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any practitioner at the time such practitioner files an appeal from a decision of an adjudicating official in a practitioner disciplinary case.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,325; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY OFFICER DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(g) FEE FOR FILING A MOTION TO REOPEN OR A MOTION TO RECONSIDER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files a motion to reopen or motion to reconsider a decision of an immigration judge or the Board of Immigration Appeals.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) EXCEPTIONS.—The fee required under paragraph (1) shall not apply to—

(A) a motion to reopen a removal order entered in absentia if such motion is filed in accordance with section 240(b)(5)(C)(ii) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)(ii)); or

(B) a motion to reopen a deportation order entered in absentia if such motion is filed in accordance with section 242B(c)(3)(B) prior to April 1, 1997.

(4) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING CERTAIN MOTIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(h) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for suspension of deportation.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$600; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(i) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL FOR CERTAIN PERMANENT RESIDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court an application for cancellation of removal for an alien who is a lawful permanent resident.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$600; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(j) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL AND ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS FOR CERTAIN NONPERMANENT RESIDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien who is not a lawful permanent resident at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for cancellation of removal and adjustment of status for any alien.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(k) LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.—No fees collected pursuant to this section may be expended by the Executive Office for Immigration Review for the Legal Orientation Program, or for any successor program.

SEC. 100014. ELECTRONIC SYSTEM FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION FEE.

Section 217(h)(3)(B) (8 U.S.C. 1187(h)(3)(B)) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by inserting “of not less than \$10” after “an amount”; and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(III) not less than \$13 per travel authorization.”;

(2) in clause (iii), by striking “October 31, 2028” and inserting “October 31, 2034”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) SUBSEQUENT ADJUSTMENT.—During fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in clause (i)(II) for a fiscal year shall be equal to the sum of—

“(I) the amount of the fee required under this subparagraph during the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

“(II) the product of the amount referred to in subclause (I) multiplied by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year.”.

SEC. 100015. ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, in the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien subject to the Electronic Visa Update System at the time of such alien’s enrollment in such system.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$30; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent

fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection during the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$0.25.

(c) DISPOSITION OF ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM FEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 286 (8 U.S.C. 1356) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(w) CBP ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM ACCOUNT.—

“(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established in the general fund of the Treasury a separate account, which shall be known as the ‘CBP Electronic Visa Update System Account’ (referred to in this subsection as the ‘Account’).

“(2) DEPOSITS.—There shall be deposited into the Account an amount equal to the difference between—

“(A) all of the fees received pursuant to section 100015 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress); and

“(B) an amount equal to \$5 multiplied by the number of payments collected pursuant to such section.

“(3) APPROPRIATION.—Amounts deposited in the Account—

“(A) are hereby appropriated to make payments and offset program costs in accordance with section 100015 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress), without further appropriation; and

“(B) shall remain available until expended for any U.S. Customs and Border Protection costs associated with administering the CBP Electronic Visa Update System.”.

(2) REMAINING FEES.—Of the fees collected pursuant to this section, an amount equal to \$5 multiplied by the number of payments collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited to the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100016. FEE FOR ALIENS ORDERED REMOVED IN ABSENTIA.

(a) IN GENERAL.—As partial reimbursement for the cost of arresting an alien described in this section, the Secretary of Homeland Security, except as provided in subsection (c), shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b) on any alien who—

(1) is ordered removed in absentia pursuant to section 240(b)(5) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)); and

(2) is subsequently arrested by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$5,000; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by

which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) EXCEPTION.—The fee described in this section shall not apply to any alien who was ordered removed in absentia if such order was rescinded pursuant to section 240(b)(5)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)).

(d) DISPOSITION OF REMOVAL IN ABSENTIA FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

(B) shall be retained and expended by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100017. INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any inadmissible alien at the time such alien is apprehended between ports of entry.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$5,000; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

(B) shall be deposited into the Detention and Removal Office Fee Account; and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) DISPOSITION OF INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 100018. AMENDMENT TO AUTHORITY TO APPLY FOR ASYLUM.

Section 208(d)(3) (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(3)) is amended—

(1) in the first sentence, by striking “may” and inserting “shall”;

(2) by striking “Such fees shall not exceed” and all that follows and inserting the following: “Nothing in this paragraph may be construed to limit the authority of the Attorney General to set additional adjudication and naturalization fees in accordance with section 286(m).”.

PART II—IMMIGRATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING

SEC. 100051. APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$2,055,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) IMMIGRATION AND ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—Hiring and training of additional U.S. Customs and Border Protection agents, and the necessary support staff, to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(2) DEPARTURES AND REMOVALS.—Funding for transportation costs and related costs associated with the departure or removal of aliens.

(3) PERSONNEL ASSIGNMENTS.—Funding for the assignment of Department of Homeland Security employees and State officers to carry out immigration enforcement activities pursuant to sections 103(a) and 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1103(a) and 1357(g)).

(4) BACKGROUND CHECKS.—Hiring additional staff and investing the necessary resources to enhance screening and vetting of all aliens seeking entry into United States, consistent with section 212 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1182), or intending to remain in the United States, consistent with section 237 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1227).

(5) PROTECTING ALIEN CHILDREN FROM EXPLOITATION.—In instances of aliens and alien children entering the United States without a valid visa, funding is provided for the purposes of—

(A) collecting fingerprints, in accordance with section 262 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1302) and subsections (a)(3) and (b) of section 235 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1225); and

(B) collecting DNA, in accordance with sections 235(d) and 287(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(d) and 1357(b)).

(6) TRANSPORTING AND RETURN OF ALIENS FROM CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY.—Transporting and facilitating the return, pursuant to section 235(b)(2)(C) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(2)(C)), of aliens arriving from contiguous territory.

(7) STATE AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION.—Funding for State and local participation in homeland security efforts for purposes of—

(A) ending the presence of criminal gangs and criminal organizations throughout the United States;

(B) addressing crime and public safety threats;

(C) combating human smuggling and trafficking networks throughout the United States;

(D) supporting immigration enforcement activities; and

(E) providing reimbursement for State and local participation in such efforts.

(8) REMOVAL OF SPECIFIED UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Funding removal operations for specified unaccompanied alien children.

(B) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts made available under this paragraph shall only be used for permitting a specified unaccompanied

alien child to withdraw the application for admission of the child pursuant to section 235(a)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(a)(4)).

(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

(i) SPECIFIED UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILD.—The term “specified unaccompanied alien child” means an unaccompanied alien child (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who the Secretary of Homeland Security determines on a case-by-case basis—

(I) has been found by an immigration officer at a land border or port of entry of the United States and is inadmissible under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.);

(II) has not been a victim of severe forms of trafficking in persons, and there is no credible evidence that such child is at risk of being trafficked upon return of the child to the child’s country of nationality or country of last habitual residence; and

(III) does not have a fear of returning to the child’s country of nationality or country of last habitual residence owing to a credible fear of persecution.

(ii) SEVERE FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS.—The term “severe forms of trafficking in persons” has the meaning given such term in section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

(9) EXPEDITED REMOVAL OF CRIMINAL ALIENS.—Funding for the expedited removal of criminal aliens, in accordance with the provisions of section 235(b)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(1)).

(10) REMOVAL OF CERTAIN CRIMINAL ALIENS WITHOUT FURTHER HEARINGS.—Funding for the removal of certain criminal aliens without further hearings, in accordance with the provisions of section 235(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(c)).

(11) CRIMINAL AND GANG CHECKS FOR UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN.—Funding for criminal and gang checks of unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who are 12 years of age and older, including the examination of such unaccompanied alien children for gang-related tattoos and other gang-related markings.

(12) INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY.—Information technology investments to support immigration purposes, including improvements to fee and revenue collections.

SEC. 100052. APPROPRIATION FOR U.S. IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$29,850,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) HIRING AND TRAINING.—Hiring and training additional U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel, including officers, agents, investigators, and support staff, to carry out immigration enforcement activities and prioritizing and streamlining the hiring of retired U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel.

(2) PERFORMANCE, RETENTION, AND SIGNING BONUSES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Providing performance, retention, and signing bonuses for qualified U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel in accordance with this subsection.

(B) PERFORMANCE BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, at the Director's discretion, may provide performance bonuses to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who demonstrates exemplary service.

(C) RETENTION BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement may provide retention bonuses to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who commits to 2 years of additional service with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(D) SIGNING BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement may provide a signing bonus to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who—

(i) is hired on or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(ii) who commits to 5 years of service with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(E) SERVICE AGREEMENT.—In providing a retention or signing bonus under this paragraph, the Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement shall provide each qualifying individual with a written service agreement that includes—

(i) the commencement and termination dates of the required service period (or provisions for the determination of such dates);

(ii) the amount of the bonus; and

(iii) any other term or condition under which the bonus is payable, subject to the requirements of this paragraph, including—

(I) the conditions under which the agreement may be terminated before the agreed-upon service period has been completed; and

(II) the effect of a termination described in subclause (I).

(3) RECRUITMENT, HIRING, AND ONBOARDING.—Facilitating the recruitment, hiring, and onboarding of additional U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel to carry out immigration enforcement activities, including by—

(A) investing in information technology, recruitment, and marketing; and

(B) hiring staff necessary to carry out information technology, recruitment, and marketing activities.

(4) TRANSPORTATION.—Funding for transportation costs and related costs associated with alien departure or removal operations.

(5) INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY.—Funding for information technology investments to support enforcement and removal operations, including improvements to fee collections.

(6) FACILITY UPGRADES.—Funding for facility upgrades to support enforcement and removal operations.

(7) FLEET MODERNIZATION.—Funding for fleet modernization to support enforcement and removal operations.

(8) FAMILY UNITY.—Promoting family unity by—

(A) maintaining the care and custody, during the period in which a charge described in clause (i) is pending, in accordance with applicable laws, of an alien who—

(i) is charged only with a misdemeanor offense under section 275(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1325(a)); and

(ii) entered the United States with the alien's child who has not attained 18 years of age; and

(B) detaining such an alien with the alien's child.

(9) 287(g) AGREEMENTS.—Expanding, facilitating, and implementing agreements under section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1357(g)).

(10) VICTIMS OF IMMIGRATION CRIME ENGAGEMENT OFFICE.—Hiring and training additional

staff to carry out the mission of the Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement Office and for providing nonfinancial assistance to the victims of crimes perpetrated by aliens who are present in the United States without authorization.

(11) OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEGAL ADVISOR.—Hiring additional attorneys and the necessary support staff within the Office of the Principal Legal Advisor to represent the Department of Homeland Security in immigration enforcement and removal proceedings.

SEC. 100053. APPROPRIATION FOR FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING CENTERS.

(a) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$750,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsections (b) and (c).

(b) TRAINING.—Not less than \$285,000,000 of the amounts available under subsection (a) shall be for supporting the training of newly hired Federal law enforcement personnel employed by the Department of Homeland Security and State and local law enforcement agencies operating in support of the Department of Homeland Security.

(c) FACILITIES.—Not more than \$465,000,000 of the amounts available under subsection (a) shall be for procurement, construction and maintenance of, improvements to, training equipment for, and related expenses, of facilities of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers.

SEC. 100054. APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Attorney General for the Department of Justice for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$3,330,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR IMMIGRATION REVIEW.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Hiring immigration judges and necessary support staff for the Executive Office for Immigration Review to address the backlog of petitions, cases, and removals.

(B) STAFFING LEVEL.—Effective November 1, 2028, the Executive Office for Immigration Review shall be comprised of not more than 800 immigration judges, along with the necessary support staff.

(2) COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING.—Funding efforts to combat drug trafficking (including trafficking of fentanyl and its precursor chemicals) and illegal drug use.

(3) PROSECUTION OF IMMIGRATION MATTERS.—Funding efforts to investigate and prosecute immigration matters, gang-related crimes involving aliens, child trafficking and smuggling involving aliens within the United States, unlawful voting by aliens, violations of the Alien Registration Act, 1940 (54 Stat., chapter 439), and violations of or fraud relating to title IV of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-193; 110 Stat. 2277), including hiring additional Department of Justice personnel to investigate and prosecute such matters.

(4) NONPARTY OR OTHER INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.—Hiring additional attorneys and necessary support staff for the purpose of continuing implementation of assignments by the Attorney General pursuant to sections 516, 517, and 518 of title 28, United States Code, to conduct litigation and attend to the interests of the United States in suits pending in a court of the United States or in a

court of a State in suits seeking nonparty or other injunctive relief against the Federal Governmenties.nt.

(5) EDWARD BYRNE MEMORIAL JUSTICE ASSISTANCE GRANT PROGRAM AND OFFICE OF COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Increasing funding for the Edward Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant Program and the Office of Community Oriented Policing for initiatives associated with—

(i) investigating and prosecuting violent crime;

(ii) criminal enforcement initiatives; and

(iii) immigration enforcement and removal efforts.

(B) LIMITATIONS.—No funds made available under this subsection shall be made available to community violence intervention and prevention initiative programs.

(C) ELIGIBILITY.—To be eligible to receive funds made available under this subsection, a State or local government shall be in full compliance, as determined by the Attorney General, with section 642 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1373).

(6) FISCALLY RESPONSIBLE LAWSUIT SETTLEMENTS.—Hiring additional attorneys and necessary support staff for the purpose of maximizing lawsuit settlements that require the payment of fines and penalties to the Treasury of the United States in lieu of providing for the payment to any person or entity other than the United States, other than a payment that provides restitution or otherwise directly remedies actual harm directly and proximately caused by the party making the payment, or constitutes payment for services rendered in connection with the case.

(7) COMPENSATION FOR INCARCERATION OF CRIMINAL ALIENS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Providing compensation to a State or political subdivision of a State for the incarceration of criminal aliens.

(B) USE OF FUNDS.—The amounts made available under subparagraph (A) shall only be used to compensate a State or political subdivision of a State, as appropriate, with respect to the incarceration of an alien who—

(i) has been convicted of a felony or 2 or more misdemeanors; and

(ii) (I) entered the United States without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Secretary of Homeland Security;

(II) was the subject of removal proceedings at the time the alien was taken into custody by the State or a political subdivision of the State; or

(III) was admitted as a nonimmigrant and, at the time the alien was taken into custody by the State or a political subdivision of the State, has failed to maintain the nonimmigrant status in which the alien was admitted, or to which it was changed, or to comply with the conditions of any such status.

(C) LIMITATION.—Amounts made available under this subsection shall be distributed to more than 1 State. The amounts made available under subparagraph (A) may not be used to compensate any State or political subdivision of a State if the State or political subdivision of the State prohibits or in any way restricts a Federal, State, or local government entity, official, or other personnel from doing any of the following:

(i) Complying with the immigration laws (as defined in section 101(a)(17) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(17))).

(ii) Assisting or cooperating with Federal law enforcement entities, officials, or other personnel regarding the enforcement of the immigration laws.

(iii) Undertaking any of the following law enforcement activities as such activities relate to information regarding the citizenship or immigration status, lawful or unlawful, the inadmissibility or deportability, and the custody status, of any individual:

(I) Making inquiries to any individual to obtain such information regarding such individual or any other individuals.

(II) Notifying the Federal Government regarding the presence of individuals who are encountered by law enforcement officials or other personnel of a State or political subdivision of a State.

(III) Complying with requests for such information from Federal law enforcement entities, officials, or other personnel.

SEC. 100055. BRIDGING IMMIGRATION-RELATED DEFICITS EXPERIENCED NATIONWIDE REIMBURSEMENT FUND.

(a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established within the Department of Justice a fund, to be known as the “Bridging Immigration-related Deficits Experienced Nationwide (BIDEN) Reimbursement Fund” (referred to in this section as the “Fund”).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The Attorney General shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the Fund for grants to eligible States, State agencies, and units of local government, pursuant to their existing statutory authorities, for any of the following purposes:

(1) Locating and apprehending aliens who have committed a crime under Federal, State, or local law, in addition to being unlawfully present in the United States.

(2) Collection and analysis of law enforcement investigative information within the United States to counter gang or other criminal activity.

(3) Investigating and prosecuting—

(A) crimes committed by aliens within the United States; and

(B) drug and human trafficking crimes committed within the United States.

(4) Court operations related to the prosecution of—

(A) crimes committed by aliens; and

(B) drug and human trafficking crimes.

(5) Temporary criminal detention of aliens.

(6) Transporting aliens described in paragraph (1) within the United States to locations related to the apprehension, detention, and prosecution of such aliens.

(7) Vehicle maintenance, logistics, transportation, and other support provided to law enforcement agencies by a State agency to enhance the ability to locate and apprehend aliens who have committed crimes under Federal, State, or local law, in addition to being unlawfully present in the United States.

(c) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in subsection (b), there is appropriated to the Attorney General for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, not to exceed \$3,500,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for the Fund for qualified and documented expenses that achieve any such purpose.

(d) **GRANT ELIGIBILITY OF COMPLETED, ONGOING, OR NEW ACTIVITIES.**—The Attorney General may provide grants under this section to State agencies and units of local government for expenditures made by State agencies or units of local government for completed, ongoing, or new activities determined to be eligible for such grant funding that occurred on or after January 20, 2021. Amounts made available under this section shall be distributed to more than 1 State.

SEC. 100056. APPROPRIATION FOR THE BUREAU OF PRISONS.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appro-

riated to the Director of the Bureau of Prisons for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$5,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsections (b) and (c).

(b) **SALARIES AND BENEFITS.**—Not less than \$3,000,000,000 of the amounts made available under subsection (a) shall be for hiring and training of new employees, including correctional officers, medical professionals, and facilities and maintenance employees, the necessary support staff, and for additional funding for salaries and benefits for the current workforce of the Bureau of Prisons.

(c) **FACILITIES.**—Not more than \$2,000,000,000 of the amounts made available under subsection (a) shall be for addressing maintenance and repairs to facilities maintained or operated by the Bureau of Prisons.

SEC. 100057. APPROPRIATION FOR THE UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the United States Secret Service (referred to in this section as the “Director”) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,170,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—Amounts made available under subsection (a) may only be used for—

(1) additional United States Secret Service resources, including personnel, training facilities, programming, and technology; and

(2) performance, retention, and signing bonuses for qualified United States Secret Service personnel in accordance with subsection (c).

(c) **PERFORMANCE, RETENTION, AND SIGNING BONUSES.**—

(1) **PERFORMANCE BONUSES.**—The Director, at the Director’s discretion, may provide performance bonuses to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who demonstrates exemplary service.

(2) **RETENTION BONUSES.**—The Director may provide retention bonuses to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who commits to 2 years of additional service with the Secret Service.

(3) **SIGNING BONUSES.**—The Director may provide a signing bonus to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who—

(A) is hired on or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(B) commits to 5 years of service with the United States Secret Service.

(4) **SERVICE AGREEMENT.**—In providing a retention or signing bonus under this subsection, the Director shall provide each qualifying individual with a written service agreement that includes—

(A) the commencement and termination dates of the required service period (or provisions for the determination of such dates);

(B) the amount of the bonus; and

(C) any other term or condition under which the bonus is payable, subject to the requirements under this subsection, including—

(i) the conditions under which the agreement may be terminated before the agreed-upon service period has been completed; and

(ii) the effect of a termination described in clause (i).

Subtitle B—Judiciary Matters

SEC. 100101. APPROPRIATION TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES COURTS.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,250,000 for

each of fiscal years 2025 through 2028, for the purpose of continuing analyses and reporting pursuant to section 604(a)(2) of title 28, United States Code, to examine the state of the dockets of the courts and to prepare and transmit statistical data and reports as to the business of the courts, including an assessment of the number, frequency, and related metrics of judicial orders issuing non-party relief against the Federal Government and their aggregate cost impact on the taxpayers of the United States, as determined by each court when imposing securities for the issuance of preliminary injunctions or temporary restraining orders against the Federal Government pursuant to rule 65(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SEC. 100102. APPROPRIATION TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Federal Judicial Center, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2028, for the purpose described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The Federal Judicial Center shall use the amounts appropriated under subsection (a) for the continued implementation of programs pursuant to section 620(b)(3) of title 28, United States Code, to stimulate, create, develop, and conduct programs of continuing education and training for personnel of the judicial branch, including training on the absence of constitutional and statutory authority supporting legal claims that seek non-party relief against the Federal Government, and strategic approaches for mitigating the aggregate cost impact of such legal claims on the taxpayers of the United States.

Subtitle C—Radiation Exposure Compensation Matters

SEC. 100201. EXTENSION OF FUND.

Section 3(d) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by striking the first sentence and inserting “The Fund shall terminate on December 31, 2028.”; and

(2) by striking “the end of that 2-year period” and inserting “such date”.

SEC. 100202. CLAIMS RELATING TO ATMOSPHERIC TESTING.

(a) **LEUKEMIA CLAIMS RELATING TO TRINITY TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND TESTS AT THE NEVADA SITE.**—Section 4(a)(1)(A) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “October 31, 1958” and inserting “November 6, 1962”; and

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”; and

(ii) by striking “or” after the semicolon;

(C) by redesignating subclause (III) as subclause (IV); and

(D) by inserting after subclause (II) the following:

“(III) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 1 year during the period beginning on September 24, 1944, and ending on November 6, 1962; or”;

(2) in clause (ii)(I), by striking “physical presence described in subclause (I) or (II) of clause (i) or onsite participation described in clause (i)(III)” and inserting “physical presence described in subclause (I), (II), or (III) of clause (i) or onsite participation described in clause (i)(IV)”.

(b) **AMOUNTS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO LEUKEMIA.**—Section 4(a)(1) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “an amount” and inserting “the amount”;

(2) by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) AMOUNT.—If the conditions described in subparagraph (C) are met, an individual who is described in subparagraph (A) shall receive \$100,000.”; and

(3) in subparagraph (C), by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) No payment under this paragraph previously has been made to the individual, on behalf of the individual, or to a survivor of the individual.”.

(c) CONDITIONS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO LEUKEMIA.—Section 4(a)(1)(C) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by striking clause (i); and

(2) by redesignating clauses (ii) and (iii) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively.

(d) SPECIFIED DISEASES CLAIMS RELATING TO TRINITY TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND TESTS AT THE NEVADA SITE.—Section 4(a)(2) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”;

(B) by striking “2 years” and inserting “1 year”; and

(C) by striking “October 31, 1958,” and inserting “November 6, 1962;”;

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”; and

(B) by striking “, or” at the end and inserting a semicolon;

(3) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D); and

(4) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following:

“(C) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 1 year during the period beginning on September 24, 1944, and ending on November 6, 1962; or”.

(e) AMOUNTS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO SPECIFIED DISEASES.—Section 4(a)(2) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended in the matter following subparagraph (D) (as redesignated by subsection (d) of this section)—

(1) by striking “\$50,000 (in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (A) or (B)) or \$75,000 (in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (C)),” and inserting “\$100,000”;

(2) in clause (i), by striking “, and” and inserting a semicolon;

(3) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(4) by adding at the end the following:

“(iii) no payment under this paragraph previously has been made to the individual, on behalf of the individual, or to a survivor of the individual.”.

(f) DOWNWIND STATES.—Section 4(b)(1) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) ‘affected area’ means—

“(A) except as provided under subparagraph (B)—

“(i) the States of New Mexico, Utah, and Idaho;

“(ii) in the State of Nevada, the counties of White Pine, Nye, Lander, Lincoln, Eureka, and that portion of Clark County that consists of townships 13 through 16 at ranges 63 through 71; and

“(iii) in the State of Arizona, the counties of Coconino, Yavapai, Navajo, Apache, and Gila, and Mohave; and

“(B) with respect to a claim by an individual under subsection (a)(1)(A)(i)(III) or subsection (a)(2)(C), only New Mexico; and”.

SEC. 100203. CLAIMS RELATING TO URANIUM MINING.

(a) EMPLOYEES OF MINES AND MILLS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(i) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended to read as follows:

“(i)(I) was employed in a uranium mine or uranium mill (including any individual who was employed in the transport of uranium ore or vanadium-uranium ore from such mine or mill) located in Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, South Dakota, Washington, Utah, Idaho, North Dakota, Oregon, or Texas at any time during the period beginning on January 1, 1942, and ending on December 31, 1990; or

“(II) was employed as a core driller in a State referred to in subclause (I) during the period described in such subclause; and”.

(b) MINERS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii)(I) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by inserting “or renal cancer or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury” after “non-malignant respiratory disease”.

(c) MILLERS, CORE DRILLERS, AND ORE TRANSPORTERS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii)(II) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by inserting “, core driller,” after “was a miller”;

(2) by inserting “, or was involved in remediation efforts at such a uranium mine or uranium mill,” after “ore transporter”;

(3) by inserting “(I)” after “clause (i)”; and

(4) by striking “or renal cancers” and all that follows and inserting “or renal cancer or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury; or”.

(d) COMBINED WORK HISTORIES.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note), as amended by subsection (c), is further amended—

(1) in subclause (I), by striking “or” at the end; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(III)(aa) does not meet the conditions of subclause (I) or (II);

“(bb) worked, during the period described in clause (i)(I), in 2 or more of the following positions: miner, miller, core driller, and ore transporter;

“(cc) meets the requirements under paragraph (4) or (5); and

“(dd) submits written medical documentation that the individual developed lung cancer, a nonmalignant respiratory disease, renal cancer, or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury after exposure to radiation through work in one or more of the positions referred to in item (bb);”.

(e) SPECIAL RULES RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES.—Section 5(a) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH AT LEAST ONE YEAR OF EXPERIENCE.—An individual meets the requirements under this paragraph if the individual worked in one or more of the positions referred to in paragraph (1)(A)(ii)(III)(bb) for a period of at least one year during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I).

“(5) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES FOR MINERS.—An individual meets the requirements of this paragraph if the individual, during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I), worked as a miner and was exposed to such number of working level months that the Attorney General determines, when combined with the exposure of

such individual to radiation through work as a miller, core driller, or ore transporter during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I), results in such individual being exposed to a total level of radiation that is greater or equal to the level of exposure of an individual described in paragraph (4).”.

(f) DEFINITION OF CORE DRILLER.—Section 5(b) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(9) the term ‘core driller’ means any individual employed to engage in the act or process of obtaining cylindrical rock samples of uranium or vanadium by means of a borehole drilling machine for the purpose of mining uranium or vanadium.”.

SEC. 100204. CLAIMS RELATING TO MANHATTAN PROJECT WASTE.—

The Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by inserting after section 5 the following:

“SEC. 5A. CLAIMS RELATING TO MANHATTAN PROJECT WASTE.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A claimant shall receive compensation for a claim made under this Act, as described in subsection (b) or (c), if—

“(1) a claim for compensation is filed with the Attorney General—

“(A) by an individual described in paragraph (2); or

“(B) on behalf of that individual by an authorized agent of that individual, if the individual is deceased or incapacitated, such as—

“(i) an executor of estate of that individual; or

“(ii) a legal guardian or conservator of that individual;

“(2) that individual, or if applicable, an authorized agent of that individual, demonstrates that such individual—

“(A) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 2 years after January 1, 1949; and

“(B) contracted a specified disease after such period of physical presence;

“(3) the Attorney General certifies that the identity of that individual, and if applicable, the authorized agent of that individual, is not fraudulent or otherwise misrepresented; and

“(4) the Attorney General determines that the claimant has satisfied the applicable requirements of this Act.

“(b) LOSSES AVAILABLE TO LIVING AFFECTED INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the event of a claim qualifying for compensation under subsection (a) that is submitted to the Attorney General to be eligible for compensation under this section at a time when the individual described in subsection (a)(2) is living, the amount of compensation under this section shall be in an amount that is the greater of \$50,000 or the total amount of compensation for which the individual is eligible under paragraph (2).

“(2) LOSSES DUE TO MEDICAL EXPENSES.—A claimant described in paragraph (1) shall be eligible to receive, upon submission of contemporaneous written medical records, reports, or billing statements created by or at the direction of a licensed medical professional who provided contemporaneous medical care to the claimant, additional compensation in the amount of all documented out-of-pocket medical expenses incurred as a result of the specified disease suffered by that claimant, such as any medical expenses not covered, paid for, or reimbursed through—

“(A) any public or private health insurance;

“(B) any employee health insurance;

“(C) any workers’ compensation program; or

“(D) any other public, private, or employee health program or benefit.

“(3) LIMITATION.—No claimant is eligible to receive compensation under this subsection with respect to medical expenses unless the submissions described in paragraph (2) with respect to such expenses are submitted on or before December 31, 2028.

“(c) PAYMENTS TO BENEFICIARIES OF DECEASED INDIVIDUALS.—In the event that an individual described in subsection (a)(2) who qualifies for compensation under subsection (a) is deceased at the time of submission of the claim—

“(1) a surviving spouse may, upon submission of a claim and records sufficient to satisfy the requirements of subsection (a) with respect to the deceased individual, receive compensation in the amount of \$25,000; or

“(2) in the event that there is no surviving spouse, the surviving children, minor or otherwise, of the deceased individual may, upon submission of a claim and records sufficient to satisfy the requirements of subsection (a) with respect to the deceased individual, receive compensation in the total amount of \$25,000, paid in equal shares to each surviving child.

“(d) AFFECTED AREAS.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘affected area’ means—

“(1) in the State of Missouri, the ZIP Codes of 63031, 63033, 63034, 63042, 63045, 63074, 63114, 63135, 63138, 63044, 63121, 63140, 63145, 63147, 63102, 63304, 63134, 63043, 63341, 63368, and 63367;

“(2) in the State of Tennessee, the ZIP Codes of 37716, 37840, 37719, 37748, 37763, 37828, 37769, 37710, 37845, 37887, 37829, 37854, 37830, and 37831;

“(3) in the State of Alaska, the ZIP Codes of 99546 and 99547; and

“(4) in the State of Kentucky, the ZIP Codes of 42001, 42003, and 42086.

“(e) SPECIFIED DISEASE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘specified disease’ means any of the following:

“(1) Any leukemia, provided that the initial exposure occurred after 20 years of age and the onset of the disease was at least 2 years after first exposure.

“(2) Any of the following diseases, provided that the onset was at least 2 years after the initial exposure:

“(A) Multiple myeloma.

“(B) Lymphoma, other than Hodgkin’s disease.

“(C) Primary cancer of the—

“(i) thyroid;

“(ii) male or female breast;

“(iii) esophagus;

“(iv) stomach;

“(v) pharynx;

“(vi) small intestine;

“(vii) pancreas;

“(viii) bile ducts;

“(ix) gall bladder;

“(x) salivary gland;

“(xi) urinary bladder;

“(xii) brain;

“(xiii) colon;

“(xiv) ovary;

“(xv) bone;

“(xvi) renal;

“(xvii) liver, except if cirrhosis or hepatitis B is indicated; or

“(xviii) lung.

“(f) PHYSICAL PRESENCE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the Attorney General may not determine that a claimant has satisfied the requirements under subsection (a) unless demonstrated by submission of—

“(A) contemporaneous written residential documentation or at least 1 additional em-

ployer-issued or government-issued document or record that the claimant, for at least 2 years after January 1, 1949, was physically present in an affected area; or

“(B) other documentation determined by the Attorney General to demonstrate that the claimant, for at least 2 years after January 1, 1949, was physically present in an affected area.

“(2) TYPES OF PHYSICAL PRESENCE.—For purposes of determining physical presence under this section, a claimant shall be considered to have been physically present in an affected area if—

“(A) the claimant’s primary residence was in the affected area;

“(B) the claimant’s place of employment was in the affected area; or

“(C) the claimant attended school in the affected area.

“(g) DISEASE CONTRACTION IN AFFECTED AREAS.—For purposes of this section, the Attorney General may not determine that a claimant has satisfied the requirements under subsection (a) unless the claimant submits—

“(1) written medical records or reports created by or at the direction of a licensed medical professional, created contemporaneously with the provision of medical care to the claimant, that the claimant, after a period of physical presence in an affected area, contracted a specified disease; or

“(2) other documentation determined by the Attorney General to demonstrate that the claimant contracted a specified disease after a period of physical presence in an affected area.”.

SEC. 100205. LIMITATIONS ON CLAIMS.

Section 8(a) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by striking “2 years after the date of enactment of the RECA Extension Act of 2022” and inserting “December 31, 2027”.

SA 2369. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike all after the first word and insert the following:

SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “One Big Beautiful Bill Act”.

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title.
- Sec. 2. Table of contents.

TITLE I—COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Subtitle A—Nutrition

- Sec. 10101. Re-evaluation of thrifty food plan.
- Sec. 10102. Modifications to SNAP work requirements for able-bodied adults.
- Sec. 10103. Availability of standard utility allowances based on receipt of energy assistance.
- Sec. 10104. Restrictions on internet expenses.
- Sec. 10105. Matching funds requirements.
- Sec. 10106. Administrative cost sharing.
- Sec. 10107. National education and obesity prevention grant program.
- Sec. 10108. Alien SNAP eligibility.

Subtitle B—Forestry

- Sec. 10201. Rescission of amounts for forestry.

Subtitle C—Commodities

- Sec. 10301. Effective reference price; reference price.
- Sec. 10302. Base acres.
- Sec. 10303. Producer election.
- Sec. 10304. Price loss coverage.
- Sec. 10305. Agriculture risk coverage.
- Sec. 10306. Equitable treatment of certain entities.
- Sec. 10307. Payment limitations.
- Sec. 10308. Adjusted gross income limitation.
- Sec. 10309. Marketing loans.
- Sec. 10310. Repayment of marketing loans.
- Sec. 10311. Economic adjustment assistance for textile mills.
- Sec. 10312. Sugar program updates.
- Sec. 10313. Dairy policy updates.
- Sec. 10314. Implementation.

Subtitle D—Disaster Assistance Programs

- Sec. 10401. Supplemental agricultural disaster assistance.

Subtitle E—Crop Insurance

- Sec. 10501. Beginning farmer and rancher benefit.
- Sec. 10502. Area-based crop insurance coverage and affordability.
- Sec. 10503. Administrative and operating expense adjustments.
- Sec. 10504. Premium support.
- Sec. 10505. Program compliance and integrity.
- Sec. 10506. Reviews, compliance, and integrity.
- Sec. 10507. Poultry insurance pilot program.

Subtitle F—Additional Investments in Rural America

- Sec. 10601. Conservation.
- Sec. 10602. Supplemental agricultural trade promotion program.
- Sec. 10603. Nutrition.
- Sec. 10604. Research.
- Sec. 10605. Energy.
- Sec. 10606. Horticulture.
- Sec. 10607. Miscellaneous.

TITLE II—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

- Sec. 20001. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the quality of life for military personnel.
- Sec. 20002. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for shipbuilding.
- Sec. 20003. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for integrated air and missile defense.
- Sec. 20004. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for munitions and defense supply chain resiliency.
- Sec. 20005. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for scaling low-cost weapons into production.
- Sec. 20006. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the efficiency and cybersecurity of the Department of Defense.
- Sec. 20007. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for air superiority.
- Sec. 20008. Enhancement of resources for nuclear forces.
- Sec. 20009. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources to improve capabilities of United States Indo-Pacific Command.
- Sec. 20010. Enhancement of Department of Defense resources for improving the readiness of the Department of Defense.
- Sec. 20011. Improving Department of Defense border support and counterdrug missions.

- Sec. 20012. Department of Defense oversight.
 Sec. 20013. Military construction projects authorized.
- Sec. 20014. Multi-year operational plan.
- TITLE III—COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS**
- Sec. 30001. Funding cap for the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.
- Sec. 30002. Rescission of funds for Green and Resilient Retrofit Program for Multifamily Housing.
- Sec. 30003. Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund.
- Sec. 30004. Appropriations for Defense Production Act.
- TITLE IV—COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION**
- Sec. 40001. Coast Guard mission readiness.
- Sec. 40002. Spectrum auctions.
- Sec. 40003. Air traffic control improvements.
- Sec. 40004. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees.
- Sec. 40005. Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program.
- Sec. 40006. Corporate average fuel economy civil penalties.
- Sec. 40007. Payments for lease of Metropolitan Washington Airports.
- Sec. 40008. Rescission of certain amounts for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.
- Sec. 40009. Reduction in annual transfers to Travel Promotion Fund.
- Sec. 40010. Treatment of unobligated funds for alternative fuel and low-emission aviation technology.
- Sec. 40011. Rescission of amounts appropriated to Public Wireless Supply Chain Innovation Fund.
- Sec. 40012. Support for artificial intelligence under the Broadband Equity, Access, and Deployment Program.
- TITLE V—COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES**
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- SEC. 10101. RE-EVALUATION OF THRIFTY FOOD PLAN.
- (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 3 of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012) is amended by striking subsection (u) and inserting the following:
- “(u) THRIFTY FOOD PLAN.—
- “(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘thrifty food plan’ means the diet required to feed a family of 4 persons consisting of a man and a woman ages 20 through 50, a child ages 6 through 8, and a child ages 9 through 11 using the items and quantities of food described in the report of the Department of

Agriculture entitled ‘Thrifty Food Plan, 2021’, and each successor report updated pursuant to this subsection, subject to the conditions that—

“(A) the relevant market baskets of the thrifty food plan shall only be changed pursuant to paragraph (4);

“(B) the cost of the thrifty food plan shall be the basis for uniform allotments for all households, regardless of the actual composition of the household; and

“(C) the cost of the thrifty food plan may only be adjusted in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) HOUSEHOLD ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall make household adjustments using the following ratios of household size as a percentage of the maximum 4-person allotment:

“(A) For a 1-person household, 30 percent.

“(B) For a 2-person household, 55 percent.

“(C) For a 3-person household, 79 percent.

“(D) For a 4-person household, 100 percent.

“(E) For a 5-person household, 119 percent.

“(F) For a 6-person household, 143 percent.

“(G) For a 7-person household, 158 percent.

“(H) For an 8-person household, 180 percent.

“(I) For a household of 9 persons or more, an additional 22 percent per person, which additional percentage shall not total more than 200 percent.

“(3) ALLOWABLE COST ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall—

“(A) make cost adjustments in the thrifty food plan for Hawaii and the urban and rural parts of Alaska to reflect the cost of food in Hawaii and urban and rural Alaska;

“(B) make cost adjustments in the separate thrifty food plans for Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States to reflect the cost of food in those States, but not to exceed the cost of food in the 50 States and the District of Columbia; and

“(C) on October 1, 2025, and on each October 1 thereafter, adjust the cost of the thrifty food plan to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, for the most recent 12-month period ending in June.

“(4) RE-EVALUATION OF MARKET BASKETS.—

“(A) RE-EVALUATION.—Not earlier than October 1, 2027, the Secretary may re-evaluate the market baskets of the thrifty food plan based on current food prices, food composition data, consumption patterns, and dietary guidance.

“(B) COST NEUTRALITY.—The Secretary shall not increase the cost of the thrifty food plan based on a re-evaluation under this paragraph.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 16(c)(1)(A)(ii)(II) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(c)(1)(A)(ii)(II)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

(2) Section 19(a)(2)(A)(ii) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2028(a)(2)(A)(ii)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

(3) Section 27(a)(2) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2036(a)(2)) is amended by striking “section 3(u)(4)” each place it appears and inserting “section 3(u)(3)”.

SEC. 10102. MODIFICATIONS TO SNAP WORK REQUIREMENTS FOR ABLE-BODIED ADULTS.

(a) EXCEPTIONS.—Section 6(o) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)) is amended by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following:

“(3) EXCEPTIONS.—Paragraph (2) shall not apply to an individual if the individual is—

“(A) under 18, or over 65, years of age;

“(B) medically certified as physically or mentally unfit for employment;

“(C) a parent or other member of a household with responsibility for a dependent child under 14 years of age;

“(D) otherwise exempt under subsection (d)(2);

“(E) a pregnant woman;

“(F) an Indian or an Urban Indian (as such terms are defined in paragraphs (13) and (28) of section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act); or

“(G) a California Indian described in section 809(a) of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act.”

(b) STANDARDIZING ENFORCEMENT.—Section 6(o)(4) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (ii) and inserting the following:

“(ii) is in a noncontiguous State and has an unemployment rate that is at or above 1.5 times the national unemployment rate 8 percent.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) DEFINITION OF NONCONTIGUOUS STATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ means a State that is not 1 of the contiguous 48 States or the District of Columbia.

“(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—The term ‘noncontiguous State’ does not include Guam or the Virgin Islands of the United States.”

(c) WAIVER FOR NONCONTIGUOUS STATES.—Section 6(o) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraph (7) as paragraph (8); and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (6) the following:

“(7) EXEMPTION FOR NONCONTIGUOUS STATES.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF NONCONTIGUOUS STATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ means a State that is not 1 of the contiguous 48 States or the District of Columbia.

“(ii) EXCLUSIONS.—In this paragraph, the term ‘noncontiguous State’ does not include Guam or the Virgin Islands of the United States.

“(B) EXEMPTION.—Subject to subparagraph (D), the Secretary may exempt individuals in a noncontiguous State from compliance with the requirements of paragraph (2) if—

“(i) the State agency submits to the Secretary a request for that exemption, made in such form and at such time as the Secretary may require, and including the information described in subparagraph (C); and

“(ii) the Secretary determines that based on that request, the State agency is demonstrating a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of paragraph (2).

“(C) GOOD FAITH EFFORT DETERMINATION.—In determining whether a State agency is demonstrating a good faith effort for purposes of subparagraph (B)(ii), the Secretary shall consider—

“(i) any actions taken by the State agency toward compliance with the requirements of paragraph (2);

“(ii) any significant barriers to or challenges in meeting those requirements, including barriers or challenges relating to funding, design, development, procurement, or installation of necessary systems or resources;

“(iii) the detailed plan and timeline of the State agency for achieving full compliance with those requirements, including any milestones (as defined by the Secretary); and

“(iv) any other criteria determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(D) DURATION OF EXEMPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An exemption granted under subparagraph (B) shall expire not later

than December 31, 2028, and may not be renewed beyond that date.

“(ii) EARLY TERMINATION.—The Secretary may terminate an exemption granted under subparagraph (B) prior to the expiration date of that exemption if the Secretary determines that the State agency—

“(I) has failed to comply with the reporting requirements described in subparagraph (E); or

“(II) based on the information provided pursuant to subparagraph (E), failed to make continued good faith efforts toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection.

“(E) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—A State agency granted an exemption under subparagraph (B) shall submit to the Secretary—

“(i) quarterly progress reports on the status of the State agency in achieving the milestones toward full compliance described in subparagraph (C)(iii); and

“(ii) information on specific risks or newly identified barriers or challenges to full compliance, including the plan of the State agency to mitigate those risks, barriers, or challenges.”

SEC. 10103. AVAILABILITY OF STANDARD UTILITY ALLOWANCES BASED ON RECEIPT OF ENERGY ASSISTANCE.

(a) STANDARD UTILITY ALLOWANCE.—Section 5(e)(6)(C)(iv)(I) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(e)(6)(C)(iv)(I)) is amended by inserting “with an elderly or disabled member” after “households”.

(b) THIRD-PARTY ENERGY ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS.—Section 5(k)(4) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(k)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “without an elderly or disabled member” before “shall be”; and

(2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “with an elderly or disabled member” before “under a State law”.

SEC. 10104. RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNET EXPENSES.

Section 5(e)(6) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2014(e)(6)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(E) RESTRICTIONS ON INTERNET EXPENSES.—Any service fee associated with internet connection shall not be used in computing the excess shelter expense deduction under this paragraph.”

SEC. 10105. MATCHING FUNDS REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4(a) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2013(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking “(a) Subject to” and inserting the following:

“(a) PROGRAM.—

“(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—Subject to”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) STATE QUALITY CONTROL INCENTIVE.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF PAYMENT ERROR RATE.—In this paragraph, the term ‘payment error rate’ has the meaning given the term in section 16(c)(2).

“(B) STATE COST SHARE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Beginning in fiscal year 2028, if the payment error rate of a State as determined under clause (ii) is—

“(I) less than 6 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 100 percent, and the State share shall be 0 percent;

“(II) equal to or greater than 6 percent but less than 8 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 95 percent, and the State share shall be 5 percent;

“(III) equal to or greater than 8 percent but less than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall

be 90 percent, and the State share shall be 10 percent; and

“(IV) equal to or greater than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 85 percent, and the State share shall be 15 percent.

“(ii) ELECTIONS.—

“(I) FISCAL YEAR 2028.—For fiscal year 2028, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), a State may elect to use the payment error rate of the State from fiscal year 2025 or 2026.

“(II) FISCAL YEAR 2029 AND THEREAFTER.—For fiscal year 2029 and each fiscal year thereafter, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), the Secretary shall use the payment error rate of the State for the third fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the State share is being calculated.

“(3) MAXIMUM FEDERAL PAYMENT.—The Secretary may not pay towards the cost of an allotment described in paragraph (1) an amount that is greater than the applicable Federal share under paragraph (2).

“(4) WAIVER AUTHORITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may waive the requirement under paragraph (2) for a noncontiguous State (excluding Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States) for a period of not more than 2 years if—

“(i) the Secretary determines that the waiver is necessary; and

“(ii) the noncontiguous State is—

“(I) actively implementing a corrective action plan (as described in section 275.17 of title 7, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation)); and

“(II) carrying out any other activities determined necessary by the Secretary to reduce its payment error rate (as defined in paragraph (2)).

“(B) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.—The waiver authority under subparagraph (A) shall terminate on the date that is 4 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph.”

(b) LIMITATION ON AUTHORITY.—Section 13(a)(1) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2022(a)(1)) is amended in the first sentence by inserting “or the payment or disposition of a State share under section 4(a)(2)” after “16(c)(1)(D)(i)(II)”.

SEC. 10106. ADMINISTRATIVE COST SHARING.

Section 16(a) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(a)) is amended in the matter preceding paragraph (1) by striking “agency an amount equal to 50 per centum” and inserting “agency, through fiscal year 2026, 50 percent, and for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter, 25 percent.”

SEC. 10107. NATIONAL EDUCATION AND OBESITY PREVENTION GRANT PROGRAM.

Section 28(d)(1)(F) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2036a(d)(1)(F)) is amended by striking “for fiscal year 2016 and each subsequent fiscal year” and inserting “for each of fiscal years 2016 through 2025”.

SEC. 10108. ALIEN SNAP ELIGIBILITY.

Section 6(f) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(f)) is amended to read as follows:

“(f) No individual who is a member of a household otherwise eligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program under this section shall be eligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program as a member of that or any other household unless he or she is—

“(1) a resident of the United States; and

“(2) either—

“(A) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(B) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding,

among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country;”

“(C) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(D) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

The income (less, at State option, a pro rata share) and financial resources of the individual rendered ineligible to participate in the supplemental nutrition assistance program under this subsection shall be considered in determining the eligibility and the value of the allotment of the household of which such individual is a member.”

Subtitle B—Forestry

SEC. 10201. RESCISSION OF AMOUNTS FOR FORESTRY.

The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated by the following provisions of Public Law 117-169 are rescinded:

(1) Paragraphs (3) and (4) of section 23001(a) (136 Stat. 2023).

(2) Paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 23002(a) (136 Stat. 2025).

(3) Section 23003(a)(2) (136 Stat. 2026).

(4) Section 23005 (136 Stat. 2027).

Subtitle C—Commodities

SEC. 10301. EFFECTIVE REFERENCE PRICE; REFERENCE PRICE.

(a) EFFECTIVE REFERENCE PRICE.—Section 1111(8)(B)(ii) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(8)(B)(ii)) is amended by striking “85” and inserting “beginning with the crop year 2025, 88”.

(b) REFERENCE PRICE.—Section 1111 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011) is amended by striking paragraph (19) and inserting the following:

“(19) REFERENCE PRICE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, subject to subparagraphs (B) and (C), the term ‘reference price’, with respect to a covered commodity for a crop year, means the following:

“(i) For wheat, \$6.35 per bushel.

“(ii) For corn, \$4.10 per bushel.

“(iii) For grain sorghum, \$4.40 per bushel.

“(iv) For barley, \$5.45 per bushel.

“(v) For oats, \$2.65 per bushel.

“(vi) For long grain rice, \$16.90 per hundredweight.

“(vii) For medium grain rice, \$16.90 per hundredweight.

“(viii) For soybeans, \$10.00 per bushel.

“(ix) For other oilseeds, \$23.75 per hundredweight.

“(x) For peanuts, \$630.00 per ton.

“(xi) For dry peas, \$13.10 per hundredweight.

“(xii) For lentils, \$23.75 per hundredweight.

“(xiii) For small chickpeas, \$22.65 per hundredweight.

“(xiv) For large chickpeas, \$25.65 per hundredweight.

“(xv) For seed cotton, \$0.42 per pound.

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2031 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price in the previous crop year multiplied by 1.005.

“(C) LIMITATION.—In no case shall a reference price for a covered commodity exceed 113 percent of the reference price for such covered commodity listed in subparagraph (A).”

SEC. 10302. BASE ACRES.

Section 1112 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9012) is amended—

(1) in subsection (d)(3)(A), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) ADDITIONAL BASE ACRES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this subsection, and notwithstanding subsection (a), the Secretary shall provide notice to owners of eligible farms pursuant to paragraph (3) and allocate to those eligible farms a total of not more than an additional 30,000,000 base acres in the manner provided in this subsection. An owner of a farm that is eligible to receive an allocation of base acres may elect to not receive that allocation by notifying the Secretary not later than 90 days after receipt of the notice provided by the Secretary under this paragraph.

“(2) CONTENT OF NOTICE.—The notice under paragraph (1) shall include the following:

“(A) Information that the allocation is occurring.

“(B) Information regarding the eligibility of the farm for an allocation of base acres under paragraph (3).

“(C) Information regarding how an owner may appeal a determination of ineligibility for an allocation of base acres under paragraph (3) through an appeals process established by the Secretary.

“(3) ELIGIBILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (D), effective beginning with the 2026 crop year, a farm is eligible to receive an allocation of base acres if, with respect to the farm, the amount described in subparagraph (B) exceeds the amount described in subparagraph (C).

“(B) 5-YEAR AVERAGE SUM.—The amount described in this subparagraph, with respect to a farm, is the sum of—

“(i) the 5-year average of—

“(I) the acreage planted on the farm to all covered commodities for harvest, grazing, haying, silage or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(II) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to covered commodities because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary; plus

“(ii) the lesser of—

“(I) 15 percent of the total acres on the farm; and

“(II) the 5-year average of—

“(aa) the acreage planted on the farm to eligible noncovered commodities for harvest, grazing, haying, silage, or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(bb) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to eligible noncovered commodities because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary.

“(C) TOTAL NUMBER OF BASE ACRES FOR COVERED COMMODITIES.—The amount described in this subparagraph, with respect to a farm, is the total number of base acres for covered commodities on the farm (excluding unassigned crop base), as in effect on September 30, 2024.

“(D) EFFECT OF NO RECENT PLANTINGS OF COVERED COMMODITIES.—In the case of a farm for which the amount determined under clause (i) of subparagraph (B) is equal to zero, that farm shall be ineligible to receive an allocation of base acres under this subsection.

“(E) ACREAGE PLANTED ON THE FARM TO ELIGIBLE NONCOVERED COMMODITIES DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘acreage planted on the farm to eligible noncovered commodities’ means acreage planted on a farm to

commodities other than covered commodities, trees, bushes, vines, grass, or pasture (including cropland that was idle or fallow), as determined by the Secretary.

“(4) NUMBER OF BASE ACRES.—Subject to paragraphs (3) and (8), the number of base acres allocated to an eligible farm shall—

“(A) be equal to the difference obtained by subtracting the amount determined under subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3) from the amount determined under subparagraph (B) of that paragraph; and

“(B) include unassigned crop base.

“(5) ALLOCATION OF ACRES.—

“(A) ALLOCATION.—The Secretary shall allocate the number of base acres under paragraph (4) among those covered commodities planted on the farm at any time during the 2019 through 2023 crop years.

“(B) ALLOCATION FORMULA.—The allocation of additional base acres for covered commodities shall be in proportion to the ratio of—

“(i) the 5-year average of—

“(I) the acreage planted on the farm to each covered commodity for harvest, grazing, haying, silage, or other similar purposes for the 2019 through 2023 crop years; and

“(II) any acreage on the farm that the producers were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to that covered commodity because of drought, flood, or other natural disaster, or other condition beyond the control of the producers, as determined by the Secretary; to

“(ii) the 5-year average determined under paragraph (3)(B)(i).

“(C) INCLUSION OF ALL 5 YEARS IN AVERAGE.—For the purpose of determining a 5-year acreage average under subparagraph (B) for a farm, the Secretary shall not exclude any crop year in which a covered commodity was not planted.

“(D) TREATMENT OF MULTIPLE PLANTING OR PREVENTED PLANTING.—For the purpose of determining under subparagraph (B) the acreage on a farm that producers planted or were prevented from planting during the 2019 through 2023 crop years to covered commodities, if the acreage that was planted or prevented from being planted was devoted to another covered commodity in the same crop year (other than a covered commodity produced under an established practice of double cropping), the owner may elect the covered commodity to be used for that crop year in determining the 5-year average, but may not include both the initial covered commodity and the subsequent covered commodity.

“(E) LIMITATION.—The allocation of additional base acres among covered commodities on a farm under this paragraph may not result in a total number of base acres for the farm in excess of the total number of acres on the farm.

“(6) REDUCTION BY THE SECRETARY.—In carrying out this subsection, if the total number of eligible acres allocated to base acres across all farms in the United States under this subsection would exceed 30,000,000 acres, the Secretary shall apply an across-the-board, pro-rata reduction to the number of eligible acres to ensure the number of allocated base acres under this subsection is equal to 30,000,000 acres.

“(7) PAYMENT YIELD.—Beginning with crop year 2026, for the purpose of making price loss coverage payments under section 1116, the Secretary shall establish payment yields to base acres allocated under this subsection equal to—

“(A) the payment yield established on the farm for the applicable covered commodity; and

“(B) if no such payment yield for the applicable covered commodity exists, a payment yield—

“(i) equal to the average payment yield for the covered commodity for the county in which the farm is situated; or

“(ii) determined pursuant to section 1113(c).

“(8) TREATMENT OF NEW OWNERS.—In the case of a farm for which the owner on the date of enactment of this subsection was not the owner for the 2019 through 2023 crop years, the Secretary shall use the planting history of the prior owner or owners of that farm for purposes of determining—

“(A) eligibility under paragraph (3);

“(B) eligible acres under paragraph (4); and

“(C) the allocation of acres under paragraph (5).”

SEC. 10303. PRODUCER ELECTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1115 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9015) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “crop year or” and inserting “crop year,”; and

(ii) by inserting “or the 2026 crop year,” after “2019 crop year,”;

(B) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “crop year or” and inserting “crop year,”; and

(ii) by inserting “or the 2026 crop year,” after “2019 crop year,”; and

(C) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(iii) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) the same coverage for each covered commodity on the farm for the 2027 through 2031 crop years as was applicable for the 2025 crop year.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(i) HIGHER OF PRICE LOSS COVERAGE PAYMENTS AND AGRICULTURE RISK COVERAGE PAYMENTS.—For the 2025 crop year, the Secretary shall, on a covered commodity-by-covered commodity basis, make the higher of price loss coverage payments under section 1116 and agriculture risk coverage county coverage payments under section 1117 to the producers on a farm for the payment acres for each covered commodity on the farm.”

(b) FEDERAL CROP INSURANCE SUPPLEMENTAL COVERAGE OPTION.—Section 508(c)(4)(C)(iv) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(c)(4)(C)(iv)) is amended by striking “Crops for which the producer has elected under section 1116 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 to receive agriculture risk coverage and acres” and inserting “Acres”.

SEC. 10304. PRICE LOSS COVERAGE.

Section 1116 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9016) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)(1)(B)—

(A) in the subparagraph heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(3) in subsection (d), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2025” and inserting “2031”; and

(4) in subsection (g)—

(A) by striking “subparagraph (F) of section 1111(19)” and inserting “paragraph (19)(A)(vi) of section 1111”; and

(B) by striking “2012 through 2016” each place it appears and inserting “2017 through 2021”.

SEC. 10305. AGRICULTURE RISK COVERAGE.

Section 1117 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9017) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “for each of the 2014 through 2024 crop years and 90 percent of the benchmark revenue for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years” before the period at the end;

(B) by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”; and

(C) in paragraph (4)(B), in the subparagraph heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”;

(3) in subsection (d)(1), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) for each of the 2014 through 2024 crop years, 10 percent of the benchmark revenue for the crop year applicable under subsection (c); and

“(ii) for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years, 12 percent of the benchmark revenue for the crop year applicable under subsection (c).”; and

(4) in subsections (e), (g)(5), and (i)(5), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10306. EQUITABLE TREATMENT OF CERTAIN ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (6); and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (4) the following:

“(5) QUALIFIED PASS-THROUGH ENTITY.—The term ‘qualified pass-through entity’ means—

“(A) a partnership (within the meaning of subchapter K of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986);

“(B) an S corporation (as defined in section 1361 of that Code);

“(C) a limited liability company that does not affirmatively elect to be treated as a corporation; and

“(D) a joint venture or general partnership.”;

(2) in subsections (b) and (c), by striking “except a joint venture or general partnership” each place it appears and inserting “except a qualified pass-through entity”; and

(3) in subsection (d), by striking “subtitle B of title I of the Agricultural Act of 2014 or”.

(b) ATTRIBUTION OF PAYMENTS.—Section 1001(e)(3)(B)(ii) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308(e)(3)(B)(ii)) is amended—

(1) in the clause heading, by striking “JOINT VENTURES AND GENERAL PARTNERSHIPS” and inserting “QUALIFIED PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES”;

(2) by striking “a joint venture or a general partnership” and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity”;

(3) by striking “joint ventures and general partnerships” and inserting “qualified pass-through entities”; and

(4) by striking “the joint venture or general partnership” and inserting “the qualified pass-through entity”.

(c) PERSONS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FARMING.—Section 1001A(b)(2) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-1(b)(2)) is amended—

(1) subparagraphs (A) and (B), by striking “a general partnership, a participant in a joint venture” each place it appears and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking “a general partnership, joint venture, or similar entity” and inserting “a qualified pass-through entity or a similar entity”.

(d) JOINT AND SEVERAL LIABILITY.—Section 1001B(d) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7

U.S.C. 1308-2(d)) is amended by striking “partnerships and joint ventures” and inserting “qualified pass-through entities”.

(e) EXCLUSION FROM AGI CALCULATION.—Section 1001D(d) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-3a(d)) is amended by striking “, general partnership, or joint venture” each place it appears.

SEC. 10307. PAYMENT LIMITATIONS.

Section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—
(A) by striking “The” and inserting “Subject to subsection (i), the”; and
(B) by striking “\$125,000” and inserting “\$155,000”;

(2) in subsection (c)—
(A) by striking “The” and inserting “Subject to subsection (i), the”; and
(B) by striking “\$125,000” and inserting “\$155,000”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:
“(i) ADJUSTMENT.—For the 2025 crop year and each crop year thereafter, the Secretary shall annually adjust the amounts described in subsections (b) and (c) for inflation based on the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.”.

SEC. 10308. ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME LIMITATION.

Section 1001D(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-3a(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “paragraph (3)” and inserting “paragraphs (3) and (4)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:
“(4) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN OPERATIONS.—

“(A) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:
“(i) EXCEPTED PAYMENT OR BENEFIT.—The term ‘excepted payment or benefit’ means—
“(I) a payment or benefit under subtitle E of title I of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081 et seq.);

“(II) a payment or benefit under section 196 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7333); and
“(III) a payment or benefit described in paragraph (2)(C) received on or after October 1, 2024.

“(ii) FARMING, RANCHING, OR SILVICULTURE ACTIVITIES.—The term ‘farming, ranching, or silviculture activities’ includes agri-tourism, direct-to-consumer marketing of agricultural products, the sale of agricultural equipment owned by the person or legal entity, and other agriculture-related activities, as determined by the Secretary.

“(B) EXCEPTION.—In the case of an excepted payment or benefit, the limitation established by paragraph (1) shall not apply to a person or legal entity during a crop, fiscal, or program year, as appropriate, if greater than or equal to 75 percent of the average gross income of the person or legal entity derives from farming, ranching, or silviculture activities.”.

SEC. 10309. MARKETING LOANS.

(a) AVAILABILITY OF NONRECOURSE MARKETING ASSISTANCE LOANS FOR LOAN COMMODITIES.—Section 1201(b)(1) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9031(b)(1)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(b) LOAN RATES FOR NONRECOURSE MARKETING ASSISTANCE LOANS.—Section 1202 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9032) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—
(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”; and

(B) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”;

(2) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (d) and (e), respectively;

(3) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

“(c) 2026 THROUGH 2031 CROP YEARS.—For purposes of each of the 2026 through 2031 crop

years, the loan rate for a marketing assistance loan under section 1201 for a loan commodity shall be equal to the following:

“(1) In the case of wheat, \$3.72 per bushel.

“(2) In the case of corn, \$2.42 per bushel.

“(3) In the case of grain sorghum, \$2.42 per bushel.

“(4) In the case of barley, \$2.75 per bushel.

“(5) In the case of oats, \$2.20 per bushel.

“(6) In the case of upland cotton, \$0.55 per pound.

“(7) In the case of extra long staple cotton, \$1.00 per pound.

“(8) In the case of long grain rice, \$7.70 per hundredweight.

“(9) In the case of medium grain rice, \$7.70 per hundredweight.

“(10) In the case of soybeans, \$6.82 per bushel.

“(11) In the case of other oilseeds, \$11.10 per hundredweight for each of the following kinds of oilseeds:

“(A) Sunflower seed.

“(B) Rapeseed.

“(C) Canola.

“(D) Safflower.

“(E) Flaxseed.

“(F) Mustard seed.

“(G) Crambe.

“(H) Sesame seed.

“(I) Other oilseeds designated by the Secretary.

“(12) In the case of dry peas, \$6.87 per hundredweight.

“(13) In the case of lentils, \$14.30 per hundredweight.

“(14) In the case of small chickpeas, \$11.00 per hundredweight.

“(15) In the case of large chickpeas, \$15.40 per hundredweight.

“(16) In the case of graded wool, \$1.60 per pound.

“(17) In the case of nongraded wool, \$0.55 per pound.

“(18) In the case of mohair, \$5.00 per pound.

“(19) In the case of honey, \$1.50 per pound.

“(20) In the case of peanuts, \$390 per ton.”;

(4) in subsection (d) (as so redesignated), by striking “(a)(11) and (b)(11)” and inserting “(a)(11), (b)(11), and (c)(11)”;

(5) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated), in paragraph (1), by striking “\$0.25” and inserting “\$0.30”.

(c) PAYMENT OF COTTON STORAGE COSTS.—Section 1204(g) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9034(g)) is amended—

(1) by striking “Effective” and inserting the following:

“(1) CROP YEARS 2014 THROUGH 2025.—Effective”;

(2) in paragraph (1) (as so designated), by striking “2023” and inserting “2025”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) PAYMENT OF COTTON STORAGE COSTS.—Effective for each of the 2026 through 2031 crop years, the Secretary shall make cotton storage payments for upland cotton and extra long staple cotton available in the same manner as the Secretary provided storage payments for the 2006 crop of upland cotton, except that the payment rate shall be equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the submitted storage charge for the current marketing year; and

“(B) in the case of storage in—
“(i) California or Arizona, a payment rate of \$4.90; and

“(ii) any other State, a payment rate of \$3.00.”.

(d) LOAN DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS.—

(1) CONTINUATION.—Section 1205(a)(2)(B) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9035(a)(2)(B)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(2) PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF LDPS.—Section 1206 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9036) is amended, in subsections (a) and (d),

by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(e) SPECIAL COMPETITIVE PROVISIONS FOR EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON.—Section 1208(a) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9038(a)) is amended, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2026” and inserting “2032”.

(f) AVAILABILITY OF RECOURSE LOANS.—Section 1209 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9039) is amended, in subsections (a)(2), (b), and (c), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10310. REPAYMENT OF MARKETING LOANS.

Section 1204 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9034) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—
(A) by redesignating paragraph (1) as subparagraph (A) and indenting appropriately;

(B) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) (as so redesignated), by striking “The Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary”; and

(C) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) in the case of long grain rice and medium grain rice, the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section; or

“(ii) in the case of upland cotton, the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section.

(2) REFUND FOR UPLAND COTTON.—In the case of a repayment for a marketing assistance loan for upland cotton at a rate described in paragraph (1)(B)(ii), the Secretary shall provide to the producer a refund (if any) in an amount equal to the difference between the lowest prevailing world market price, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section, during the 30-day period following the date on which the producer repays the marketing assistance loan and the repayment rate.”;

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(B) by striking “at the loan rate” and inserting the following: “at a rate that is the lesser of—

“(1) the loan rate”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) the prevailing world market price for the commodity, as determined and adjusted by the Secretary in accordance with this section.”;

(3) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “medium grain rice” and inserting “medium grain rice, and extra long staple cotton”;

(B) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(C) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) (as so redesignated), by striking “For purposes” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) UPLAND COTTON.—In the case of upland cotton, for any period when price quotations for Middling (M) 1³/₃₂-inch cotton are available, the formula under paragraph (1)(A) shall be based on the average of the 3 lowest-priced growths that are quoted.”; and

(4) in subsection (e)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by inserting “EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON,” after “UPLAND COTTON.”;

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by inserting “UPLAND” before “COTTON”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (B), in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2024” and inserting “2032”;

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (4); and

(D) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3) EXTRA LONG STAPLE COTTON.—The prevailing world market price for extra long staple cotton determined under subsection (d)—

“(A) shall be adjusted to United States quality and location, with the adjustment to include the average costs to market the commodity, including average transportation costs, as determined by the Secretary; and

“(B) may be further adjusted, during the period beginning on the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and ending on July 31, 2032, if the Secretary determines the adjustment is necessary—

“(i) to minimize potential loan forfeitures; “(ii) to minimize the accumulation of stocks of extra long staple cotton by the Federal Government;

“(iii) to ensure that extra long staple cotton produced in the United States can be marketed freely and competitively; and

“(iv) to ensure an appropriate transition between current-crop and forward-crop price quotations, except that the Secretary may use forward-crop price quotations prior to July 31 of a marketing year only if—

“(I) there are insufficient current-crop price quotations; and

“(II) the forward-crop price quotation is the lowest such quotation available.”.

SEC. 10311. ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE FOR TEXTILE MILLS.

Section 1207(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9037(c)) is amended by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(2) VALUE OF ASSISTANCE.—The value of the assistance provided under paragraph (1) shall be—

“(A) for the period beginning on August 1, 2013, and ending on July 31, 2025, 3 cents per pound; and

“(B) beginning on August 1, 2025, 5 cents per pound.”.

SEC. 10312. SUGAR PROGRAM UPDATES.

(a) LOAN RATE MODIFICATIONS.—Section 156 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7272) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (4), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (5), by striking “2023 crop years.” and inserting “2024 crop years; and”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(6) 24.00 cents per pound for raw cane sugar for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years.”;

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “2023 crop years.” and inserting “2024 crop years; and”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) a rate that is equal to 136.55 percent of the loan rate per pound of raw cane sugar under subsection (a)(6) for each of the 2025 through 2031 crop years.”; and

(3) in subsection (i), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(b) ADJUSTMENTS TO COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION STORAGE RATES.—Section 167 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7287) is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) IN GENERAL.—For the 2025 crop year and each subsequent crop year, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall establish rates for the storage of forfeited sugar in an amount that is not less than—

“(1) in the case of refined sugar, 34 cents per hundredweight per month; and

“(2) in the case of raw cane sugar, 27 cents per hundredweight per month.”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “SUBSEQUENT” and inserting “PRIOR”; and

(B) by striking “and subsequent” and inserting “through 2024”.

(c) MODERNIZING BEET SUGAR ALLOTMENTS.—

(1) SUGAR ESTIMATES.—Section 359b(a)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359bb(a)(1)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

(2) ALLOCATION TO PROCESSORS.—Section 359c(g)(2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359cc(g)(2)) is amended—

(A) by striking “In the case” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), in the case”;

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EXCEPTION.—If the Secretary makes an upward adjustment under paragraph (1)(A), in adjusting allocations among beet sugar processors, the Secretary shall give priority to beet sugar processors with available sugar.”.

(3) TIMING OF REASSIGNMENT.—Section 359e(b)(2) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359ee(b)(2)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (C) as clauses (i) through (iii), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “If the Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) TIMING.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall—

“(i) make an initial determination based on the World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates approved by the World Agricultural Outlook Board for January that shall be applicable to the crop year for which allotments are required; and

“(ii) provide for an initial reassignment under subparagraph (A)(i) not later than 30 days after the date on which the World Agricultural Supply and Demand Estimates described in clause (i) is released.”.

(d) REALLOCATIONS OF TARIFF-RATE QUOTA SHORTFALL.—Section 359k of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(c) REALLOCATION.—

“(1) INITIAL REALLOCATION.—Subject to paragraph (3), following the establishment of the tariff-rate quotas under subsection (a) for a quota year, the Secretary shall—

“(A) determine which countries do not intend to fulfill their allocation for the quota year; and

“(B) reallocate any forecasted shortfall in the fulfillment of the tariff-rate quotas as soon as practicable.

“(2) SUBSEQUENT REALLOCATION.—Subject to paragraph (3), not later than March 1 of a quota year, the Secretary shall reallocate any additional forecasted shortfall in the fulfillment of the tariff-rate quotas for raw cane sugar established under subsection (a)(1) for that quota year.

“(3) CESSATION OF EFFECTIVENESS.—Paragraphs (1) and (2) shall cease to be in effect if—

“(A) the Agreement Suspending the Countervailing Duty Investigation on Sugar from Mexico, signed December 19, 2014, is terminated; and

“(B) no countervailing duty order under subtitle A of title VII of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1671 et seq.) is in effect with respect to sugar from Mexico.

“(d) REFINED SUGAR.—

“(1) DEFINITION OF DOMESTIC SUGAR INDUSTRY.—In this subsection, the term ‘domestic sugar industry’ means domestic—

“(A) sugar beet producers and processors;

“(B) producers and processors of sugar cane; and

“(C) refiners of raw cane sugar.

“(2) STUDY REQUIRED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Secretary shall conduct a study on whether the establishment of additional terms and conditions with respect to refined sugar imports is necessary and appropriate.

“(B) ELEMENTS.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall examine the following:

“(i) The need for—

“(I) defining ‘refined sugar’ as having a minimum polarization of 99.8 degrees or higher;

“(II) establishing a standard for color- or reflectance-based units for refined sugar such as those utilized by the International Commission of Uniform Methods of Sugar Analysis;

“(III) prescribing specifications for packaging type for refined sugar;

“(IV) prescribing specifications for transportation modes for refined sugar;

“(V) requiring evidence that sugar imported as refined sugar will not undergo further refining in the United States;

“(VI) prescribing appropriate terms and conditions to avoid unlawful sugar imports; and

“(VII) establishing other definitions, terms and conditions, or other requirements.

“(ii) The potential impact of modifications described in each of subclauses (I) through (VII) of clause (i) on the domestic sugar industry.

“(iii) Whether, based on the needs described in clause (i) and the impact described in clause (ii), the establishment of additional terms and conditions is appropriate.

“(C) CONSULTATION.—In conducting the study under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall consult with representatives of the domestic sugar industry and users of refined sugar.

“(D) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this subsection, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate a report that describes the findings of the study conducted under subparagraph (A).

“(3) ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS PERMITTED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Based on the findings in the report submitted under paragraph (2)(D), and after providing notice to the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry of the Senate, the Secretary may issue regulations in accordance with subparagraph (B) to establish additional terms and conditions with respect to refined sugar imports that are necessary and appropriate.

“(B) PROMULGATION OF REGULATIONS.—The Secretary may issue regulations under subparagraph (A) if the regulations—

“(i) do not have an adverse impact on the domestic sugar industry; and

“(ii) are consistent with the requirements of this part, section 156 of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (7 U.S.C. 7272), and obligations under international trade agreements that have been approved by Congress.”.

(e) CLARIFICATION OF TARIFF-RATE QUOTA ADJUSTMENTS.—Section 359k(b)(1) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk(b)(1)) is amended, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “if

there is an” and inserting “for the sole purpose of responding directly to an”.

(f) PERIOD OF EFFECTIVENESS.—Section 3591(a) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 13591(a)) is amended by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10313. DAIRY POLICY UPDATES.

(a) DAIRY MARGIN COVERAGE PRODUCTION HISTORY.—

(1) DEFINITION.—Section 1401(8) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9051(8)) is amended by striking “when the participating dairy operation first registers to participate in dairy margin coverage”.

(2) PRODUCTION HISTORY OF PARTICIPATING DAIRY OPERATIONS.—Section 1405 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9055) is amended by striking subsections (a) and (b) and inserting the following:

“(a) PRODUCTION HISTORY.—Except as provided in subsection (b), the production history of a dairy operation for dairy margin coverage is equal to the highest annual milk marketings of the participating dairy operation during any 1 of the 2021, 2022, or 2023 calendar years.

“(b) ELECTION BY NEW DAIRY OPERATIONS.—In the case of a participating dairy operation that has been in operation for less than a year, the participating dairy operation shall elect 1 of the following methods for the Secretary to determine the production history of the participating dairy operation:

“(1) The volume of the actual milk marketings for the months the participating dairy operation has been in operation extrapolated to a yearly amount.

“(2) An estimate of the actual milk marketings of the participating dairy operation based on the herd size of the participating dairy operation relative to the national rolling herd average data published by the Secretary.”

(b) DAIRY MARGIN COVERAGE PAYMENTS.—Section 1406(a)(1)(C) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9056(a)(1)(C)) is amended by striking “5,000,000” each place it appears and inserting “6,000,000”.

(c) PREMIUMS FOR DAIRY MARGINS.—

(1) TIER I.—Section 1407(b) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(b)) is amended—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”.

(2) TIER II.—Section 1407(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(c)) is amended—

(A) in the subsection heading, by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”; and

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “5,000,000” and inserting “6,000,000”.

(3) PREMIUM DISCOUNTS.—Section 1407(g) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9057(g)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “2019 through 2023” and inserting “2026 through 2031”; and

(ii) by striking “January 2019” and inserting “January 2026”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “2023” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(d) DURATION.—Section 1409 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9059) is amended by striking “2025” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10314. IMPLEMENTATION.

Section 1614(c) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9097(c)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) FURTHER FUNDING.—The Secretary shall make available to carry out subtitle C of title I of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and the amendments made by that subtitle \$50,000,000, to remain available until expended, of which—

“(A) not less than \$5,000,000 shall be used to carry out paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (b);

“(B) \$3,000,000 shall be used for activities described in paragraph (3)(A);

“(C) \$3,000,000 shall be used for activities described in paragraph (3)(B);

“(D) \$9,000,000 shall be used—

“(i) to carry out mandatory surveys of dairy production cost and product yield information to be reported by manufacturers required to report under section 273 of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1637b), for all products processed in the same facility or facilities; and

“(ii) to publish the results of such surveys biennially; and

“(E) \$1,000,000 shall be used to conduct the study under subsection (d) of section 359k of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (7 U.S.C. 1359kk).”

Subtitle D—Disaster Assistance Programs

SEC. 10401. SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.

(a) LIVESTOCK INDEMNITY PAYMENTS.—Section 1501(b) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(b)) is amended—

(1) by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(2) PAYMENT RATES.—

“(A) LOSSES DUE TO PREDATION.—Indemnity payments to an eligible producer on a farm under paragraph (1)(A) shall be made at a rate of 100 percent of the market value of the affected livestock on the applicable date, as determined by the Secretary.

“(B) LOSSES DUE TO ADVERSE WEATHER OR DISEASE.—Indemnity payments to an eligible producer on a farm under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) shall be made at a rate of 75 percent of the market value of the affected livestock on the applicable date, as determined by the Secretary.

“(C) DETERMINATION OF MARKET VALUE.—In determining the market value described in subparagraphs (A) and (B), the Secretary may consider the ability of eligible producers to document regional price premiums for affected livestock that exceed the national average market price for those livestock.

“(D) APPLICABLE DATE DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘applicable date’ means, with respect to livestock, as applicable—

“(i) the day before the date of death of the livestock; or

“(ii) the day before the date of the event that caused the harm to the livestock that resulted in a reduced sale price.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(5) ADDITIONAL PAYMENT FOR UNBORN LIVESTOCK.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of unborn livestock death losses incurred on or after January 1, 2024, the Secretary shall make an additional payment to eligible producers on farms that have incurred such losses in excess of the normal mortality due to a condition specified in paragraph (1).

“(B) PAYMENT RATE.—Additional payments under subparagraph (A) shall be made at a rate—

“(i) determined by the Secretary; and

“(ii) less than or equal to 85 percent of the payment rate established with respect to the lowest weight class of the livestock, as determined by the Secretary, acting through the Administrator of the Farm Service Agency.

“(C) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The amount of a payment to an eligible producer that has incurred unborn livestock death losses shall be equal to the payment rate determined under subparagraph (B) multiplied, in the case of livestock described in—

“(i) subparagraph (A), (B), or (F) of subsection (a)(4), by 1;

“(ii) subparagraph (D) of such subsection, by 2;

“(iii) subparagraph (E) of such subsection, by 12; and

“(iv) subparagraph (G) of such subsection, by the average number of birthed animals (for one gestation cycle) for the species of each such livestock, as determined by the Secretary.

“(D) UNBORN LIVESTOCK DEATH LOSSES DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term ‘unborn livestock death losses’ means losses of any livestock described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), (E), (F), or (G) of subsection (a)(4) that was gestating on the date of the death of the livestock.”

(b) LIVESTOCK FORAGE DISASTER PROGRAM.—Section 1501(c)(3)(D)(ii)(I) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(c)(3)(D)(ii)(I)) is amended—

(1) by striking “1 monthly payment” and inserting “2 monthly payments”; and

(2) by striking “county for at least 8 consecutive” and inserting the following: “county for not less than—

“(aa) 4 consecutive weeks during the normal grazing period for the county, as determined by the Secretary, shall be eligible to receive assistance under this paragraph in an amount equal to 1 monthly payment using the monthly payment rate determined under subparagraph (B); or

“(bb) 7 of the previous 8 consecutive”.

(c) EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR LIVESTOCK, HONEY BEES, AND FARM-RAISED FISH.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1501(d) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) ASSISTANCE FOR LOSSES DUE TO BIRD DEPREDATION.—

“(A) DEFINITION OF FARM-RAISED FISH.—In this paragraph, the term ‘farm-raised fish’ means fish propagated and reared in a controlled fresh water environment.

“(B) PAYMENTS.—Eligible producers of farm-raised fish, including fish grown as food for human consumption, shall be eligible to receive payments under this subsection to aid in the reduction of losses due to piscivorous birds.

“(C) PAYMENT RATE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The payment rate for payments under subparagraph (B) shall be determined by the Secretary, taking into account—

“(I) costs associated with the deterrence of piscivorous birds;

“(II) the value of lost fish and revenue due to bird depredation; and

“(III) costs associated with disease loss from bird depredation.

“(ii) MINIMUM RATE.—The payment rate for payments under subparagraph (B) shall be not less than \$600 per acre of farm-raised fish.

“(D) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The amount of a payment under subparagraph (B) shall be the product obtained by multiplying—

“(i) the applicable payment rate under subparagraph (C); and

“(ii) 85 percent of the total number of acres of farm-raised fish farms that the eligible producer has in production for the calendar year.”

(2) EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE FOR HONEY-BEES.—In determining honeybee colony losses eligible for assistance under section 1501(d) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(d)), the Secretary shall utilize a normal mortality rate of 15 percent.

(d) TREE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.—Section 1501(e) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9081(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “15 percent (adjusted for normal mortality)” and inserting “normal mortality”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)(i), by striking “15 percent mortality (adjusted for normal mortality)” and inserting “normal mortality”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) by striking “50” and inserting “65”; and

(ii) by striking “15 percent damage or mortality (adjusted for normal tree damage and mortality)” and inserting “normal tree damage or mortality”.

Subtitle E—Crop Insurance

SEC. 10501. BEGINNING FARMER AND RANCHER BENEFIT.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 502(b)(3) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1502(b)(3)) is amended by striking “5” and inserting “10”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 522(c)(7) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1522(c)(7)) is amended by striking subparagraph (F).

(b) INCREASE IN ASSISTANCE.—Section 508(e) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(9) ADDITIONAL SUPPORT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other provision of this subsection (except paragraph (2)(A)) regarding payment of a portion of premiums, a beginning farmer or rancher shall receive additional premium assistance that is the number of percentage points specified in subparagraph (B) greater than the premium assistance that would otherwise be available for the applicable policy, plan of insurance, and coverage level selected by the beginning farmer or rancher.

“(B) PERCENTAGE POINTS ADJUSTMENTS.—The percentage points referred to in subparagraph (A) are the following:

“(i) For each of the first and second reinsurance years that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 5 percentage points.

“(ii) For the third reinsurance year that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 3 percentage points.

“(iii) For the fourth reinsurance year that a beginning farmer or rancher participates as a beginning farmer or rancher in the applicable policy or plan of insurance, 1 percentage point.”.

SEC. 10502. AREA-BASED CROP INSURANCE COVERAGE AND AFFORDABILITY.

(a) COVERAGE LEVEL.—Section 508(c)(4) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(c)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (ii) and inserting the following:

“(ii) may be purchased at any level not to exceed—

“(I) in the case of the individual yield or revenue coverage, 85 percent;

“(II) in the case of individual yield or revenue coverage aggregated across multiple commodities, 90 percent; and

“(III) in the case of area yield or revenue coverage (as determined by the Corporation), 95 percent.”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “14” and inserting “10”; and

(B) in clause (iii)(I), by striking “86” and inserting “90”.

(b) PREMIUM SUBSIDY.—Section 508(e)(2)(H)(i) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)(2)(H)(i)) is amended by striking “65” and inserting “80”.

SEC. 10503. ADMINISTRATIVE AND OPERATING EXPENSE ADJUSTMENTS.

Section 508(k) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(k)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(10) ADDITIONAL EXPENSES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, in addition to the terms and conditions of the Standard Reinsurance Agreement, to cover additional expenses for loss adjustment procedures, the Corporation shall pay an additional administrative and operating expense subsidy to approved insurance providers for eligible contracts.

“(B) PAYMENT AMOUNT.—In the case of an eligible contract, the payment to an approved insurance provider required under subparagraph (A) shall be the amount equal to 6 percent of the net book premium.

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) ELIGIBLE CONTRACT.—The term ‘eligible contract’—

“(I) means a crop insurance contract entered into by an approved insurance provider in an eligible State; and

“(II) does not include a contract for—

“(aa) catastrophic risk protection under subsection (b);

“(bb) an area-based plan of insurance or similar plan of insurance, as determined by the Corporation; or

“(cc) a policy under which an approved insurance provider does not incur loss adjustment expenses, as determined by the Corporation.

“(ii) ELIGIBLE STATE.—The term ‘eligible State’ means a State in which, with respect to an insurance year, the loss ratio for eligible contracts is greater than 120 percent of the total net book premium written by all approved insurance providers.

“(11) SPECIALTY CROPS.—

“(A) MINIMUM REIMBURSEMENT.—Beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, the rate of reimbursement to approved insurance providers and agents for administrative and operating expenses with respect to crop insurance contracts covering agricultural commodities described in section 101 of the Specialty Crops Competitiveness Act of 2004 (7 U.S.C. 1621 note; Public Law 108-465) shall be equal to or greater than the percentage that is the greater of the following:

“(i) 17 percent of the premium used to define loss ratio.

“(ii) The percent of the premium used to define loss ratio that is otherwise applicable for the reinsurance year under the terms of the Standard Reinsurance Agreement in effect for the reinsurance year.

“(B) OTHER CONTRACTS.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Corporation shall not reduce, with respect to any reinsurance year, the amount or the rate of reimbursement to approved insurance providers and agents under the Standard Reinsurance Agreement described in clause (ii) of such subparagraph for administrative and operating expenses with respect to contracts covering agricultural commodities that are not subject to such subparagraph.

“(C) ADMINISTRATION.—The requirements of this paragraph and the adjustments made pursuant to this paragraph shall not be considered a renegotiation under paragraph (8)(A).

“(12) A&O INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), beginning with the 2026 reinsurance year, and for each reinsurance year thereafter, the Corporation shall increase the total administrative and operating expense reimbursements otherwise required under the Standard Reinsurance Agreement in effect for the reinsurance year in order to account for inflation, in a manner consistent with the increases provided with respect to the 2011 through 2015 reinsurance years under the enclosure included in Risk Management Agency Bulletin numbered MGR-10-007 and dated June 30, 2010.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR 2026 REINSURANCE YEAR.—The increase under subparagraph (A) for the 2026 reinsurance year shall not exceed the percentage change for the preceding reinsurance year included in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor.

“(C) ADMINISTRATION.—An increase under subparagraph (A)—

“(i) shall apply with respect to all contracts covering agricultural commodities that were subject to an increase during the period of the 2011 through 2015 reinsurance years under the enclosure referred to in that subparagraph; and

“(ii) shall not be considered a renegotiation under paragraph (8)(A).”.

SEC. 10504. PREMIUM SUPPORT.

Section 508(e)(2) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1508(e)(2)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)(i), by striking “64” and inserting “69”;

(2) in subparagraph (D)(i), by striking “59” and inserting “64”;

(3) in subparagraph (E)(i), by striking “55” and inserting “60”;

(4) in subparagraph (F)(i), by striking “48” and inserting “51”; and

(5) in subparagraph (G)(i), by striking “38” and inserting “41”.

SEC. 10505. PROGRAM COMPLIANCE AND INTEGRITY.

Section 515(1)(2) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1515(1)(2)) is amended by striking “than” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting the following: “than—

“(A) \$4,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2009 through 2025; and

“(B) \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year.”.

SEC. 10506. REVIEWS, COMPLIANCE, AND INTEGRITY.

Section 516(b)(2)(C)(i) of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1516(b)(2)(C)(i)) is amended, in the matter preceding subclause (I), by striking “for each fiscal year” and inserting “for each of fiscal years 2014 through 2025 and \$10,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter”.

SEC. 10507. POULTRY INSURANCE PILOT PROGRAM.

Section 523 of the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1523) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(j) POULTRY INSURANCE PILOT PROGRAM.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding subsection (a)(2), the Corporation shall establish a pilot program under which contract poultry growers, including growers of broilers and laying hens, may elect to receive indexed insurance from extreme weather-related risk resulting in increased utility costs (including costs of natural gas, propane, electricity, water, and other appropriate costs, as determined by the Corporation) associated with poultry production.

“(2) STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT.—The Corporation shall engage with poultry industry stakeholders in establishing the pilot program under paragraph (1).

“(3) LOCATION.—The pilot program established under paragraph (1) shall be conducted in a sufficient number of counties to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the feasibility, effectiveness, and demand among producers in the top poultry producing States, as determined by the Corporation.

“(4) APPROVAL OF POLICY OR PLAN.—Notwithstanding section 508(1), the Board shall approve a policy or plan of insurance based on the pilot program under paragraph (1)—

“(A) in accordance with section 508(h); and

“(B) not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this subsection.”.

Subtitle F—Additional Investments in Rural America

SEC. 10601. CONSERVATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1241(a) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3841(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking subparagraphs (A) through (F) and inserting the following:

- “(A) \$625,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
 - “(B) \$650,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
 - “(C) \$675,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
 - “(D) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
 - “(E) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
 - “(F) \$700,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”; and
- (2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking clauses (i) through (v) and inserting the following:

- “(i) \$2,655,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(ii) \$2,855,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(iii) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(iv) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(v) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(vi) \$3,255,000,000 for fiscal year 2031; and”;

and

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking clauses (i) through (v) and inserting the following:

- “(i) \$1,300,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(ii) \$1,325,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(iii) \$1,350,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(iv) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(v) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(vi) \$1,375,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”.

(b) REGIONAL CONSERVATION PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM.—Section 1271D of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3871d) is amended by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out the program, to the maximum extent practicable—

- “(1) \$425,000,000 for fiscal year 2026;
- “(2) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2027;
- “(3) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;
- “(4) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;
- “(5) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2030; and
- “(6) \$450,000,000 for fiscal year 2031.”.

(c) GRASSROOTS SOURCE WATER PROTECTION PROGRAM.—Section 12400(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3839bb–2(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “2023” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) \$1,000,000 beginning in fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

(d) VOLUNTARY PUBLIC ACCESS AND HABITAT INCENTIVE PROGRAM.—Section 1240R(f)(1) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (16 U.S.C. 3839bb–5(f)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “2023, and” and inserting “2023.”; and

(2) by inserting “, and \$70,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2031” before the period at the end.

(e) WATERSHED PROTECTION AND FLOOD PREVENTION.—Section 15 of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (16 U.S.C. 1012a) is amended by striking “\$50,000,000 for fiscal year 2019 and each fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “\$150,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter, to remain available until expended”.

(f) FERAL SWINE ERADICATION AND CONTROL PILOT PROGRAM.—Section 2408(g)(1) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (7 U.S.C. 8351 note; Public Law 115–334) is amended—

(1) by striking “2023 and” and inserting “2023.”; and

(2) by inserting “, and \$105,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2031” before the period at the end.

(g) RESCISSION.—The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated by section 21001(a) of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2015) are rescinded.

SEC. 10602. SUPPLEMENTAL AGRICULTURAL TRADE PROMOTION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Agriculture shall carry out a program to encourage the accessibility, development, maintenance, and expansion of commercial export markets for United States agricultural commodities.

(b) FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary of Agriculture shall make available to carry out this section \$285,000,000 for fiscal year 2027 and each fiscal year thereafter.

SEC. 10603. NUTRITION.

Section 203D(d)(5) of the Emergency Food Assistance Act of 1983 (7 U.S.C. 7507(d)(5)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10604. RESEARCH.

(a) URBAN, INDOOR, AND OTHER EMERGING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND EXTENSION INITIATIVE.—Section 1672E(d)(1)(B) of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 5925g(d)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “fiscal year 2024, to remain available until expended” and inserting “each of fiscal years 2024 through 2031”.

(b) FOUNDATION FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE RESEARCH.—Section 7601(g)(1)(A) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 5939(g)(1)(A)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) FURTHER FUNDING.—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this clause, of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall transfer to the Foundation to carry out this section \$37,000,000, to remain available until expended.”.

(c) SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDENTS AT 1890 INSTITUTIONS.—Section 1446(b)(1) of the National Agricultural Research, Extension, and Teaching Policy Act of 1977 (7 U.S.C. 3222a(b)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(C) FURTHER FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$60,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

(d) ASSISTIVE TECHNOLOGY PROGRAM FOR FARMERS WITH DISABILITIES.—Section 1680 of the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 5933) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(2), by inserting “and subsection (d)” after “paragraph (1)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(d) MANDATORY FUNDING.—Subject to subsection (c)(2), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out this section \$8,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

(e) SPECIALTY CROP RESEARCH INITIATIVE.—Section 412(k)(1)(B) of the Agricultural Research, Extension, and Education Reform Act of 1998 (7 U.S.C. 7632(k)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “section \$80,000,000 for fiscal year 2014” and inserting the following: “section—

“(i) \$80,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2014 through 2025; and

“(ii) \$175,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(f) RESEARCH FACILITIES ACT.—Section 6 of the Research Facilities Act (7 U.S.C. 390d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c), by striking “subsection (a)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (e)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) MANDATORY FUNDING.—Subject to subsections (b), (c), and (d), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out the competitive grant program under section 4 \$125,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter.”.

SEC. 10605. ENERGY.

Section 9005(g)(1)(F) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 8105(g)(1)(F)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

SEC. 10606. HORTICULTURE.

(a) PLANT PEST AND DISEASE MANAGEMENT AND DISASTER PREVENTION.—Section 420(f) of the Plant Protection Act (7 U.S.C. 7721(f)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7);

(3) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) \$75,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2018 through 2025; and”;

(4) in paragraph (7) (as so redesignated), by striking “\$75,000,000 for fiscal year 2018” and inserting “\$90,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(b) SPECIALTY CROP BLOCK GRANTS.—Section 101(1)(1) of the Specialty Crops Competitiveness Act of 2004 (7 U.S.C. 1621 note; Public Law 108–465) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (E) as subparagraph (F);

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following:

“(E) \$85,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2018 through 2025; and”;

(4) in subparagraph (F) (as so redesignated), by striking “\$85,000,000 for fiscal year 2018” and inserting “\$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(c) ORGANIC PRODUCTION AND MARKET DATA INITIATIVE.—Section 7407(d)(1) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 5925c(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(D) \$10,000,000 for the period of fiscal years 2026 through 2031.”.

(d) MODERNIZATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS AND DATA COLLECTION.—Section 2123(c)(4) of the Organic Foods Production Act of 1990 (7 U.S.C. 6522(c)(4)) is amended, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 2024” and inserting “, \$1,000,000 for fiscal years 2024 and 2025, and \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2026”.

(e) NATIONAL ORGANIC CERTIFICATION COST-SHARE PROGRAM.—Section 10606(d)(1)(C) of the Farm Security and Rural Investment Act of 2002 (7 U.S.C. 6523(d)(1)(C)) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(f) MULTIPLE CROP AND PESTICIDE USE SURVEY.—Section 10109(c) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–334; 132 Stat. 4907) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(3) FURTHER MANDATORY FUNDING.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall use to carry out this section \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.”.

SEC. 10607. MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) ANIMAL DISEASE PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT.—Section 10409A(d)(1) of the Animal Health Protection Act (7 U.S.C. 8308a(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the heading, by striking “SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS” and inserting “FISCAL YEARS 2023 THROUGH 2025”; and

(B) by striking “fiscal year 2023 and each fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “each of fiscal years 2023 through 2025”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) FISCAL YEARS 2026 THROUGH 2030.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$233,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2030, of which—

“(i) not less than \$10,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (a);

“(ii) not less than \$70,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (b); and

“(iii) not less than \$153,000,000 shall be made available for each such fiscal year to carry out subsection (c).”

“(D) SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS.—Of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out this section \$75,000,000 for fiscal year 2031 and each fiscal year thereafter, of which not less than \$45,000,000 shall be made available for each of those fiscal years to carry out subsection (b).”

(b) SHEEP PRODUCTION AND MARKETING GRANT PROGRAM.—Section 209(c) of the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1946 (7 U.S.C. 1627a(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking “2019, and” and inserting “2019.”; and

(2) by inserting “and \$3,000,000 for fiscal year 2026,” after “fiscal year 2024.”

(c) PIMA AGRICULTURE COTTON TRUST FUND.—Section 12314 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 2101 note; Public Law 113-79) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”; and

(2) in subsection (h), by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(d) AGRICULTURE WOOL APPAREL MANUFACTURERS TRUST FUND.—Section 12315 of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 7101 note; Public Law 113-79) is amended by striking “2024” each place it appears and inserting “2031”.

(e) WOOL RESEARCH AND PROMOTION.—Section 12316(a) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 7101 note; Public Law 113-79) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

(f) EMERGENCY CITRUS DISEASE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TRUST FUND.—Section 12605(d) of the Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018 (7 U.S.C. 7632 note; Public Law 115-334) is amended by striking “2024” and inserting “2031”.

TITLE II—COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

SEC. 20001. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$230,480,000 for restoration and modernization costs under the Marine Corps Barracks 2030 initiative;

(2) \$119,000,000 for base operating support costs under the Marine Corps;

(3) \$1,000,000,000 for Army, Navy, Air Force, and Space Force sustainment, restoration, and modernization of military unaccompanied housing;

(4) \$2,000,000,000 for the Defense Health Program;

(5) \$2,900,000,000 to supplement the basic allowance for housing payable to members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force, notwithstanding section 403 of title 37, United States Code;

(6) \$50,000,000 for bonuses, special pays, and incentive pays for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force pursuant to titles 10 and 37, United States Code;

(7) \$10,000,000 for the Defense Activity for Non-Traditional Education Support's Online Academic Skills Course program for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force;

(8) \$100,000,000 for tuition assistance for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force pursuant to title 10, United States Code;

(9) \$100,000,000 for child care fee assistance for members of the Army, Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Space Force under part II of chapter 88 of title 10, United States Code;

(10) \$590,000,000 to increase the Temporary Lodging Expense Allowance under chapter 8 of title 37, United States Code, to 21 days;

(11) \$100,000,000 for Department of Defense Impact Aid payments to local educational agencies under section 2008 of title 10, United States Code;

(12) \$10,000,000 for military spouse professional licensure under section 1784 of title 10, United States Code;

(13) \$6,000,000 for Armed Forces Retirement Home facilities;

(14) \$100,000,000 for the Defense Community Infrastructure Program;

(15) \$100,000,000 for Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) casualty care research; and

(16) \$62,000,000 for modernization of Department of Defense childcare center staffing.

(b) TEMPORARY INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE OF VALUE OF AUTHORIZED INVESTMENT IN CERTAIN PRIVATIZED MILITARY HOUSING PROJECTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—During the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending on September 30, 2029, the Secretary concerned shall apply—

(A) paragraph (1) of subsection (c) of section 2875 of title 10, United States Code, by substituting “60 percent” for “33 ⅓ percent”; and

(B) paragraph (2) of such subsection by substituting “60 percent” for “45 percent”.

(2) SECRETARY CONCERNED DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term “Secretary concerned” has the meaning given such term in section 101 of title 10, United States Code.

(c) TEMPORARY AUTHORITY FOR ACQUISITION OR CONSTRUCTION OF PRIVATIZED MILITARY UNACCOMPANIED HOUSING.—Section 2881a of title 10, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking the heading and inserting “**Temporary authority for acquisition or construction of privatized military unaccompanied housing**”;

(2) by striking “Secretary of the Navy” each place it appears and inserting “Secretary concerned”;

(3) by striking “under the pilot projects” each place it appears and inserting “pursuant to this section”;

(4) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking the heading and inserting “IN GENERAL”; and

(B) by striking “carry out not more than three pilot projects under the authority of this section or another provision of this subchapter to use the private sector” and inserting “use the authority under this subchapter to enter into contracts with appropriate private sector entities”;

(5) in subsection (c), by striking “privatized housing” and inserting “privatized housing units”;

(6) by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (e); and

(7) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated)—

(A) by striking “under the pilot programs” and inserting “under this section”; and

(B) by striking “September 30, 2009” and inserting “September 30, 2029”.

SEC. 20002. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR SHIPBUILDING.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$250,000,000 for the expansion of accelerated Training in Defense Manufacturing program;

(2) \$250,000,000 for United States production of turbine generators for shipbuilding industrial base;

(3) \$450,000,000 for United States additive manufacturing for wire production and machining capacity for shipbuilding industrial base;

(4) \$492,000,000 for next-generation shipbuilding techniques;

(5) \$85,000,000 for United States-made steel plate for shipbuilding industrial base;

(6) \$50,000,000 for machining capacity for naval propellers for shipbuilding industrial base;

(7) \$110,000,000 for rolled steel and fabrication facility for shipbuilding industrial base;

(8) \$400,000,000 for expansion of collaborative campus for naval shipbuilding;

(9) \$450,000,000 for application of autonomy and artificial intelligence to naval shipbuilding;

(10) \$500,000,000 for the adoption of advanced manufacturing techniques in the shipbuilding industrial base;

(11) \$500,000,000 for additional dry-dock capability;

(12) \$50,000,000 for the expansion of cold spray repair technologies;

(13) \$450,000,000 for additional maritime industrial workforce development programs;

(14) \$750,000,000 for additional supplier development across the naval shipbuilding industrial base;

(15) \$250,000,000 for additional advanced manufacturing processes across the naval shipbuilding industrial base;

(16) \$4,600,000,000 for a second Virginia-class submarine in fiscal year 2026;

(17) \$5,400,000,000 for two additional Guided Missile Destroyer (DDG) ships;

(18) \$160,000,000 for advanced procurement for Landing Ship Medium;

(19) \$1,803,941,000 for procurement of Landing Ship Medium;

(20) \$295,000,000 for development of a second Landing Craft Utility shipyard and production of additional Landing Craft Utility;

(21) \$100,000,000 for advanced procurement for light replenishment oiler program;

(22) \$600,000,000 for the lease or purchase of new ships through the National Defense Sealift Fund;

(23) \$2,725,000,000 for the procurement of T-AO oilers;

(24) \$500,000,000 for cost-to-complete for rescue and salvage ships;

(25) \$300,000,000 for production of ship-to-shore connectors;

(26) \$1,470,000,000 for the implementation of a multi-ship amphibious warship contract;

(27) \$80,000,000 for accelerated development of vertical launch system reloading at sea;

(28) \$250,000,000 for expansion of Navy corrosion control programs;

(29) \$159,000,000 for leasing of ships for Marine Corps operations;

(30) \$1,534,000,000 for expansion of small unmanned surface vessel production;

(31) \$2,100,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of purpose-built medium unmanned surface vessels;

(32) \$1,300,000,000 for expansion of unmanned underwater vehicle production;

(33) \$188,360,000 for the development and testing of maritime robotic autonomous systems and enabling technologies;

(34) \$174,000,000 for the development of a Test Resource Management Center robotic autonomous systems proving ground;

(35) \$250,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of wave-powered unmanned underwater vehicles; and

(36) \$150,000,000 for retention of inactive reserve fleet ships.

SEC. 20003. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR INTEGRATED AIR AND MISSILE DEFENSE.

(a) **NEXT GENERATION MISSILE DEFENSE TECHNOLOGIES.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$250,000,000 for development and testing of directed energy capabilities by the Under Secretary for Research and Engineering;

(2) \$500,000,000 for national security space launch infrastructure;

(3) \$2,000,000,000 for air moving target indicator military satellites;

(4) \$400,000,000 for expansion of Multi-Service Advanced Capability Hypersonic Test Bed program;

(5) \$5,600,000,000 for development of space-based and boost phase intercept capabilities;

(6) \$7,200,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space-based sensors; and

(7) \$2,550,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military missile defense capabilities.

(b) **LAYERED HOMELAND DEFENSE.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,200,000,000 for acceleration of hypersonic defense systems;

(2) \$800,000,000 for accelerated development and deployment of next-generation intercontinental ballistic missile defense systems;

(3) \$408,000,000 for Army space and strategic missile test range infrastructure restoration and modernization in the United States Indo-Pacific Command area of operations west of the international dateline;

(4) \$1,975,000,000 for improved ground-based missile defense radars; and

(5) \$530,000,000 for the design and construction of Missile Defense Agency missile instrumentation range safety ship.

SEC. 20004. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR MUNITIONS AND DEFENSE SUPPLY CHAIN RESILIENCY.

(a) **APPROPRIATIONS.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$400,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of Navy and Air Force long-range anti-ship missiles;

(2) \$380,000,000 for production capacity expansion for Navy and Air Force long-range anti-ship missiles;

(3) \$490,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of Navy and Air Force long-range air-to-surface missiles;

(4) \$94,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of alternative Navy and Air Force long-range air-to-surface missiles;

(5) \$630,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of long-range Navy air defense and anti-ship missiles;

(6) \$688,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of long-range multi-service cruise missiles;

(7) \$250,000,000 for production capacity expansion and supplier base strengthening of long-range multi-service cruise missiles;

(8) \$70,000,000 for the development, production, and integration of short-range Navy and Marine Corps anti-ship missiles;

(9) \$100,000,000 for the development of an anti-ship seeker for short-range Army ballistic missiles;

(10) \$175,000,000 for production capacity expansion for next-generation Army medium-range ballistic missiles;

(11) \$50,000,000 for the mitigation of diminishing manufacturing sources for medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(12) \$250,000,000 for the procurement of medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(13) \$225,000,000 for the expansion of production capacity for medium-range air-to-air missiles;

(14) \$50,000,000 for the development of second sources for components of short-range air-to-air missiles;

(15) \$325,000,000 for production capacity improvements for air-launched anti-radiation missiles;

(16) \$50,000,000 for the accelerated development of Army next-generation medium-range anti-ship ballistic missiles;

(17) \$114,000,000 for the production of Army next-generation medium-range ballistic missiles;

(18) \$300,000,000 for the production of Army medium-range ballistic missiles;

(19) \$85,000,000 for the accelerated development of Army long-range ballistic missiles;

(20) \$400,000,000 for the production of heavy-weight torpedoes;

(21) \$200,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of mass-producible autonomous underwater munitions;

(22) \$70,000,000 for the improvement of heavyweight torpedo maintenance activities;

(23) \$200,000,000 for the production of lightweight torpedoes;

(24) \$500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of maritime mines;

(25) \$50,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of new underwater explosives;

(26) \$55,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of lightweight multi-mission torpedoes;

(27) \$80,000,000 for the production of sonobuoys;

(28) \$150,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of air-delivered long-range maritime mines;

(29) \$61,000,000 for the acceleration of Navy expeditionary loitering munitions deployment;

(30) \$50,000,000 for the acceleration of one-way attack unmanned aerial systems with advanced autonomy;

(31) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion of the one-way attack unmanned aerial systems industrial base;

(32) \$200,000,000 for investments in solid rocket motor industrial base through the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code;

(33) \$400,000,000 for investments in the emerging solid rocket motor industrial base through the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code;

(34) \$42,000,000 for investments in second sources for large-diameter solid rocket motors for hypersonic missiles;

(35) \$1,000,000,000 for the creation of next-generation automated munitions production factories;

(36) \$170,000,000 for the development of advanced radar depot for repair, testing, and production of radar and electronic warfare systems;

(37) \$25,000,000 for the expansion of the Department of Defense industrial base policy analysis workforce;

(38) \$30,300,000 for the repair of Army missiles;

(39) \$100,000,000 for the production of small and medium ammunition;

(40) \$2,000,000,000 for additional activities to improve the United States stockpile of critical minerals through the National Defense Stockpile Transaction Fund, authorized by subchapter III of chapter 5 of title 50, United States Code;

(41) \$10,000,000 for the expansion of the Department of Defense armaments cooperation workforce;

(42) \$500,000,000 for the expansion of the Defense Exportability Features program;

(43) \$350,000,000 for production of Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(44) \$93,000,000 for replacement of Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(45) \$100,000,000 for development of a second solid rocket motor source for Navy air defense and anti ship missiles;

(46) \$65,000,000 for expansion of production capacity of Missile Defense Agency long-range anti-ballistic missiles;

(47) \$225,000,000 for expansion of production capacity for Navy air defense and anti-ship missiles;

(48) \$103,300,000 for expansion of depot level maintenance facility for Navy long-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(49) \$18,000,000 for creation of domestic source for guidance section of Navy short-range air defense missiles;

(50) \$65,000,000 for integration of Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptor with Navy ships;

(51) \$176,100,000 for production of Army long-range movable missile defense radar;

(52) \$167,000,000 for accelerated fielding of Army short-range gun-based air and missile defense system;

(53) \$40,000,000 for development of low-cost alternatives to air and missile defense interceptors;

(54) \$50,000,000 for acceleration of Army next-generation shoulder-fired air defense system;

(55) \$91,000,000 for production of Army next-generation shoulder-fired air defense system;

(56) \$500,000,000 for development, production, and integration of counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(57) \$350,000,000 for development, production, and integration of non-kinetic counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(58) \$250,000,000 for development, production, and integration of land-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(59) \$200,000,000 for development, production, and integration of ship-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs;

(60) \$400,000,000 for acceleration of hypersonic strike programs;

(61) \$167,000,000 for procurement of additional launchers for Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(62) \$500,000,000 for expansion of defense advanced manufacturing techniques;

(63) \$1,000,000,000 for establishment of the Joint Energetics Transition Office;

(64) \$200,000,000 for acceleration of Army medium-range air and missile defense interceptors;

(65) \$150,000,000 for additive manufacturing for propellant;

(66) \$250,000,000 for expansion and acceleration of penetrating munitions production; and

(67) \$50,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of precision extended-range artillery.

(b) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$3,300,000,000 for grants and purchase commitments made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code.

(c) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$5,000,000,000 for investments in critical minerals supply chains made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code.

(d) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Defense, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$500,000,000 to the “Department of Defense Credit Program Account” to carry out the capital assistance program, including loans, loan guarantees, and technical assistance, established under section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code, for critical minerals and related industries and projects, including related Covered Technology Categories: *Provided*, That—

(1) such amounts are available to subsidize gross obligations for the principal amount of direct loans, and total loan principal, any part of which is to be guaranteed, not to exceed \$100,000,000,000; and

(2) such amounts are available to cover all costs and expenditures as provided under section 149(e)(5)(B) of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20005. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR SCALING LOW-COST WEAPONS INTO PRODUCTION.

(a) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$25,000,000 for the Office of Strategic Capital Global Technology Scout program;

(2) \$1,400,000,000 for the expansion of the small unmanned aerial system industrial base;

(3) \$400,000,000 for the development and deployment of the Joint Fires Network and associated joint battle management capabilities;

(4) \$400,000,000 for the expansion of advanced command-and-control tools to combatant commands and military departments;

(5) \$100,000,000 for the development of shared secure facilities for the defense industrial base;

(6) \$50,000,000 for the creation of additional Defense Innovation Unit OnRamp Hubs;

(7) \$600,000,000 for the acceleration of Strategic Capabilities Office programs;

(8) \$650,000,000 for the expansion of Mission Capabilities office joint prototyping and experimentation activities for military innovation;

(9) \$500,000,000 for the accelerated development and integration of advanced 5G/6G technologies for military use;

(10) \$25,000,000 for testing of simultaneous transmit and receive technology for military spectrum agility;

(11) \$50,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of high-altitude stratospheric balloons for military use;

(12) \$120,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of long-endurance unmanned aerial systems for surveillance;

(13) \$40,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of alternative positioning and navigation technology to enable military operations in contested electromagnetic environments;

(14) \$750,000,000 for the acceleration of innovative military logistics and energy capability development and deployment;

(15) \$125,000,000 for the acceleration of development of small, portable modular nuclear reactors for military use;

(16) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion of programs to accelerate the procurement and fielding of innovative technologies;

(17) \$90,000,000 for the development of reusable hypersonic technology for military strikes;

(18) \$2,000,000,000 for the expansion of Defense Innovation Unit scaling of commercial technology for military use;

(19) \$500,000,000 to prevent delays in delivery of attributable autonomous military capabilities;

(20) \$1,500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of low-cost cruise missiles;

(21) \$124,000,000 for improvements to Test Resource Management Center artificial intelligence capabilities;

(22) \$145,000,000 for the development of artificial intelligence to enable one-way attack unmanned aerial systems and naval systems;

(23) \$250,000,000 for the development of the Test Resource Management Center digital test environment;

(24) \$250,000,000 for the advancement of the artificial intelligence ecosystem;

(25) \$250,000,000 for the expansion of Cyber Command artificial intelligence lines of effort;

(26) \$250,000,000 for the acceleration of the Quantum Benchmarking Initiative;

(27) \$1,000,000,000 for the expansion and acceleration of qualification activities and technical data management to enhance competition in defense industrial base;

(28) \$400,000,000 for the expansion of the defense manufacturing technology program;

(29) \$1,685,000,000 for military cryptographic modernization activities;

(30) \$90,000,000 for APEX Accelerators, the Mentor-Protege Program, and cybersecurity support to small non-traditional contractors;

(31) \$250,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Air Force low-cost counter-air capabilities;

(32) \$10,000,000 for additional Air Force wargaming activities; and

(33) \$20,000,000 for the Office of Strategic Capital workforce.

(b) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$1,000,000,000 to the “Department of Defense Credit Program Account” to carry out the capital assistance program, including loans, loan guarantees, and technical assistance, established under section 149(e) of title 10, United States Code: *Provided*, That—

(1) such amounts are available to subsidize gross obligations for the principal amount of direct loans, and total loan principal, any part of which is to be guaranteed, not to exceed \$100,000,000,000; and

(2) such amounts are available to cover all costs and expenditures as provided under section 149(e)(5)(B) of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20006. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFICIENCY AND CYBERSECURITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any

money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$150,000,000 for business systems replacement to accelerate the audits of the financial statements of the Department of Defense pursuant to chapter 9A and section 2222 of title 10, United States Code;

(2) \$200,000,000 for the deployment of automation and artificial intelligence to accelerate the audits of the financial statements of the Department of Defense pursuant to chapter 9A and section 2222 of title 10, United States Code;

(3) \$10,000,000 for the improvement of the budgetary and programmatic infrastructure of the Office of the Secretary of Defense; and

(4) \$20,000,000 for defense cybersecurity programs of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency.

SEC. 20007. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR AIR SUPERIORITY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$3,150,000,000 to increase F-15EX aircraft production;

(2) \$361,220,000 to prevent the retirement of F-22 aircraft;

(3) \$127,460,000 to prevent the retirement of F-15E aircraft;

(4) \$187,000,000 to accelerate installation of F-16 electronic warfare capability;

(5) \$116,000,000 for C-17A Mobility Aircraft Connectivity;

(6) \$84,000,000 for KC-135 Mobility Aircraft Connectivity;

(7) \$440,000,000 to increase C-130J production;

(8) \$474,000,000 to increase EA-37B production;

(9) \$678,000,000 to accelerate the Collaborative Combat Aircraft program;

(10) \$400,000,000 to accelerate production of the F-47 aircraft;

(11) \$750,000,000 accelerate the FA/XX aircraft;

(12) \$100,000,000 for production of Advanced Aerial Sensors;

(13) \$160,000,000 to accelerate V-22 nacelle and reliability and safety improvements;

(14) \$100,000,000 to accelerate production of MQ-25 aircraft;

(15) \$270,000,000 for development, procurement, and integration of Marine Corps unmanned combat aircraft;

(16) \$96,000,000 for the procurement and integration of infrared search and track pods;

(17) \$50,000,000 for the procurement and integration of additional F-15EX conformal fuel tanks;

(18) \$600,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Air Force long-range strike aircraft; and

(19) \$500,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Navy long-range strike aircraft.

SEC. 20008. ENHANCEMENT OF RESOURCES FOR NUCLEAR FORCES.

(a) DOD APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,500,000,000 for risk reduction activities for the Sentinel intercontinental ballistic missile program;

(2) \$4,500,000,000 only for expansion of production capacity of B-21 long-range bomber aircraft and the purchase of aircraft only available through the expansion of production capacity;

(3) \$500,000,000 for improvements to the Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile system;

(4) \$100,000,000 for capability enhancements to intercontinental ballistic missile reentry vehicles;

(5) \$148,000,000 for the expansion of D5 missile motor production;

(6) \$400,000,000 to accelerate the development of Trident D5LE2 submarine-launched ballistic missiles;

(7) \$2,000,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile;

(8) \$62,000,000 to convert Ohio-class submarine tubes to accept additional missiles, not to be obligated before March 1, 2026;

(9) \$168,000,000 to accelerate the production of the Survivable Airborne Operations Center program;

(10) \$65,000,000 to accelerate the modernization of nuclear command, control, and communications;

(11) \$210,300,000 for the increased production of MH-139 helicopters; and

(12) \$150,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of military nuclear weapons delivery programs.

(b) NNSA APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$200,000,000 to perform National Nuclear Security Administration Phase I studies pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(2) \$540,000,000 to address deferred maintenance and repair needs of the National Nuclear Security Administration pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(3) \$1,000,000,000 to accelerate the construction of National Nuclear Security Administration facilities pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(4) \$400,000,000 to accelerate the development, procurement, and integration of the warhead for the nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missile pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(5) \$750,000,000 to accelerate primary capability modernization pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(6) \$750,000,000 to accelerate secondary capability modernization pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(7) \$120,000,000 to accelerate domestic uranium enrichment centrifuge deployment for defense purposes pursuant to section 3211 of the National Nuclear Security Administration Act (50 U.S.C. 2401);

(8) \$10,000,000 for National Nuclear Security Administration evaluation of spent fuel reprocessing technology; and

(9) \$115,000,000 for accelerating nuclear national security missions through artificial intelligence.

SEC. 20009. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES TO IMPROVE CAPABILITIES OF UNITED STATES INDO-PACIFIC COMMAND.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$365,000,000 for Army exercises and operations in the Western Pacific area of operations;

(2) \$53,000,000 for Special Operations Command exercises and operations in the Western Pacific area of operations;

(3) \$47,000,000 for Marine Corps exercises and operations in Western Pacific area of operations;

(4) \$90,000,000 for Air Force exercises and operations in Western Pacific area of operations;

(5) \$532,600,000 for the Pacific Air Force biennial large-scale exercise;

(6) \$19,000,000 for the development of naval small craft capabilities;

(7) \$35,000,000 for military additive manufacturing capabilities in the United States Indo-Pacific Command area of operations west of the international dateline;

(8) \$450,000,000 for the development of airfields within the area of operations of United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(9) \$1,100,000,000 for development of infrastructure within the area of operations of United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(10) \$124,000,000 for mission networks for United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(11) \$100,000,000 for Air Force regionally based cluster pre-position base kits;

(12) \$115,000,000 for exploration and development of existing Arctic infrastructure;

(13) \$90,000,000 for the accelerated development of non-kinetic capabilities;

(14) \$20,000,000 for United States Indo-Pacific Command military exercises;

(15) \$143,000,000 for anti-submarine sonar arrays;

(16) \$30,000,000 for surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities for United States Africa Command;

(17) \$30,000,000 for surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities for United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(18) \$500,000,000 for the development, coordination, and deployment of economic competition effects within the Department of Defense;

(19) \$10,000,000 for the expansion of Department of Defense workforce for economic competition;

(20) \$1,000,000,000 for offensive cyber operations;

(21) \$500,000,000 for personnel and operations costs associated with forces assigned to United States Indo-Pacific Command;

(22) \$300,000,000 for the procurement of mesh network communications capabilities for Special Operations Command Pacific;

(23) \$850,000,000 for the replenishment of military articles;

(24) \$200,000,000 for acceleration of Guam Defense System program;

(25) \$68,000,000 for Space Force facilities improvements;

(26) \$150,000,000 for ground moving target indicator military satellites;

(27) \$528,000,000 for DARC and SILENTBARKER military space situational awareness programs;

(28) \$80,000,000 for Navy Operational Support Division;

(29) \$1,000,000,000 for the X-37B military spacecraft program;

(30) \$3,650,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of United States military satellites and the protection of United States military satellites.

(31) \$125,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space communications.

(32) \$350,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of military space command and control systems.

SEC. 20010. ENHANCEMENT OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE RESOURCES FOR IMPROVING THE READINESS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any

money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$1,400,000,000 for a pilot program on OPN-8 maritime spares and repair rotatable pool;

(2) \$700,000,000 for a pilot program on OPN-8 maritime spares and repair rotatable pool for amphibious ships;

(3) \$2,118,000,000 for spares and repairs to keep Air Force aircraft mission capable;

(4) \$1,500,000,000 for Army depot modernization and capacity enhancement;

(5) \$2,000,000,000 for Navy depot and shipyard modernization and capacity enhancement;

(6) \$250,000,000 for Air Force depot modernization and capacity enhancement;

(7) \$1,640,000,000 for Special Operations Command equipment, readiness, and operations;

(8) \$500,000,000 for National Guard unit readiness;

(9) \$400,000,000 for Marine Corps readiness and capabilities;

(10) \$20,000,000 for upgrades to Marine Corps utility helicopters;

(11) \$310,000,000 for next-generation vertical lift, assault, and intra-theater aeromedical evacuation aircraft;

(12) \$75,000,000 for the procurement of anti-lock braking systems for Army wheeled transport vehicles;

(13) \$230,000,000 for the procurement of Army wheeled combat vehicles;

(14) \$63,000,000 for the development of advanced rotary-wing engines;

(15) \$241,000,000 for the development, procurement, and integration of Marine Corps amphibious vehicles;

(16) \$250,000,000 for the procurement of Army tracked combat transport vehicles;

(17) \$98,000,000 for additional Army light rotary-wing capabilities;

(18) \$1,500,000,000 for increased depot maintenance and shipyard maintenance activities;

(19) \$2,500,000,000 for Air Force facilities sustainment, restoration, and modernization;

(20) \$92,500,000 for the completion of Robotic Combat Vehicle prototyping;

(21) \$125,000,000 for Army operations;

(22) \$10,000,000 for the Air Force Concepts, Development, and Management Office; and

(23) \$320,000,000 for Joint Special Operations Command.

SEC. 20011. IMPROVING DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BORDER SUPPORT AND COUNTER-DRUG MISSIONS.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$1,000,000,000 for the deployment of military personnel in support of border operations, operations and maintenance activities in support of border operations, counter-narcotics and counter-transnational criminal organization mission support, the operation of national defense areas and construction in national defense areas, and the temporary detention of migrants on Department of Defense installations, in accordance with chapter 15 of title 10, United States Code.

SEC. 20012. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OVERSIGHT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Inspector General of the Department of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, to monitor Department of Defense activities for which funding is appropriated in this title, including—

(1) programs with mutual technological dependencies;

(2) programs with related data management and data ownership considerations; and

(3) programs particularly vulnerable to supply chain disruptions and long lead time components.

SEC. 20013. MILITARY CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS AUTHORIZED.

(a) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—Funds are hereby authorized to be appropriated for military construction, land acquisition, and military family housing functions of each military department (as defined in section 101(a) of title 10, United States Code) as specified in this title.

(b) **SPENDING PLAN.**—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this title, the Secretary of each military department shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and House of Representatives a detailed spending plan by project for all funds made available by this title to be expended on military construction projects.

SEC. 20014. MULTI-YEAR OPERATIONAL PLAN.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Defense and the Administrator of the National Nuclear Security Administration shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives a plan detailing how the funds appropriated to the Department of Defense and the National Nuclear Security Administration under the Act will be spent over the four-year period ending with fiscal year 2029.

(b) **QUARTERLY UPDATES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than the last day of each calendar quarter beginning during the applicable period, the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and the House of Representatives a report on the plan established under subsection (a), including—

(A) any updates to the plan;

(B) progress made in implementing the plan; and

(C) any changes in circumstances or challenges in implementing the plan.

(2) **APPLICABLE PERIOD.**—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable period is the period beginning one year after the date the plan required under subsection (a) is due and ending on September 30, 2029.

(c) **REDUCTION IN APPROPRIATION.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any failure to submit a plan required under subsection (a) or a report required under subsection (b) by the date specified in paragraph (2), the amounts made available to the Department of Defense under this Act shall be reduced by \$100,000 for each day after such specified date that the report has not been submitted to Congress.

(2) **SPECIFIED DATE.**—For purposes of the reduction in appropriations under paragraph (1), the specified date is the date that is 60 days after the date the plan or report is required to be submitted under subsection (a) or (b), as the case may be.

TITLE III—COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SEC. 30001. FUNDING CAP FOR THE BUREAU OF CONSUMER FINANCIAL PROTECTION.

Section 1017(a)(2)(A)(iii) of the Consumer Financial Protection Act of 2010 (12 U.S.C. 5497(a)(2)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking “12” and inserting “6.5”.

SEC. 30002. RESCISSION OF FUNDS FOR GREEN AND RESILIENT RETROFIT PROGRAM FOR MULTIFAMILY HOUSING.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available under section 30002(a) of the Act entitled “An Act to provide for reconcili-

ation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 14”, approved August 16, 2022 (Public Law 117-169; 136 Stat. 2027) are rescinded.

SEC. 30003. SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION RESERVE FUND.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 4 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78d) is amended—

(1) by striking subsection (i); and

(2) by redesignating subsections (j) and (k) as subsections (i) and (j), respectively.

(b) **TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 21F(g)(2) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78u-6(g)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) **USE OF FUND.**—The Fund shall be available to the Commission, without further appropriation or fiscal year limitation, for paying awards to whistleblowers as provided in subsection (b).”

(c) **TRANSITION PROVISION.**—During the period beginning on the date of enactment of this Act and ending on October 1, 2025, the Securities and Exchange Commission may expend amounts in the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund that were obligated before the date of enactment of this Act for any program, project, or activity that is ongoing (as of the day before the date of enactment of this Act) in accordance with subsection (i) of section 4 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78d), as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) **TRANSFER OF REMAINING AMOUNTS.**—Effective on October 1, 2025, the obligated and unobligated balances of amounts in the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund shall be transferred to the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) **CLOSING OF ACCOUNT.**—For the purposes of section 1555 of title 31, United States Code, the Securities and Exchange Commission Reserve Fund shall be considered closed, and thereafter shall not be available for obligation or expenditure for any purpose, upon execution of the transfer required under subsection (d).

SEC. 30004. APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of amounts not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2027, to carry out the Defense Production Act (50 U.S.C. 4501 et seq.).

TITLE IV—COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

SEC. 40001. COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 11 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“Subchapter V—Coast Guard Mission Readiness

“§ 1181. Special appropriations

“In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Coast Guard for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$24,593,500,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 1105(a) and sections 1131, 1132, 1133, and 1156, to use expedited processes to procure or acquire new operational assets and systems, to maintain existing assets and systems, to design, construct, plan, engineer, and improve necessary shore infrastructure, and to enhance operational resilience for monitoring, search and rescue, interdiction, hardening of maritime approaches, and navigational safety, of which—

“(1) \$1,142,500,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of fixed-wing aircraft, equipment related to such aircraft and training simulators and program management for such aircraft, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(2) \$2,283,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of rotary-wing aircraft, equipment related to such aircraft and training simulators and program management for such aircraft, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(3) \$266,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of long-range unmanned aircraft and base stations, equipment related to such aircraft and base stations, and program management for such aircraft and base stations, to provide for security of the maritime border;

“(4) \$4,300,000,000 is provided for procurement of Offshore Patrol Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to provide operational presence and security of the maritime border and for interdiction of persons and controlled substances;

“(5) \$1,000,000,000 is provided for procurement of Fast Response Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to provide operational presence and security of the maritime border and for interdiction of persons and controlled substances;

“(6) \$4,300,000,000 is provided for procurement of Polar Security Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to ensure timely presence of the Coast Guard in the Arctic and Antarctic regions;

“(7) \$3,500,000,000 is provided for procurement of Arctic Security Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to ensure timely presence of the Coast Guard in the Arctic and Antarctic regions;

“(8) \$816,000,000 is provided for procurement of light and medium icebreaking cutters, and equipment relating to such cutters, from shipyards that have demonstrated success in the cost-effective application of design standards and in delivering, on schedule and within budget, vessels of a size and tonnage that are not less than the size and tonnage of the cutters described in this paragraph, and for program management for such cutters, to expand domestic icebreaking capacity;

“(9) \$162,000,000 is provided for procurement of Waterways Commerce Cutters, equipment related to such cutters, and program management for such cutters, to support aids to navigation, waterways and coastal security, and search and rescue in inland waterways;

“(10) \$4,379,000,000 is provided for design, planning, engineering, recapitalization, construction, rebuilding, and improvement of, and program management for, shore facilities, of which—

“(A) \$425,000,000 is provided for design, planning, engineering, construction of, and program management for—

“(i) the enlisted boot camp barracks and multi-use training center; and

“(ii) other related facilities at the enlisted boot camp;

“(B) \$500,000,000 is provided for—

“(i) construction, improvement, and dredging at the Coast Guard Yard; and

“(ii) acquisition of a floating drydock for the Coast Guard Yard;

“(C) not more than \$2,729,500,000 is provided for homeports and hangars for cutters and aircraft for which funds are appropriated under paragraph (1) through (9); and

“(D) \$300,000,000 is provided for homeporting of the existing polar icebreaker commissioned into service in 2025;

“(11) \$2,200,000,000 is provided for aviation, cutter, and shore facility depot maintenance and maintenance of command, control, communication, computer, and cyber assets;

“(12) \$170,000,000 is provided for improving maritime domain awareness on the maritime border, at United States ports, at land-based facilities and in the cyber domain; and

“(13) \$75,000,000 is provided to contract the services of, acquire, or procure autonomous maritime systems.”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The analysis for chapter 11 of title 14, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SUBCHAPTER V—COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS

“1181. Special appropriations.”.

SEC. 4002. SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The term “Assistant Secretary” means the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

(2) COMMISSION.—The term “Commission” means the Federal Communications Commission.

(3) COVERED BAND.—The term “covered band”—

(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), means the band of frequencies between 1.3 gigahertz and 10.5 gigahertz; and

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal; or

(ii) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal.

(4) FULL-POWER COMMERCIAL LICENSED USE CASES.—The term “full-power commercial licensed use cases” means flexible use wireless broadband services with base station power levels sufficient for high-power, high-density, and wide-area commercial mobile services, consistent with the service rules under part 27 of title 47, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulations, for wireless broadband deployments throughout the covered band.

(b) GENERAL AUCTION AUTHORITY.—

(1) AMENDMENT.—Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and inserting the following: “complete a system of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034, except that, with respect to the electromagnetic spectrum—

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply.”.

(2) SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses through systems of competitive bidding, before the expiration of the general auction authority of the Commission under section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection, for not less than 300 megahertz, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz.

(c) IDENTIFICATION FOR REALLOCATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Assistant Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall identify 500 megahertz of frequencies in the covered band for reallocation to non-Federal use, shared Federal and non-Federal use, or a combination thereof, for full-power commercial licensed use cases, that—

(A) as of the date of enactment of this Act, are allocated for Federal use; and

(B) shall be in addition to the 300 megahertz of frequencies for which the Commission grants licenses under subsection (b)(2).

(2) SCHEDULE.—The Assistant Secretary shall identify the frequencies under paragraph (1) according to the following schedule:

(A) Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify not less than 200 megahertz of frequencies within the covered band.

(B) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify any remaining bandwidth required to be identified under paragraph (1).

(3) REQUIRED ANALYSIS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In determining under paragraph (1) which specific frequencies within the covered band to reallocate, the Assistant Secretary shall determine the feasibility of the reallocation of frequencies.

(B) REQUIREMENTS.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall assess net revenue potential, relocation or sharing costs, as applicable, and the feasibility of reallocating specific frequencies, with the goal of identifying the best approach to maximize net proceeds of systems of competitive bidding for the Treasury, consistent with section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)).

(d) AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses for the frequencies identified for reallocation under subsection (c) through systems of competitive bidding in accordance with the following schedule:

(1) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for not less than 200 megahertz of the frequencies.

(2) Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for any frequencies identified under subsection (c) that remain to be auctioned after compliance with paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(e) LIMITATION.—The President shall modify or withdraw any frequency proposed for reallocation under this section not later than 60 days before the commencement of a system of competitive bidding scheduled by the Commission with respect to that frequency, if the President determines that such modification or withdrawal is necessary to protect the national security of the United States.

(f) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of Commerce for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$50,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, to provide additional support to the Assistant Secretary to—

(1) conduct a timely spectrum analysis of the bands of frequencies—

(A) between 2.7 gigahertz and 2.9 gigahertz;

(B) between 4.4 gigahertz and 4.9 gigahertz; and

(C) between 7.25 gigahertz and 7.4 gigahertz; and

(2) publish a biennial report, with the last report to be published not later than June 30, 2034, on the value of all spectrum used by Federal entities (as defined in section 113(1) of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration Organization Act (47 U.S.C. 923(1))), that assesses the value of bands of frequencies in increments of not more than 100 megahertz.

SEC. 4003. AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL IMPROVEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For the purpose of the acquisition, construction, sustainment, and improvement of facilities and equipment

necessary to improve or maintain aviation safety, in addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$4,750,000,000 for telecommunications infrastructure modernization and systems upgrades;

(2) \$3,000,000,000 for radar systems replacement;

(3) \$500,000,000 for runway safety technologies, runway lighting systems, airport surface surveillance technologies, and to carry out section 347 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(4) \$300,000,000 for Enterprise Information Display Systems;

(5) \$80,000,000 to acquire and install not less than 50 Automated Weather Observing Systems, to acquire and install not less than 60 Visual Weather Observing Systems, to acquire and install not less than 64 weather camera sites, and to acquire and install weather stations;

(6) \$40,000,000 to carry out section 44745 of title 49, United States Code, (except for activities described in paragraph (5));

(7) \$1,900,000,000 for necessary actions to construct a new air route traffic control center (in this subsection referred to as “ARTCC”): *Provided*, That not more than 2 percent of such amount is used for planning or administrative purposes: *Provided further*, That at least 3 existing ARTCCs are divested and integrated into the newly constructed ARTCC;

(8) \$100,000,000 to conduct an ARTCC Realignment and Consolidation Effort under which at least 10 existing ARTCCs are closed or consolidated to facilitate recapitalization of ARTCC facilities owned and operated by the Federal Aviation Administration;

(9) \$1,000,000,000 to support recapitalization and consolidation of terminal radar approach control facilities (in this subsection referred to as “TRACONS”), the analysis and identification of TRACONS for divestment, consolidation, or integration, planning, site selection, facility acquisition, and transition activities and other appropriate activities for carrying out such divestment, consolidation, or integration, and the establishment of brand new TRACONS;

(10) \$350,000,000 for unstaffed infrastructure sustainment and replacement;

(11) \$50,000,000 to carry out section 961 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(12) \$300,000,000 to carry out section 619 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(13) \$50,000,000 to carry out section 621 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024 and to deploy remote tower technology at untowered airports; and

(14) \$100,000,000 for air traffic controller advanced training technologies.

(b) QUARTERLY REPORTING.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 90 days thereafter, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration shall submit to Congress a report that describes any expenditures under this section.

SEC. 4004. SPACE LAUNCH AND REENTRY LICENSING AND PERMITTING USER FEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 509 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“§ 50924. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees

“(a) FEES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Transportation shall impose a fee, which shall be deposited in the account established under

subsection (b), on each launch or reentry carried out under a license or permit issued under section 50904 during 2026 or a subsequent year, in an amount equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the amount specified in paragraph (2) for the year involved per pound of the weight of the payload; or

“(B) the amount specified in paragraph (3) for the year involved.

“(2) PARAGRAPH (2) SPECIFIED AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is—

“(A) for 2026, \$0.25;

“(B) for 2027, \$0.35;

“(C) for 2028, \$0.50;

“(D) for 2029, \$0.60;

“(E) for 2030, \$0.75;

“(F) for 2031, \$1;

“(G) for 2032, \$1.25;

“(H) for 2033, \$1.50; and

“(I) for 2034 and each subsequent year, the amount specified in this paragraph for the previous year increased by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (all items; United States city average) over the previous year.

“(3) PARAGRAPH (3) SPECIFIED AMOUNT.—The amount specified in this paragraph is—

“(A) for 2026, \$30,000;

“(B) for 2027, \$40,000;

“(C) for 2028, \$50,000;

“(D) for 2029, \$75,000;

“(E) for 2030, \$100,000;

“(F) for 2031, \$125,000;

“(G) for 2032, \$170,000;

“(H) for 2033, \$200,000; and

“(I) for 2034 and each subsequent year, the amount specified in this paragraph for the previous year increased by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (all items; United States city average) over the previous year.

“(b) OFFICE OF COMMERCIAL SPACE TRANSPORTATION LAUNCH AND REENTRY LICENSING AND PERMITTING FUND.—There is established in the Treasury of the United States a separate account, which shall be known as the ‘Office of Commercial Space Transportation Launch and Reentry Licensing and Permitting Fund’, for the purposes of expenses of the Office of Commercial Space Transportation of the Federal Aviation Administration and to carry out section 630(b) of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024. 70 percent of the amounts deposited into the fund shall be available for such purposes and shall be available without further appropriation and without fiscal year limitation.”.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 509 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 50923 the following:

“50924. Space launch and reentry licensing and permitting user fees.”.

SEC. 40005. MARS MISSIONS, ARTEMIS MISSIONS, AND MOON TO MARS PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“§ 20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$9,995,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2032, to use as follows:

“(1) \$700,000,000, to be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026, for the procurement, using a competitively bid, firm fixed-price contract with a United States commercial provider (as defined in section 50101(7)), of a high-performance Mars telecommunications orbiter—

“(A) that—

“(i) is capable of providing robust, continuous communications for—

“(I) a Mars sample return mission, as described in section 432(3)(C) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 115–10); and

“(II) future Mars surface, orbital, and human exploration missions;

“(ii) supports autonomous operations, on-board processing, and extended mission duration capabilities; and

“(iii) is selected from among the commercial proposals that—

“(I) received funding from the Administration in fiscal year 2024 or 2025 for commercial design studies for Mars Sample Return; and

“(II) proposed a separate, independently launched Mars telecommunication orbiter supporting an end-to-end Mars sample return mission; and

“(B) which shall be delivered to the Administration not later than December 31, 2028.

“(2) \$2,600,000,000 to meet the requirements of section 20302(a) using the program of record known, as of the date of the enactment of this section, as ‘Gateway’, and as described in section 10811(b)(2)(B)(iv) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 117–167), of which not less than \$750,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, and 2028.

“(3) \$4,100,000,000 for expenses related to meeting the requirements of section 10812 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20301; Public Law 117–167) for the procurement, transportation, integration, operation, and other necessary expenses of the Space Launch System for Artemis Missions IV and V, of which not less than \$1,025,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(4) \$20,000,000 for expenses related to the continued procurement of the multi-purpose crew vehicle described in section 303 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18323), known as the ‘Orion’, for use with the Space Launch System on the Artemis IV Mission and reuse in subsequent Artemis Missions, of which not less than \$20,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026.

“(5) \$1,250,000,000 for expenses related to the operation of the International Space Station and for the purpose of meeting the requirement under section 503(a) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18353(a)), of which not less than \$250,000,000 shall be obligated for such expenses for each of fiscal years 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(6) \$1,000,000,000 for infrastructure improvements at the manned spaceflight centers of the Administration, of which not less than—

“(A) \$120,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 12641 (53 Fed. Reg. 18816; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the State of Mississippi as the John C. Stennis Space Center);

“(B) \$250,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 11129 (28 Fed. Reg. 12787; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and of the Depart-

ment of Defense, in the State of Florida, as the John F. Kennedy Space Center);

“(C) \$300,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in the Joint Resolution entitled ‘Joint Resolution to designate the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas, as the ‘Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center’ in honor of the late President’, approved February 17, 1973 (Public Law 93–8; 87 Stat. 7);

“(D) \$100,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 10870 (25 Fed. Reg. 2197; relating to designating the facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration at Huntsville, Alabama, as the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center);

“(E) \$30,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the Michoud Assembly Facility in New Orleans, Louisiana; and

“(F) \$85,000,000 shall be obligated to carry out subsection (b), of which not less than \$5,000,000 shall be obligated for the transportation of the space vehicle described in that subsection, with the remainder transferred not later than the date that is 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section to the entity designated under that subsection, for the purpose of construction of a facility to house the space vehicle referred to in that subsection.

“(7) \$325,000,000 to fulfill contract number 80JSC024CA002 issued by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on June 26, 2024.

“(b) SPACE VEHICLE TRANSFER.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this section, the Administrator shall identify a space vehicle described in paragraph (2) to be—

“(A) transferred to a field center of the Administration that is involved in the administration of the Commercial Crew Program (as described in section 302 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 50111 note; Public Law 115–10)); and

“(B) placed on public exhibition at an entity within the Metropolitan Statistical Area where such center is located.

“(2) SPACE VEHICLE DESCRIBED.—A space vehicle described in this paragraph is a vessel that—

“(A) has flown into space;

“(B) has carried astronauts; and

“(C) is selected with the concurrence of an entity designated by the Administrator.

“(3) TRANSFER.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section, the space vehicle identified under paragraph (1) shall be transferred to an entity designated by the Administrator.

“(B) TITLE.—Not later than 1 year after the date on which a space vehicle is identified under paragraph (1), the Federal Government shall, as applicable, transfer the title to the space vehicle to the entity designated by the Administrator.

“(C) RESPONSIBILITY.—The transfer under this paragraph shall be carried out under the Administrator or acting Administrator.

“(c) OBLIGATION OF FUNDS.—Funds appropriated under subsection (a) shall be obligated as follows:

“(1) Not less than 50 percent of the total funds in subsection (a) shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2028.

“(2) 100 percent of funds shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2029.

“(3) All associated outlays shall occur not later than September 30, 2034.”.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program.”.

SEC. 40006. CORPORATE AVERAGE FUEL ECONOMY CIVIL PENALTIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 32912 of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “\$5” and inserting “\$0.00”; and

(2) in subsection (c)(1)(B), by striking “\$10” and inserting “\$0.00”.

(b) EFFECT; APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall—

(1) take effect on the date of enactment of this section; and

(2) apply to all model years of a manufacturer for which the Secretary of Transportation has not provided a notification pursuant to section 32903(b)(2)(B) of title 49, United States Code, specifying the penalty due for the average fuel economy of that manufacturer being less than the applicable standard prescribed under section 32902 of that title.

SEC. 40007. PAYMENTS FOR LEASE OF METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON AIRPORTS.

Section 49104(b) of title 49, United States Code, is amended to read as follows:

“(b) PAYMENTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), under the lease, the Airports Authority must pay to the general fund of the Treasury annually an amount, computed using the GNP Price Deflator—

“(A) during the period from 1987 to 2026, equal to \$3,000,000 in 1987 dollars; and

“(B) for 2027 and subsequent years, equal to \$15,000,000 in 2027 dollars.

“(2) RENEGOTIATION.—The Secretary and the Airports Authority shall renegotiate the level of lease payments at least once every 10 years to ensure that in no year the amount specified in paragraph (1)(B) is less than \$15,000,000 in 2027 dollars.”.

SEC. 40008. RESCISSION OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS FOR THE NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION.

Any unobligated balances of amounts appropriated or otherwise made available by sections 40001, 40002, 40003, and 40004 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2028) are hereby rescinded.

SEC. 40009. REDUCTION IN ANNUAL TRANSFERS TO TRAVEL PROMOTION FUND.

Subsection (d)(2)(B) of the Travel Promotion Act of 2009 (22 U.S.C. 2131(d)(2)(B)) is amended by striking “\$100,000,000” and inserting “\$20,000,000”.

SEC. 40010. TREATMENT OF UNOBLIGATED FUNDS FOR ALTERNATIVE FUEL AND LOW-EMISSION AVIATION TECHNOLOGY.

Out of the amounts made available by section 40007(a) of title IV of Public Law 117-169 (49 U.S.C. 44504 note), any unobligated balances of such amounts are hereby rescinded.

SEC. 40011. RESCISSION OF AMOUNTS APPROPRIATED TO PUBLIC WIRELESS SUPPLY CHAIN INNOVATION FUND.

Of the unobligated balances of amounts made available under section 106(a) of the CHIPS Act of 2022 (Public Law 117-167; 136 Stat. 1392), \$850,000,000 are permanently rescinded.

SEC. 40012. SUPPORT FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE UNDER THE BROADBAND EQUITY, ACCESS, AND DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 60102 of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) through (N) as subparagraphs (F) through (R), respectively;

(B) by redesignating subparagraph (A) as subparagraph (D);

(C) by inserting before subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(A) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term ‘artificial intelligence’ has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

“(B) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODEL.—The term ‘artificial intelligence model’ means a software component of an information system that implements artificial intelligence technology and uses computational, statistical, or machine-learning techniques to produce outputs from a defined set of inputs.

“(C) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM.—The term ‘artificial intelligence system’ means any data system, software, hardware, application, tool, or utility that operates, in whole or in part, using artificial intelligence.”;

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(E) AUTOMATED DECISION SYSTEM.—The term ‘automated decision system’ means any computational process derived from machine learning, statistical modeling, data analytics, or artificial intelligence that issues a simplified output, including a score, classification, or recommendation, to materially influence or replace human decision making.”; and

(E) by striking subparagraph (O), as so redesignated, and inserting the following:

“(O) PROJECT.—The term ‘project’ means an undertaking by a subgrantee under this section to construct and deploy infrastructure for the provision of—

“(i) broadband service; or

“(ii) artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems.”;

(2) in subsection (b), by adding at the end the following:

“(5) APPROPRIATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated to the Program, there is appropriated to the Assistant Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$500,000,000, to remain available until expended, to carry out the Program.

“(B) SET-ASIDE FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE INFRASTRUCTURE MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—Of the amount appropriated under subparagraph (A), \$25,000,000 shall be used by the Assistant Secretary for the purpose of negotiating master services agreements on behalf of subgrantees of an eligible entity or political subdivision to enable access to quantity purchasing and licensing discounts for the construction, acquisition, and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems funded under this section.”;

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) the construction and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial in-

telligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; and”;

(4) in subsection (g)(3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) may, in addition to other authority under applicable law, deobligate grant funds awarded to an eligible entity that—

“(i) violates paragraph (2);

“(ii) demonstrates an insufficient level of performance, or wasteful or fraudulent spending, as defined in advance by the Assistant Secretary; or

“(iii) if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is not in compliance with subsection (q) or (r); and”;

(5) in subsection (j)(1)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(C) in subparagraph (C)—

(i) by redesignating clauses (iv) and (v) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively; and

(ii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r);”;

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(p) RECEIPT OF FUNDS CONDITIONED ON TEMPORARY PAUSE AND EFFICIENCIES.—On and after the date of enactment of this subsection, no funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) may be obligated to an eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof that is not in compliance with subsections (q) and (r).

“(q) TEMPORARY PAUSE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), no eligible entity or political subdivision thereof to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection may enforce, during the 10-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this subsection, any law or regulation of that eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof limiting, restricting, or otherwise regulating artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems entered into interstate commerce.

“(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Paragraph (1) may not be construed to prohibit the enforcement of any law or regulation—

“(A) the primary purpose and effect of which is to—

“(i) remove legal impediments to, or facilitate the deployment or operation of, an artificial intelligence model, artificial intelligence system, or automated decision system; or

“(ii) streamline licensing, permitting, routing, zoning, procurement, or reporting procedures in a manner that facilitates the adoption of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; or

“(B) that does not impose any substantive design, performance, data-handling, documentation, civil liability, taxation, fee, or other requirement on artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems unless that requirement is imposed under—

“(i) Federal law; or

“(ii) a generally applicable law, such as a body of common law; and

“(C) that does not impose a fee or bond unless—

“(i) the fee or bond is reasonable and cost-based; and

“(ii) under the fee or bond, artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, and automated decision systems are treated in the same manner as other models and systems that perform comparable functions.

“(r) MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—An eligible entity, or political subdivision thereof, to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection shall certify to the Assistant Secretary either that—

“(1) each subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision is utilizing applicable master services agreements negotiated using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B); or

“(2) each contract, license, purchase order, or services agreement entered into, procured, or made by a subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision for purposes described in subsection (b)(5)(B) is at least as cost-effective as the terms of executable master services agreements, as applicable, negotiated by the Assistant Secretary using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B).”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 60102(a)(1) of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(i)”;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(i)”.

TITLE V—COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Subtitle A—Oil and Gas Leasing

SEC. 50101. ONSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) REPEAL OF INFLATION REDUCTION ACT PROVISIONS.—

(1) ONSHORE OIL AND GAS ROYALTY RATES.—Subsection (a) of section 50262 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2056) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that subsection is restored or revived as if that subsection had not been enacted into law.

(2) NONCOMPETITIVE LEASING.—Subsection (e) of section 50262 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2057) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that subsection is restored or revived as if that subsection had not been enacted into law.

(b) REQUIREMENT TO IMMEDIATELY RESUME ONSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASE SALES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior shall immediately resume quarterly onshore oil and gas lease sales in compliance with the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.).

(2) REQUIREMENT.—The Secretary of the Interior shall ensure—

(A) that any oil and gas lease sale required under paragraph (1) is conducted immediately on completion of all applicable scoping, public comment, and environmental analysis requirements under the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.) and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.); and

(B) that the processes described in subparagraph (A) are conducted in a timely manner to ensure compliance with subsection (b)(1).

(3) LEASE OF OIL AND GAS LANDS.—Section 17(b)(1)(A) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226(b)(1)(A)), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by inserting “For purposes of the previous sentence, the term ‘eligible lands’ means all lands that are subject to leasing under this Act and are not excluded from leasing by a statutory prohibition, and the term ‘available’, with respect to eligible lands, means those lands that have been designated as open for leasing under a land use plan developed under section 202 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712) and that have been nominated for leasing through the submission of an expression of interest, are subject to drainage in the absence of leasing, or are otherwise designated as available pursuant to regulations adopted by the Secretary.” after “sales are necessary.”.

(c) QUARTERLY LEASE SALES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In accordance with the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.), each fiscal year, the Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 4 oil and gas lease sales of available land in each of the following States:

- (A) Wyoming.
- (B) New Mexico.
- (C) Colorado.
- (D) Utah.
- (E) Montana.
- (F) North Dakota.
- (G) Oklahoma.
- (H) Nevada.
- (I) Alaska.

(2) REQUIREMENT.—In conducting a lease sale under paragraph (1) in a State described in that paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) shall offer not less than 50 percent of available parcels nominated for oil and gas development under the applicable resource management plan in effect for relevant Bureau of Land Management resource management areas within the applicable State; and

(B) shall not restrict the parcels offered to 1 Bureau of Land Management field office within the applicable State unless all nominated parcels are located within the same Bureau of Land Management field office.

(3) REPLACEMENT SALES.—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a replacement sale during the same fiscal year if—

(A) a lease sale under paragraph (1) is canceled, delayed, or deferred, including for a lack of eligible parcels; or

(B) during a lease sale under paragraph (1) the percentage of acreage that does not receive a bid is equal to or greater than 25 percent of the acreage offered.

(d) MINERAL LEASING ACT REFORMS.—Section 17 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) by striking the section designation and all that follows through the end of subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“SEC. 17. LEASING OF OIL AND GAS PARCELS.

“(a) LEASING AUTHORIZED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any parcel of land subject to disposition under this Act that is known or believed to contain oil or gas deposits shall be made available for leasing, subject to paragraph (2), by the Secretary of the Interior, not later than 18 months after the date of receipt by the Secretary of an expression of interest in leasing the applicable parcel of land available for disposition under this section, if the Secretary determines that the parcel of land is open to oil or gas leasing under the approved resource management plan applicable to the planning area in which the parcel of land is located that is in

effect on the date on which the expression of interest was submitted to the Secretary (referred to in this subsection as the ‘approved resource management plan’).

“(2) RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLANS.—

“(A) LEASE TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—A lease issued by the Secretary under this section with respect to an applicable parcel of land made available for leasing under paragraph (1)—

“(i) shall be subject to the terms and conditions of the approved resource management plan; and

“(ii) may not require any stipulations or mitigation requirements not included in the approved resource management plan.

“(B) EFFECT OF AMENDMENT.—The initiation of an amendment to an approved resource management plan shall not prevent or delay the Secretary from making the applicable parcel of land available for leasing in accordance with that approved resource management plan if the other requirements of this section have been met, as determined by the Secretary.”;

(2) in subsection (p), by adding at the end the following:

“(4) TERM.—A permit to drill approved under this subsection shall be valid for a single, non-renewable 4-year period beginning on the date that the permit to drill is approved.”;

(3) by striking subsection (q) and inserting the following:

“(q) COMMINGLING OF PRODUCTION.—The Secretary of the Interior shall approve applications allowing for the commingling of production from 2 or more sources (including the area of an oil and gas lease, the area included in a drilling spacing unit, a unit participating area, a communitized area, or non-Federal property) before production reaches the point of royalty measurement regardless of ownership, the royalty rates, and the number or percentage of acres for each source if the applicant agrees to install measurement devices for each source, utilize an allocation method that achieves volume measurement uncertainty levels within plus or minus 2 percent during the production phase reported on a monthly basis, or utilize an approved periodic well testing methodology. Production from multiple oil and gas leases, drilling spacing units, communitized areas, or participating areas from a single wellbore shall be considered a single source. Nothing in this subsection shall prevent the Secretary of the Interior from continuing the current practice of exercising discretion to authorize higher percentage volume measurement uncertainty levels if appropriate technical and economic justifications have been provided.”.

SEC. 50102. OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) LEASE SALES.—

(1) GULF OF AMERICA REGION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding the 2024-2029 National Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Program (and any successor leasing program that does not satisfy the requirements of this section), in addition to lease sales which may be held under that program, and except within areas subject to existing oil and gas leasing moratoria, the Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 30 region-wide oil and gas lease sales, in a manner consistent with the schedule described in subparagraph (B), in the region identified in the map depicting lease terms and economic conditions accompanying the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Gulf of Mexico Outer Continental Shelf Region-Wide Oil and Gas Lease Sale 254” (85 Fed. Reg. 8010 (February 12, 2020)).

(B) TIMING REQUIREMENT.—Of the not fewer than 30 region-wide lease sales required

under this paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in the region described in subparagraph (A) by December 15, 2025;

(ii) hold not fewer than 2 lease sales in that region in each of calendar years 2026 through 2039, 1 of which shall be held by March 15 of the applicable calendar year and 1 of which shall be held after March 15 but not later than August 15 of the applicable calendar year; and

(iii) hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in that region in calendar year 2040, which shall be held by March 15, 2040.

(2) ALASKA REGION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Interior shall conduct a minimum of 6 offshore lease sales, in a manner consistent with the schedule described in subparagraph (B), in the Cook Inlet Planning Area as identified in the 2017–2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program published on November 18, 2016, by the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management (as announced in the notice of availability of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Notice of Availability of the 2017–2022 Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Leasing Proposed Final Program” (81 Fed. Reg. 84612 (November 23, 2016))).

(B) TIMING REQUIREMENT.—Of the not fewer than 6 lease sales required under this paragraph, the Secretary of the Interior shall hold not fewer than 1 lease sale in the area described in subparagraph (A) in each of calendar years 2026 through 2028, and in each of calendar years 2030 through 2032, by March 15 of the applicable calendar year.

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR GULF OF AMERICA SALES.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (a)(1), the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) shall, subject to subparagraph (C), offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and lease stipulations 4 through 9 as contained in the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Gulf of Mexico Outer Continental Shelf Region-Wide Oil and Gas Lease Sale 254” (85 Fed. Reg. 8010 (February 12, 2020));

(B) may update lease stipulations 1 through 3 and 10 described in that final notice of sale to reflect current conditions for lease sales conducted under subsection (a)(1);

(C) shall set the royalty rate at not less than 12½ percent but not greater than 16 percent; and

(D) shall, for a lease in water depths of 800 meters or deeper issued as a result of a sale, set the primary term for 10 years.

(2) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR ALASKA REGION SALES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of the Interior shall offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and stipulations as contained in the final notice of sale of the Bureau of Ocean Energy Management entitled “Cook Inlet Planning Area Outer Continental Shelf Oil and Gas Lease Sale 244” (82 Fed. Reg. 23291 (May 22, 2017)).

(B) REVENUE SHARING.—Notwithstanding section 8(g) and section 9 of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1337(g), 1338), and beginning in fiscal year 2034, of the bonuses, rents, royalties, and other revenues derived from lease sales conducted under subsection (a)(2)—

(i) 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(ii) 30 percent shall be deposited in the Treasury and credited to miscellaneous receipts.

(3) AREA OFFERED FOR LEASE.—

(A) GULF OF AMERICA REGION.—For each offshore lease sale conducted under sub-

section (a)(1), the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) offer not fewer than 80,000,000 acres; or

(ii) if there are fewer than 80,000,000 acres that are unleased and available, offer all unleased and available acres.

(B) ALASKA REGION.—For each offshore lease sale conducted under subsection (a)(2), the Secretary of the Interior shall—

(i) offer not fewer than 1,000,000 acres; or

(ii) if there are fewer than 1,000,000 acres that are unleased and available, offer all unleased and available acres.

(C) OFFSHORE COMMINGLING.—The Secretary of the Interior shall approve a request of an operator to commingle oil or gas production from multiple reservoirs within a single wellbore completed on the outer Continental Shelf in the Gulf of America Region unless the Secretary of the Interior determines that conclusive evidence establishes that the commingling—

(1) could not be conducted by the operator in a safe manner; or

(2) would result in an ultimate recovery from the applicable reservoirs to be reduced in comparison to the expected recovery of those reservoirs if they had not been commingled.

(d) OFFSHORE OIL AND GAS ROYALTY RATE.—

(1) REPEAL.—Section 50261 of Public Law 117–169 (136 Stat. 2056) is repealed, and any provision of law amended or repealed by that section is restored or revived as if that section had not been enacted into law.

(2) ROYALTY RATE.—Section 8(a)(1) of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (43 U.S.C. 1337(a)(1)) (as amended by paragraph (1)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent,”;

(B) in subparagraph (C), by striking “not less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent,”;

(C) in subparagraph (F), by striking “no less than 12½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent,”; and

(D) in subparagraph (H), by striking “no less than 12 and ½ per centum” and inserting “not less than 12½ percent, but not more than 16½ percent,”.

(e) LIMITATIONS ON AMOUNT OF DISTRIBUTED QUALIFIED OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF REVENUES.—Section 105(f)(1) of the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act of 2006 (43 U.S.C. 1331 note; Public Law 109–432) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (C), by striking “2055.” and inserting “2024.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(D) \$650,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2034; and

“(E) \$500,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2035 through 2055.”.

SEC. 50103. ROYALTIES ON EXTRACTED METHANE.

Section 50263 of Public Law 117–169 (30 U.S.C. 1727) is repealed.

SEC. 50104. ALASKA OIL AND GAS LEASING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COASTAL PLAIN.—The term “Coastal Plain” has the meaning given the term in section 20001(a) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note).

(2) OIL AND GAS PROGRAM.—The term “oil and gas program” means the oil and gas program established under section 20001(b)(2) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note).

(3) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Bureau of Land Management.

(b) LEASE SALES REQUIRED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (3), in addition to the lease sales required under section 20001(c)(1)(A) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note), the Secretary shall conduct not fewer than 4 lease sales area-wide under the oil and gas program by not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—In conducting lease sales under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer the same terms and conditions as contained in the record of decision described in the notice of availability of the Bureau of Land Management entitled “Notice of Availability of the Record of Decision for the Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Coastal Plain Oil and Gas Leasing Program, Alaska” (85 Fed. Reg. 51754 (August 21, 2020)).

(3) SALE ACREAGES; SCHEDULE.—

(A) ACREAGES.—In conducting the lease sales required under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer for lease under the oil and gas program—

(i) not fewer than 400,000 acres area-wide in each lease sale; and

(ii) those areas that have the highest potential for the discovery of hydrocarbons.

(B) SCHEDULE.—The Secretary shall offer—

(i) the initial lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act;

(ii) a second lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act;

(iii) a third lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(iv) a fourth lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 7 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(4) RIGHTS-OF-WAY.—Section 20001(c)(2) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) shall apply to leases awarded under this subsection.

(5) SURFACE DEVELOPMENT.—Section 20001(c)(3) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note) shall apply to leases awarded under this subsection.

(c) RECEIPTS.—Notwithstanding section 35 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 191) and section 20001(b)(5) of Public Law 115–97 (16 U.S.C. 3143 note), of the amount of adjusted bonus, rental, and royalty receipts derived from the oil and gas program and operations on the Coastal Plain pursuant to this section—

(1)(A) for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2033, 50 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(B) for fiscal year 2034 and each fiscal year thereafter, 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

(2) the balance shall be deposited into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

SEC. 50105. NATIONAL PETROLEUM RESERVE—ALASKA.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) NPR—A FINAL ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENT.—The term “NPR—A final environmental impact statement” means the final environmental impact statement published by the Bureau of Land Management entitled “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Integrated Activity Plan Final Environmental Impact Statement” and dated June 2020, including the errata sheet dated October 6, 2020, and excluding the errata sheet dated September 20, 2022.

(2) NPR—A RECORD OF DECISION.—The term “NPR—A record of decision” means the record of decision published by the Bureau of Land Management entitled “National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska Integrated Activity Plan Record of Decision” and dated December 2020.

(3) PROGRAM.—The term “Program” means the competitive oil and gas leasing, exploration, development, and production program established under section 107 of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (42 U.S.C. 6506a).

(4) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

(b) RESTORATION OF NPR—A OIL AND GAS LEASING PROGRAM.—Effective beginning on the date of enactment of this Act—

(1) the Secretary shall expeditiously restore and resume oil and gas lease sales under the Program for domestic energy production and Federal revenue, subject to the requirements of this section; and

(2) the final rule of the Bureau of Land Management entitled “Management and Protection of the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska” (89 Fed. Reg. 38712 (May 7, 2024)) shall have no force or effect until January 1, 2035.

(c) RESUMPTION OF NPR—A LEASE SALES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), the Secretary shall conduct not fewer than 5 lease sales under the Program by not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) SALES ACREAGES; SCHEDULE.—

(A) ACREAGES.—In conducting the lease sales required under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall offer not fewer than 4,000,000 acres in each lease sale.

(B) SCHEDULE.—The Secretary shall offer—

(i) an initial lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act; and

(ii) an additional lease sale under paragraph (1) not later than every 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) TERMS AND STIPULATIONS FOR NPR—A LEASE SALES.—In conducting lease sales under subsection (c), the Secretary shall offer the same lease form, lease terms, economic conditions, and stipulations as described in the NPR—A final environmental impact statement and the NPR—A record of decision.

(e) RECEIPTS.—Section 107(1) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (42 U.S.C. 6506a(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “All receipts from” and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), all receipts from”;

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) PERCENT SHARE FOR FISCAL YEAR 2034 AND THEREAFTER.—Beginning in fiscal year 2034, of the receipts from sales, rentals, bonuses, and royalties on leases issued pursuant to this section after the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress)—

“(A) 70 percent shall be paid to the State of Alaska; and

“(B) 30 percent shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States.”.

Subtitle B—Mining

SEC. 50201. COAL LEASING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COAL LEASE.—The term “coal lease” means a lease entered into by the United States as lessor, through the Bureau of Land Management, and an applicant on Bureau of Land Management Form 3400-012 (or a successor form that contains the terms of a coal lease).

(2) QUALIFIED APPLICATION.—The term “qualified application” means an application for a coal lease pending as of the date of enactment of this Act or submitted within 90 days thereafter under the lease by application program administered by the Bureau of Land Management pursuant to the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 181 et seq.) for which any required environmental review has com-

menced or the Director of the Bureau of Land Management determines can commence within 90 days after receiving the application.

(b) COAL LEASING ACTIVITIES.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior—

(1) shall—

(A) with respect to each qualified application—

(i) if not previously published for public comment, publish any required environmental review;

(ii) establish the fair market value of the applicable coal tract;

(iii) hold a lease sale with respect to the applicable coal tract; and

(iv) identify the highest bidder at or above the fair market value and take all other intermediate actions necessary to identify the winning bidder and grant the qualified application; and

(2) may—

(A) with respect to a previously issued coal lease, grant any additional approvals of the Department of the Interior required for mining activities to commence; and

(B) after completing the actions required by clauses (i) through (iv) of paragraph (1)(A), grant the qualified application and issue the applicable lease to the person that submitted the qualified application if that person submitted the winning bid in the lease sale held under clause (iii) of paragraph (1)(A).

SEC. 50202. COAL ROYALTY.

(a) RATE.—Section 7(a) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 207(a)) is amended, in the fourth sentence, by striking “12½ percent” and inserting “12½ percent, except such amount shall be not more than 7 percent during the period that begins on the date of enactment of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress) and ends September 30, 2034.”.

(b) APPLICABILITY TO EXISTING LEASES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to a coal lease—

(1) issued under section 2 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201) before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(2) that has not been terminated.

(c) ADVANCE ROYALTIES.—With respect to a lease issued under section 2 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201) for which the lessee has paid advance royalties under section 7(b) of that Act (30 U.S.C. 207(b)), the Secretary of the Interior shall provide to the lessee a credit for the difference between the amount paid by the lessee in advance royalties for the lease before the date of the enactment of this Act and the amount the lessee would have been required to pay if the amendment made by subsection (a) had been made before the lessee paid advance royalties for the lease.

SEC. 50203. LEASES FOR KNOWN RECOVERABLE COAL RESOURCES.

Notwithstanding section 2(a)(3)(A) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 201(a)(3)(A)) and section 202(a) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712(a)), not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall make available for lease known recoverable coal resources of not less than 4,000,000 additional acres on Federal land located in the 48 contiguous States and Alaska subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary, but which shall not include any Federal land within—

(1) a National Monument;

(2) a National Recreation Area;

(3) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

(4) a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

(5) a component of the National Trails System;

(6) a National Conservation Area;

(7) a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

(8) a unit of the National Fish Hatchery System; or

(9) a unit of the National Park System.

SEC. 50204. AUTHORIZATION TO MINE FEDERAL COAL.

(a) AUTHORIZATION.—In order to provide access to coal reserves in adjacent State or private land that without an authorization could not be mined economically, Federal coal reserves located in Federal land subject to a mining plan previously approved by the Secretary of the Interior as of the date of enactment of this Act and adjacent to coal reserves in adjacent State or private land are authorized to be mined.

(b) REQUIREMENT.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall, without substantial modification, take such steps as are necessary to authorize the mining of Federal land described in subsection (a).

(c) NEPA.—Nothing in this section shall prevent a review under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.).

Subtitle C—Lands

SEC. 50301. MANDATORY DISPOSAL OF BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT LAND FOR HOUSING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT LAND.—The term “Bureau of Land Management land” has the meaning given the term “public lands” in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(2) COVERED FEDERAL LAND.—The term “covered Federal land” means Bureau of Land Management land selected for disposal under this section.

(3) ELIGIBLE STATE.—The term “eligible State” means any of the States of—

(A) Alaska;

(B) Arizona;

(C) California;

(D) Colorado;

(E) Idaho;

(F) Nevada;

(G) New Mexico;

(H) Oregon;

(I) Utah;

(J) Washington; or

(K) Wyoming.

(4) FEDERALLY PROTECTED LAND.—The term “federally protected land” means—

(A) a National Monument;

(B) a National Recreation Area;

(C) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

(D) a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

(E) a component of the National Trails System;

(F) a National Conservation Area;

(G) a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

(H) a unit of the National Fish Hatchery System; or

(I) a unit of the National Park System.

(5) POPULATION CENTER.—The term “population center” means a census-designated place or incorporated municipality with a population of not less than 1,000 persons, as determined by the most recent census or official census estimate by the Census Bureau.

(6) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior (acting through the Director of the Bureau of Land Management).

(7) **TRACT.**—The term “tract” means a contiguous parcel of not more than 1 square mile.

(b) **REQUIREMENT.**—Subject to valid existing rights and the requirements of this section, as soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall select for disposal not less than 0.25 percent and not more than 0.50 percent of Bureau of Land Management land, and shall, subject to subsection (f)(2), dispose of all right, title, and interest of the United States in and to those tracts selected for disposal under this section.

(c) **SELECTION PROCESS; PRIORITY FOR DISPOSAL.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Notwithstanding section 202(a) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712(a)), not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act and every 60 days thereafter, the Secretary shall publish a list of tracts of Bureau of Land Management land identified by the Secretary for disposal by the Secretary or nominated for disposal under paragraph (2) that have been selected by the Secretary for disposal under this section.

(2) **NOMINATIONS FROM QUALIFIED BIDDERS.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall publish a notice soliciting nominations of tracts of Bureau of Land Management land for disposal by the Secretary under this section from qualified bidders, including States and units of local government.

(B) **CONSULTATION.**—Before selecting for disposal under this section any tract of Bureau of Land Management land nominated for disposal under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall consult with—

(i) the Governor of the State in which the nominated tract is located regarding the suitability of the area for residential development;

(ii) each applicable unit of local government; and

(iii) each applicable Indian Tribe.

(C) **REQUIREMENTS.**—A nomination of a tract of Bureau of Land Management land for disposal submitted by a qualified bidder under subparagraph (A) shall include a description of—

(i) the planned use of the tract of Bureau of Land Management land; and

(ii) the extent to which the development of the tract of Bureau of Land Management land would address local housing needs (including housing supply and affordability) or any infrastructure and amenities to support local needs associated with housing.

(3) **PRIORITY FOR DISPOSAL.**—In selecting tracts of Bureau of Land Management land for disposal under this section, the Secretary shall prioritize the disposal of tracts of Bureau of Land Management land that, as determined by the Secretary—

(A) have the highest value;

(B) are nominated by States or units of local governments;

(C) are adjacent to existing developed areas;

(D) have access to existing infrastructure;

(E) are suitable for residential housing;

(F) reduce checkerboard land patterns; or

(G) are isolated tracts that are inefficient to manage.

(d) **METHOD OF DISPOSAL.**—The Secretary shall dispose of tracts of covered Federal land under this section to a qualified bidder by competitive sale, auction, or other methods designed to secure not less than fair market value for the tracts of covered Federal land conveyed.

(e) **RIGHT OF FIRST REFUSAL.**—The Secretary shall provide a State or unit of local government in which a tract of covered Fed-

eral land is located a right of first refusal to purchase the applicable tract of covered Federal land.

(f) **LIMITATIONS.**—

(1) **USE.**—A tract of covered Federal land disposed of under this section shall be used solely for the development of housing or to address any infrastructure and amenities to support local needs associated with housing.

(2) **RESTRICTIVE COVENANT.**—As a condition of the conveyance of a tract of covered Federal land under this section, the conveyance shall include a restrictive covenant requiring that the tract of covered Federal land conveyed be used in accordance with the planned use of the tract of covered Federal land—

(A) as described pursuant to paragraph (2)(C)(i) of subsection (c), in the case of a tract of covered Federal land nominated under that paragraph; or

(B) as identified by the Secretary, in the case of a tract of covered Federal land initially identified for disposal by the Secretary.

(3) **EXCLUDED LAND.**—The Secretary may not dispose of any tract of covered Federal land that is—

(A) federally protected land;

(B) as of the date of the nomination or identification of the tract of covered Federal land, subject to—

(i) an existing grazing permit or lease; or

(ii) a valid existing right that is incompatible with the development of housing or any infrastructure and amenities to support local needs associated with housing;

(C) not located in an eligible State; or

(D) not located within 5 miles of—

(i) the border of an incorporated municipality; or

(ii) the center of the population center of a census-designated place.

(4) **NUMBER OF TRACTS.**—A person may not purchase more than 2 tracts of covered Federal land in any 1 sale under this section unless the person owns land surrounding the tracts of covered Federal land to be sold under this section.

(g) **DISPOSITION OF PROCEEDS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Subject to paragraphs (2) and (3) and any provision of an applicable State enabling Act, any proceeds from the disposal of a tract of covered Federal land under this section shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(2) **REVENUE SHARING WITH UNIT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.**—

(A) **DISTRIBUTION.**—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), 5 percent of the gross proceeds from each sale of a tract of covered Federal land under this section (other than a sale to a unit of local government) shall be distributed to—

(i) the unit of local government with sole jurisdiction over the tract sold; or

(ii) in a case in which more than 1 unit of local government has jurisdiction over the tract sold, the unit of local government that the Secretary determines exercises primary land use authority over the tract sold, as of the date of the sale.

(B) **USE.**—Amounts distributed to a unit of local government under subparagraph (A) shall be used by the unit of local government solely for essential infrastructure directly supporting housing development or other associated infrastructure to support local housing needs, as determined by the Secretary.

(3) **HUNTING, FISHING, AND RECREATIONAL AMENITIES; DEFERRED MAINTENANCE BACKLOG.**—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), 10 percent of the gross proceeds from each sale of a tract of covered Federal land under this section shall be used by the Secretary—

(A) for hunting, fishing, and recreational amenities on Bureau of Land Management

land in the State in which the tract sold is located; and

(B) to address the deferred maintenance backlog on Bureau of Land Management land in the State in which the tract sold is located.

(h) **DEADLINE.**—Not later than 10 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall complete all conveyances of tracts of covered Federal land required under this section.

(i) **FUNDING.**—In addition to amounts otherwise made available, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, there is appropriated to the Secretary to carry out this section \$15,000,000 for fiscal year 2025, to remain available until expended.

(j) **TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY.**—The authority to carry out this section terminates on September 30, 2034.

SEC. 50302. TIMBER SALES AND LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE FOREST SERVICE AND THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.

(a) **FOREST SERVICE.**—

(1) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this subsection:

(A) **FOREST PLAN.**—The term “forest plan” means a land and resource management plan prepared by the Secretary for a unit of the National Forest System pursuant to section 6 of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1604).

(B) **NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.**—

(i) **IN GENERAL.**—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary.

(ii) **EXCLUSIONS.**—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(C) **SECRETARY.**—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Agriculture, acting through the Chief of the Forest Service.

(2) **TIMBER SALES ON PUBLIC DOMAIN FOREST RESERVES.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2034, the Secretary shall sell timber annually on National Forest System land in a total quantity that is not less than 250,000,000 board-feet greater than the quantity of board-feet sold in the previous fiscal year.

(B) **LIMITATION.**—The timber sales under subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the maximum allowable sale quantity of timber or the projected timber sale quantity under the applicable forest plan in effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) **LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE FOREST SERVICE.**—

(A) **LONG-TERM CONTRACTING.**—For the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the Secretary shall enter into not fewer than 40 long-term timber sale contracts with private persons or other public or private entities under subsection (a) of section 14 of the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (16 U.S.C. 472a) for the sale of national forest materials (as defined in subsection (e)(1) of that section) in the National Forest System.

(B) **CONTRACT LENGTH.**—The period of a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirement under subparagraph (A) shall be not less than 20 years, with options for extensions or renewals, as determined by the Secretary.

(C) **RECEIPTS.**—Any monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(b) **BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.**—

(1) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this subsection:

(A) **PUBLIC LANDS.**—The term “public lands” has the meaning given the term in

section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(B) RESOURCE MANAGEMENT PLAN.—The term “resource management plan” means a land use plan prepared for public lands under section 202 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1712).

(C) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Director of the Bureau of Land Management.

(2) TIMBER SALES ON PUBLIC LANDS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2034, the Secretary shall sell timber annually on public lands in a total quantity that is not less than 20,000,000 board-feet greater than the quantity of board-feet sold in the previous fiscal year.

(B) LIMITATION.—The timber sales under subparagraph (A) shall be subject to the applicable resource management plan in effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING FOR THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.—

(A) LONG-TERM CONTRACTING.—For the period of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, the Secretary shall enter into not fewer than 5 long-term contracts with private persons or other public or private entities under section 1 of the Act of July 31, 1947 (commonly known as the “Materials Act of 1947”) (61 Stat. 681, chapter 406; 30 U.S.C. 601), for the disposal of vegetative materials described in that section on public lands.

(B) CONTRACT LENGTH.—The period of a contract entered into to meet the requirement under subparagraph (A) shall be not less than 20 years, with options for extensions or renewals, as determined by the Secretary.

(C) RECEIPTS.—Any monies derived from a contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 50303. RENEWABLE ENERGY FEES ON FEDERAL LAND.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENT FACTOR.—The term “Annual Adjustment Factor” means 3 percent.

(2) ENCUMBRANCE FACTOR.—The term “Encumbrance Factor” means—

(A) 100 percent for a solar energy generation facility; and

(B) an amount determined by the Secretary, but not less than 10 percent for a wind energy generation facility.

(3) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(4) PER-ACRE RATE.—The term “Per-Acre Rate”, with respect to a right-of-way, means the average of the per-acre pastureland rental rates published in the Cash Rents Survey by the National Agricultural Statistics Service for the State in which the right-of-way is located over the 5 calendar-year period preceding the issuance or renewal of the right-of-way.

(5) PROJECT.—The term “project” means a system described in section 2801.9(a)(4) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act).

(6) PUBLIC LAND.—The term “public land” means—

(A) public lands (as defined in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702)); and

(B) National Forest System land.

(7) RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECT.—The term “renewable energy project” means a project located on public land that uses wind or solar energy to generate energy.

(8) RIGHT-OF-WAY.—The term “right-of-way” has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(9) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means—

(A) the Secretary of the Interior, with respect to land controlled or administered by the Secretary of the Interior; and

(B) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to National Forest System land.

(b) ACREAGE RENT FOR WIND AND SOLAR RIGHTS-OF-WAY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Pursuant to section 504(g) of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1764(g)), the Secretary shall, subject to paragraph (3) and not later than January 1 of each calendar year, collect from the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project an acreage rent in an amount determined by the equation described in paragraph (2).

(2) CALCULATION OF ACREAGE RENT RATE.—

(A) EQUATION.—The amount of an acreage rent collected under paragraph (1) shall be determined using the following equation: $\text{Acreage rent} = A \times B \times ((1 + C)^{\text{D}})^{\text{E}}$.

(B) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of the equation described in subparagraph (A):

(i) The letter “A” means the Per-Acre Rate.

(ii) The letter “B” means the Encumbrance Factor.

(iii) The letter “C” means the Annual Adjustment Factor.

(iv) The letter “D” means the year in the term of the right-of-way.

(3) PAYMENT UNTIL PRODUCTION.—The holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project shall pay an acreage rent collected under paragraph (1) until the date on which energy generation begins.

(c) CAPACITY FEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall, subject to paragraph (3), annually collect a capacity fee from the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project based on the amount described in paragraph (2).

(2) CALCULATION OF CAPACITY FEE.—The amount of a capacity fee collected under paragraph (1) shall be equal to the greater of—

(A) an amount equal to the acreage rent described in subsection (b); and

(B) 3.9 percent of the gross proceeds from the sale of electricity produced by the renewable energy project.

(3) MULTIPLE-USE REDUCTION FACTOR.—

(A) APPLICATION.—The holder of a right-of-way for a wind energy generation project may request that the Secretary apply a multiple-use reduction factor of 10-percent to the amount of a capacity fee determined under paragraph (2) by submitting to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require.

(B) APPROVAL.—The Secretary may approve an application submitted under subparagraph (A) only if not less than 25 percent of the land within the area of the right-of-way is authorized for use, occupancy, or development with respect to an activity other than the generation of wind energy for the entirety of the year in which the capacity fee is collected.

(C) LATE DETERMINATION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary approves an application under subparagraph (B) for a wind energy generation project after the date on which the holder of the right-of-way for the project begins paying a capacity fee, the Secretary shall apply the multiple-use reduction factor described in subparagraph

(A) to the capacity fee for the first year beginning after the date of approval and each year thereafter for the period during which the right-of-way remains in effect.

(ii) REFUND.—The Secretary may not refund the holder of a right-of-way for the difference in the amount of a capacity fee paid in a previous year.

(d) LATE PAYMENT FEE; TERMINATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may charge the holder of a right-of-way for a renewable energy project a late payment fee if the Secretary does not receive payment for the acreage rent under subsection (b) or the capacity fee under subsection (c) by the date that is 15 days after the date on which the payment was due.

(2) TERMINATION OF RIGHT-OF-WAY.—The Secretary may terminate a right-of-way for a renewable energy project if the Secretary does not receive payment for the acreage rent under subsection (b) or the capacity fee under subsection (c) by the date that is 90 days after the date on which the payment was due.

SEC. 50304. RENEWABLE ENERGY REVENUE SHARING.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COUNTY.—The term “county” includes a parish, township, borough, and any other similar, independent unit of local government.

(2) COVERED LAND.—The term “covered land” means land that is—

(A) public land administered by the Secretary; and

(B) not excluded from the development of solar or wind energy under—

(i) a land use plan; or

(ii) other Federal law.

(3) NATIONAL FOREST SYSTEM.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “National Forest System” means land of the National Forest System (as defined in section 11(a) of the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1609(a))) administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “National Forest System” does not include any forest reserve not created from the public domain.

(4) PUBLIC LAND.—The term “public land” means—

(A) public lands (as defined in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702)); and

(B) National Forest System land.

(5) RENEWABLE ENERGY PROJECT.—The term “renewable energy project” means a system described in section 2801.9(a)(4) of title 43, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act), located on covered land that uses wind or solar energy to generate energy.

(6) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means—

(A) the Secretary of the Interior, with respect to land controlled or administered by the Secretary of the Interior; and

(B) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to National Forest System land.

(b) DISPOSITION OF REVENUE.—

(1) DISPOSITION OF REVENUES.—Beginning on January 1, 2026, the amounts collected from a renewable energy project as bonus bids, rentals, fees, or other payments under a right-of-way, permit, lease, or other authorization shall—

(A) be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(B) without further appropriation or fiscal year limitation, be allocated as follows:

(i) 25 percent shall be paid from amounts in the general fund of the Treasury to the State within the boundaries of which the revenue is derived.

(ii) 25 percent shall be paid from amounts in the general fund of the Treasury to each county in a State within the boundaries of

which the revenue is derived, to be allocated among each applicable county based on the percentage of county land from which the revenue is derived.

(2) PAYMENTS TO STATES AND COUNTIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Amounts paid to States and counties under paragraph (1) shall be used in accordance with the requirements of section 35 of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 191).

(B) PAYMENTS IN LIEU OF TAXES.—A payment to a county under paragraph (1) shall be in addition to a payment in lieu of taxes received by the county under chapter 69 of title 31, United States Code.

(C) TIMING.—The amounts required to be paid under paragraph (1)(B) for an applicable fiscal year shall be made available in the fiscal year that immediately follows the fiscal year for which the amounts were collected.

SEC. 50305. RESCISSION OF NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT FUNDS.

There are rescinded the unobligated balances of amounts made available by the following sections of Public Law 117-169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 1818):

(1) Section 50221 (136 Stat. 2052).

(2) Section 50222 (136 Stat. 2052).

(3) Section 50223 (136 Stat. 2052).

SEC. 50306. CELEBRATING AMERICA’S 250TH ANNIVERSARY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior (acting through the Director of the National Park Service) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$150,000,000 for events, celebrations, and activities surrounding the observance and commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the United States, to remain available through fiscal year 2028.

Subtitle D—Energy

SEC. 50401. STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE.

(a) ENERGY POLICY AND CONSERVATION ACT DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the terms “related facility”, “storage facility”, and “Strategic Petroleum Reserve” have the meanings given those terms in section 152 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (42 U.S.C. 6232).

(b) APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of Energy for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$218,000,000 for maintenance of, including repairs to, storage facilities and related facilities of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve; and

(2) \$171,000,000 to acquire, by purchase, petroleum products for storage in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

(c) REPEAL OF STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE DRAWDOWN AND SALE MANDATE.—Section 20003 of Public Law 115-97 (42 U.S.C. 6241 note) is repealed.

SEC. 50402. REPEALS; RESCISSIONS.

(a) REPEAL AND RESCISSION.—Section 50142 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2044) (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) is repealed and the unobligated balance of amounts made available under that section (as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act) is rescinded.

(b) RESCISSIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The unobligated balances of amounts made available under the sections described in paragraph (2) are rescinded.

(2) SECTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sections referred to in paragraph (1) are the following sections of Public Law 117-169 (commonly

known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”):

(A) Section 50123 (42 U.S.C. 18795b).

(B) Section 50141 (136 Stat. 2042).

(C) Section 50144 (136 Stat. 2044).

(D) Section 50145 (136 Stat. 2045).

(E) Section 50151 (42 U.S.C. 18715).

(F) Section 50152 (42 U.S.C. 18715a).

(G) Section 50153 (42 U.S.C. 18715b).

(H) Section 50161 (42 U.S.C. 17113b).

SEC. 50403. ENERGY DOMINANCE FINANCING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1706 of the Energy Policy Act of 2005 (42 U.S.C. 16517) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “avoid” and all that follows through the period at the end and inserting “increase capacity or output; or”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) support or enable the provision of known or forecastable electric supply at time intervals necessary to maintain or enhance grid reliability or other system adequacy needs.”;

(2) by striking subsection (c);

(3) by redesignating subsections (d) through (f) as subsections (c) through (e), respectively;

(4) in subsection (c) (as so redesignated)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by adding “and” at the end;

(B) by striking paragraph (2); and

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (2);

(5) in subsection (e) (as so redesignated), by striking “for—” in the matter preceding paragraph (1) and all that follows through the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “for enabling the identification, leasing, development, production, processing, transportation, transmission, refining, and generation needed for energy and critical minerals.”; and

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(f) FUNDING.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2028, to carry out activities under this section.

“(2) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—Of the amount made available under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall use not more than 3 percent for administrative expenses.”.

(b) COMMITMENT AUTHORITY.—Section 50144(b) of Public Law 117-169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 2045) is amended by striking “2026” and inserting “2028”.

SEC. 50404. TRANSFORMATIONAL ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODELS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) AMERICAN SCIENCE CLOUD.—The term “American science cloud” means a system of United States government, academic, and private sector programs and infrastructures utilizing cloud computing technologies to facilitate and support scientific research, data sharing, and computational analysis across various disciplines while ensuring compliance with applicable legal, regulatory, and privacy standards.

(2) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term “artificial intelligence” has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

(b) TRANSFORMATIONAL MODELS.—The Secretary of Energy shall—

(1) mobilize National Laboratories to partner with industry sectors within the United States to curate the scientific data of the

Department of Energy across the National Laboratory complex so that the data is structured, cleaned, and preprocessed in a way that makes it suitable for use in artificial intelligence and machine learning models; and

(2) initiate seed efforts for self-improving artificial intelligence models for science and engineering powered by the data described in paragraph (1).

(c) USES.—

(1) MICROELECTRONICS.—The curated data described in subsection (b)(1) may be used to rapidly develop next-generation microelectronics that have greater capabilities beyond Moore’s law while requiring lower energy consumption.

(2) NEW ENERGY TECHNOLOGIES.—The artificial intelligence models developed under subsection (b)(2) shall be provided to the scientific community through the American science cloud to accelerate innovation in discovery science and engineering for new energy technologies.

(d) APPROPRIATIONS.—There is appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$150,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2026, to carry out this section.

Subtitle E—Water

SEC. 50501. WATER CONVEYANCE AND SURFACE WATER STORAGE ENHANCEMENT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Reclamation, for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, for construction and associated activities that restore or increase the capacity or use of existing conveyance facilities constructed by the Bureau of Reclamation or for construction and associated activities that increase the capacity of existing Bureau of Reclamation surface water storage facilities, in a manner as determined by the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Commissioner of Reclamation: *Provided*, That, for the purposes of section 203 of the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 (43 U.S.C. 390cc) or section 3404(a) of the Reclamation Projects Authorization and Adjustment Act of 1992 (Public Law 102-575; 106 Stat. 4708), a contract or agreement entered into pursuant to this section shall not be treated as a new or amended contract: *Provided further*, That none of the funds provided under this section shall be reimbursable or subject to matching or cost-sharing requirements.

TITLE VI—COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

SEC. 60001. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR CLEAN HEAVY-DUTY VEHICLES.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 132 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7432) are rescinded.

SEC. 60002. REPEAL OF GREENHOUSE GAS REDUCTION FUND.

Section 134 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7434) is repealed and the unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out that section (as in effect on the day before the date of enactment of this Act) are rescinded.

SEC. 60003. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR DIESEL EMISSIONS REDUCTIONS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60104 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2067) are rescinded.

SEC. 60004. RESCISSION OF FUNDING TO ADDRESS AIR POLLUTION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60105 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2067) are rescinded.

SEC. 60005. RESCISSION OF FUNDING TO ADDRESS AIR POLLUTION AT SCHOOLS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60106 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2069) are rescinded.

SEC. 60006. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR THE LOW EMISSIONS ELECTRICITY PROGRAM.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 135 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7435) are rescinded.

SEC. 60007. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR SECTION 211(O) OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60108 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2070) are rescinded.

SEC. 60008. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AMERICAN INNOVATION AND MANUFACTURING ACT.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60109 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2071) are rescinded.

SEC. 60009. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENFORCEMENT TECHNOLOGY AND PUBLIC INFORMATION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60110 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2071) are rescinded.

SEC. 60010. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GREENHOUSE GAS CORPORATE REPORTING.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60111 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2072) are rescinded.

SEC. 60011. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PRODUCT DECLARATION ASSISTANCE.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60112 of Public Law 117-169 (42 U.S.C. 4321 note; 136 Stat. 2072) are rescinded.

SEC. 60012. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR METHANE EMISSIONS AND WASTE REDUCTION INCENTIVE PROGRAM FOR PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS SYSTEMS.

(a) RESCISSION.—The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out subsections (a) and (b) of section 136 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7436) are rescinded.

(b) PERIOD.—Section 136(g) of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7436(g)) is amended by striking “calendar year 2024” and inserting “calendar year 2034”.

SEC. 60013. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GREENHOUSE GAS AIR POLLUTION PLANS AND IMPLEMENTATION GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 137 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7437) are rescinded.

SEC. 60014. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY EFFICIENT, ACCURATE, AND TIMELY REVIEWS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60115 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2077) are rescinded.

SEC. 60015. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR LOW-EMBEDDED CARBON LABELING FOR CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60116 of Public Law 117-169 (42 U.S.C. 4321 note; 136 Stat. 2077) are rescinded.

SEC. 60016. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE JUSTICE BLOCK GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 138 of the Clean Air Act (42 U.S.C. 7438) are rescinded.

SEC. 60017. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ESA RECOVERY PLANS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60301 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2079) are rescinded.

SEC. 60018. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATE DATA COLLECTION.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60401 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2079) are rescinded.

SEC. 60019. RESCISSION OF NEIGHBORHOOD ACCESS AND EQUITY GRANT PROGRAM.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 177 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60020. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR FEDERAL BUILDING ASSISTANCE.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60502 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60021. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR LOW-CARBON MATERIALS FOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60503 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60022. RESCISSION OF FUNDING FOR GSA EMERGING AND SUSTAINABLE TECHNOLOGIES.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60504 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

SEC. 60023. RESCISSION OF ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION FUNDS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 178 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60024. RESCISSION OF LOW-CARBON TRANSPORTATION MATERIALS GRANTS.

The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 179 of title 23, United States Code, are rescinded.

SEC. 60025. JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$256,657,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for necessary expenses for capital repair, restoration, maintenance backlog, and security structures of the building and site of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

(b) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—Of the amounts made available under subsection (a), not more than 3 percent may be used for administrative costs necessary to carry out this section.

SEC. 60026. PROJECT SPONSOR OPT-IN FEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS.

Title I of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4331 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 112. PROJECT SPONSOR OPT-IN FEES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS.

“(a) PROCESS.—

“(1) PROJECT SPONSOR.—A project sponsor that intends to pay a fee under this section for the preparation, or supervision of the preparation, of an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement for a project shall submit to the Council—

“(A) a description of the project; and

“(B) a declaration of whether the project sponsor intends to prepare the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement under section 107(f).

“(2) COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.—Not later than 15 days after the date on which the Council receives information described in paragraph (1) from a project sponsor, the Council shall provide to the project sponsor notice of the amount of the fee to be paid under this section, as determined under subsection (b).

“(3) PAYMENT OF FEE.—A project sponsor may pay a fee under this section after receipt of the notice described in paragraph (2).

“(4) DEADLINE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL REVIEWS FOR WHICH A FEE IS PAID.—Notwithstanding section 107(g)(1)—

“(A) an environmental assessment for which a fee is paid under this section shall be completed not later than 180 days after the date on which the fee is paid; and

“(B) an environmental impact statement for which a fee is paid under this section shall be completed not later than 1 year after the date of publication of the notice of intent to prepare the environmental impact statement.

“(b) FEE AMOUNT.—The amount of a fee under this section shall be—

“(1) 125 percent of the anticipated costs to prepare the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement; and

“(2) in the case of an environmental assessment or environmental impact statement to be prepared in whole or in part by a project sponsor under section 107(f), 125 percent of the anticipated costs to supervise preparation of, and, as applicable, prepare, the environmental assessment or environmental impact statement.”.

TITLE VII—FINANCE**Subtitle A—Tax****SEC. 70001. REFERENCES TO THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1986, ETC.**

(a) REFERENCES.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this title, an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a section or other provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(b) CERTAIN RULES REGARDING EFFECT OF RATE CHANGES NOT APPLICABLE.—Section 15 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall not apply to any change in rate of tax by reason of any provision of, or amendment made by, this title.

CHAPTER 1—PROVIDING PERMANENT TAX RELIEF FOR MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES AND WORKERS**SEC. 70101. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF REDUCED RATES.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1(j)(3)(B)(i) is amended by inserting “solely for purposes of determining the dollar amounts at which any rate bracket higher than 12 percent ends and at which any rate bracket higher than 22 percent begins,” before “subsection (f)(3)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70102. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED STANDARD DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 63(c)(7) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026” in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) ADDITIONAL INCREASE IN STANDARD DEDUCTION.—Paragraph (7) of section 63(c) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$18,000” both places it appears in subparagraphs (A)(i) and (B)(ii) and inserting “\$23,625”,

(2) by striking “\$12,000” both places it appears in subparagraphs (A)(ii) and (B)(ii) and inserting “\$15,750”,

(3) by striking “2018” in subparagraph (B)(ii) and inserting “2025”, and

(4) by striking “2017” in subparagraph (B)(ii)(II) and inserting “2024”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70103. TERMINATION OF DEDUCTION FOR PERSONAL EXEMPTIONS OTHER THAN TEMPORARY SENIOR DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 151(d)(5) is amended—

(1) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”,

(2) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) DEDUCTION FOR SENIORS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning before January 1, 2029, there shall be allowed a deduction in an amount equal to \$6,000 for each qualified individual with respect to the taxpayer.

“(ii) QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘qualified individual’ means—

“(I) the taxpayer, if the taxpayer has attained age 65 before the close of the taxable year, and

“(II) in the case of a joint return, the taxpayer’s spouse, if such spouse has attained age 65 before the close of the taxable year.

“(iii) LIMITATION BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxpayer for any taxable year, the \$6,000 amount in clause (i) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by 6 percent of so much of the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income as exceeds \$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(II) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(iv) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Clause (i) shall not apply with respect to a qualified individual unless the taxpayer includes such qualified individual’s social security number on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(II) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of subclause (I), the term ‘social security number’ has the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(v) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this subparagraph shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.”.

(b) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (U), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (V) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (V) the following new subparagraph:

“(W) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 151(d)(5)(C) (relating to deduction for seniors).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70104. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED CHILD TAX CREDIT.

(a) EXTENSION AND INCREASE OF EXPANDED CHILD TAX CREDIT.—Section 24(h) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”,

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$2,000” and inserting “\$2,200”, and

(3) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—Section 24(h)(7) is amended to read as follows:

“(7) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be allowed under this section to a taxpayer with respect to any qualifying child unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(i) the taxpayer’s social security number (or, in the case of a joint return, the social security number of at least 1 spouse), and

“(ii) the social security number of such qualifying child.

“(B) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘social security number’ means a social security number issued to an individual by the Social Security Administration, but only if the social security number is issued—

“(i) to a citizen of the United States or pursuant to subclause (I) (or that portion of subclause (III) that relates to subclause (I)) of section 205(c)(2)(B)(i) of the Social Security Act, and

“(ii) before the due date for such return.”.

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 24(i) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

“(1) MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2024, the \$1,400 amount in subsection (h)(5) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2017’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR ADJUSTMENT OF CREDIT AMOUNT.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2025, the \$2,200 amount in subsection (h)(2) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(3) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subsection is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$100.”.

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 24(h)(5) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) MAXIMUM AMOUNT OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—The amount determined under subsection (d)(1)(A) with respect to any qualifying child shall not exceed \$1,400, and such subsection shall be applied without regard to paragraph (4) of this subsection.”.

(e) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2)(I) is amended by striking “section 24(e)” and inserting “section 24”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70105. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.

(a) INCREASE IN TAXABLE INCOME LIMITATION PHASE-IN AMOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (B) of section 199A(b)(3) is amended by striking “\$50,000 (\$100,000 in the case of a joint return)” each place it appears and inserting “\$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return)”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (3) of section 199A(d) is amended by striking “\$50,000 (\$100,000 in the case of a joint return)” each place it appears and inserting “\$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return)”.

(b) MINIMUM DEDUCTION FOR ACTIVE QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (i) of section 199A is amended to read as follows:

“(i) MINIMUM DEDUCTION FOR ACTIVE QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable taxpayer for any taxable year, the deduction allowed under subsection (a) for the taxable year shall be equal to the greater of—

“(A) the amount of such deduction determined without regard to this subsection, or

“(B) \$400.

“(2) APPLICABLE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable taxpayer’ means, with respect to any taxable year, a taxpayer whose aggregate qualified business income with respect to all active qualified trades or businesses of the taxpayer for such taxable year is at least \$1,000.

“(B) ACTIVE QUALIFIED TRADE OR BUSINESS.—The term ‘active qualified trade or business’ means, with respect to any taxpayer for any taxable year, any qualified trade or business of the taxpayer in which the taxpayer materially participates (within the meaning of section 469(h)).

“(3) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$400 amount in paragraph (1)(B) and the \$1,000 amount in paragraph (2)(A) shall each be increased by an amount equal to —

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this paragraph is not a multiple of \$5, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$5.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 199A(a) is amended by inserting “except as provided in subsection (i),” before “there”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70106. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED ESTATE AND GIFT TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2010(c)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking “\$5,000,000” and inserting “\$15,000,000”,

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2011” and inserting “2026”, and

(B) in clause (ii), by striking “calendar year 2010” and inserting “calendar year 2025”, and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to estates of decedents dying and gifts made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70107. EXTENSION OF INCREASED ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS AND MODIFICATION OF PHASEOUT THRESHOLDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 55(d)(4) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “AND BEFORE 2026” in the heading.

(b) MODIFICATION OF INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 55(d)(4)(B) is amended—

(1) by striking “2018” and inserting “2018 (2026, in the case of the \$1,000,000 amount in subparagraph (A)(ii)(I))”, and

(2) by striking “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.” and inserting “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof—

“(1) ‘calendar year 2017’, in the case of the \$109,400 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(I) and

the \$70,300 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(II), and

“(2) ‘calendar year 2025’, in the case of the \$1,000,000 amount in subparagraph (A)(i)(I).”.

(c) MODIFICATION OF PHASEOUT AMOUNT.—Section 55(d)(4)(A)(ii) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subclause (II), and by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(IV) by substituting ‘50 percent’ for ‘25 percent’, and”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70108. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED RESIDENCE INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(h)(3)(F) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”;

(B) by redesignating subclauses (III) and (IV) as subclauses (IV) and (V), respectively,

(C) by striking “subclause (III)” in subclause (V), as so redesignated, and inserting “subclause (IV)”, and

(D) by inserting after subclause (II) the following new subclause:

“(III) MORTGAGE INSURANCE PREMIUMS TREATED AS INTEREST.—Clause (iv) of subparagraph (E) shall not apply.”.

(2) by striking clause (ii) and redesignating clauses (iii) and (iv) as clauses (ii) and (iii), respectively, and

(3) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70109. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON CASUALTY LOSS DEDUCTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 165(h)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) EXTENSION TO STATE DECLARED DISASTERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 165(h)(5), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended by striking “(i)(5)” and inserting “(i)(5) or a State declared disaster”.

(2) EXCEPTION RELATED TO PERSONAL CASUALTY GAINS.—Clause (i) of section 165(h)(5)(B) is amended by striking “(as so defined)” and inserting “(as so defined) or a State declared disaster”.

(3) STATE DECLARED DISASTER.—Paragraph (5) of section 165(h) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) STATE DECLARED DISASTER.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘State declared disaster’ means, with respect to any State, any natural catastrophe (including any hurricane, tornado, storm, high water, wind-driven water, tidal wave, tsunami, earthquake, volcanic eruption, landslide, mudslide, snowstorm, or drought), or, regardless of cause, any fire, flood, or explosion, in any part of the State, which in the determination of the Governor of such State (or the Mayor, in the case of the District of Columbia) and the Secretary causes damage of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant the application of the rules of this section.

“(ii) STATE.—The term ‘State’ includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70110. TERMINATION OF MISCELLANEOUS ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS OTHER THAN EDUCATOR EXPENSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 67(g) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) DEDUCTION FOR EDUCATOR EXPENSES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 67(b) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (12) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) the deductions allowed by section 162 for educator expenses (as defined in subsection (g)).”.

(2) INCLUSION OF COACHES AND CERTAIN NON-ATHLETIC INSTRUCTIONAL EQUIPMENT.—Section 67 is amended by redesignating subsection (g), as amended by this section, as subsection (h), and by inserting after subsection (f) the following new section:

“(g) EDUCATOR EXPENSES.—For purposes of subsection (b)(13), the term ‘educator expenses’ means expenses of a type which would be described in section 62(a)(2)(D) if—

“(1) such section were applied—

“(A) without regard to the dollar limitation,

“(B) without regard to ‘(other than non-athletic supplies for courses of instruction in health or physical education)’ in clause (ii) thereof, and

“(C) by substituting ‘as part of instructional activity’ for ‘in the classroom’ in clause (ii) thereof, and

“(2) section 62(d)(1)(A) were applied by inserting ‘, interscholastic sports administrator or coach,’ after ‘counselor.’”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70111. LIMITATION ON TAX BENEFIT OF ITEMIZED DEDUCTIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 68 is amended to read as follows:

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, the amount of the itemized deductions otherwise allowable for the taxable year (determined without regard to this section) shall be reduced by $\frac{2}{3}$ of the lesser of—

“(1) such amount of itemized deductions, or

“(2) so much of the taxable income of the taxpayer for the taxable year (determined without regard to this section and increased by such amount of itemized deductions) as exceeds the dollar amount at which the 37 percent rate bracket under section 1 begins with respect to the taxpayer.

“(b) COORDINATION WITH OTHER LIMITATIONS.—This section shall be applied after the application of any other limitation on the allowance of any itemized deduction.”.

(b) LIMITATION NOT APPLICABLE TO DETERMINATION OF DEDUCTION FOR QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 199A(e)(1) is amended by inserting “without regard to section 68 and” after “shall be computed”.

(2) PATRONS OF SPECIFIED AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL COOPERATIVES.—Section 199A(g)(2)(B) is amended by inserting “section 68 or” after “without regard to”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70112. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF QUALIFIED TRANSPORTATION FRINGE BENEFITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 132(f) is amended—

(1) by striking subparagraph (D) of paragraph (1),

(2) in paragraph (2), by inserting “and” at the end of subparagraph (A), by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting a period, and by striking subparagraph (C),

(3) by striking “(other than a qualified bicycle commuting reimbursement)” in paragraph (4),

(4) by striking subparagraph (F) of paragraph (5), and

(5) by striking paragraph (8).

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Clause (ii) of section 132(f)(6)(A) is amended by striking “1998” in clause (ii) and inserting “1997”.

(c) COORDINATION WITH DISALLOWANCE OF CERTAIN EXPENSES.—Subsection (l) of section 274 is amended—

(1) by striking “BENEFITS.—” and all that follows through “No deduction” and inserting “BENEFITS.—No deduction”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (2).

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70113. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION AND EXCLUSION FOR MOVING EXPENSES.

(a) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON DEDUCTION.—Section 217(k) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(b) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—Section 217(k), as amended by subsection (a), is further amended—

(1) by striking “2017.—Except in the case” and inserting “2017.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except in the case”, and

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

“(2) MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—An employee or new appointee of the intelligence community (as defined in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003)) (other than a member of the Armed Forces of the United States) who moves pursuant to a change in assignment which requires relocation shall be treated for purposes of this section in the same manner as an individual to whom subsection (g) applies.”.

(c) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON EXCLUSION.—Section 132(g)(2) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2018 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “BEGINNING AFTER 2017”.

(d) ALLOWANCE OF EXCLUSION FOR MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—Section 132(g)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting “, or an employee or new appointee of the intelligence community (as defined in section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003)) (other than a member of the Armed Forces of the United States) who moves pursuant to a change in assignment that requires relocation” after “change of station”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70114. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON WAGERING LOSSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 165 is amended by striking subsection (d) and inserting the following:

“(d) WAGERING LOSSES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of losses from wagering transactions, the amount allowed as a deduction for any taxable year—

“(A) shall be equal to 90 percent of the amount of such losses during such taxable year, and

“(B) shall be allowed only to the extent of the gains from such transactions during such taxable year.

“(2) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘losses from wagering transactions’ includes any deduction otherwise allowable under this chapter incurred in carrying on any wagering transaction.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70115. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO ABLE ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529A(b)(2)(B) is amended—

(1) in clause (i), by inserting “(determined by substituting ‘1996’ for ‘1997’ in paragraph (2)(B) thereof)” after “section 2503(b)”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “before January 1, 2026”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to contributions made after December 31, 2025.

(2) MODIFIED INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—The amendment made by subsection (a)(1) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70116. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF SAVERS CREDIT ALLOWED FOR ABLE CONTRIBUTIONS.

(a) EXTENSION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 25B(d)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified retirement savings contributions’ means, with respect to any taxable year, the sum of—

“(A) the amount of contributions made by the eligible individual during such taxable year to the ABLE account (within the meaning of section 529A) of which such individual is the designated beneficiary, and

“(B) in the case of any taxable year beginning before January 1, 2027—

“(i) the amount of the qualified retirement contributions (as defined in section 219(e)) made by the eligible individual,

“(ii) the amount of—

“(I) any elective deferrals (as defined in section 402(g)(3)) of such individual, and

“(II) any elective deferral of compensation by such individual under an eligible deferred compensation plan (as defined in section 457(b)) of an eligible employer described in section 457(e)(1)(A), and

“(iii) the amount of voluntary employee contributions by such individual to any qualified retirement plan (as defined in section 4974(c)).”

(2) COORDINATION WITH SECURE 2.0 ACT OF 2022 AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (1) of section 103(e) of the SECURE 2.0 Act of 2022 is repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied and administered as though such paragraph were never enacted.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments and repeal made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2025.

(b) INCREASE OF CREDIT AMOUNT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 25B(a) is amended by striking “\$2,000” and inserting “\$2,100”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 70117. EXTENSION OF ROLLOVERS FROM QUALIFIED TUITION PROGRAMS TO ABLE ACCOUNTS PERMITTED.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(c)(3)(C)(i)(III) is amended by striking “before January 1, 2026”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70118. EXTENSION OF TREATMENT OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS PERFORMING SERVICES IN THE SINAI PENINSULA AND ENHANCEMENT TO INCLUDE ADDITIONAL AREAS.

(a) TREATMENT MADE PERMANENT.—Section 11026(a) of Public Law 115–97 is amended by striking “, with respect to the applicable period”.

(b) KENYA, MALI, BURKINA FASO, AND CHAD INCLUDED AS HAZARDOUS DUTY AREAS.—Section 11026(b) of Public Law 115–97 is amended to read as follows:

“(b) QUALIFIED HAZARDOUS DUTY AREA.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified hazardous duty area’ means each of the following locations, but only during the period for which any member of the Armed Forces of the United States is entitled to special pay under section 310 of title 37, United States Code (relating to special pay; duty subject to hostile fire or imminent danger), for services performed in such location: “(1) the Sinai Peninsula of Egypt.

“(2) Kenya.

“(3) Mali.

“(4) Burkina Faso.

“(5) Chad.”

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 11026 of Public Law 115–97 is amended by striking subsections (c) and (d).

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on January 1, 2026.

SEC. 70119. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME OF STUDENT LOANS DISCHARGED ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OR DISABILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 108(f)(5) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) DISCHARGES ON ACCOUNT OF DEATH OR DISABILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, gross income does not include any amount which (but for this subsection) would be includible in gross income for such taxable year by reason of the discharge (in whole or in part) of any loan described in subparagraph (B), if such discharge was—

“(i) pursuant to subsection (a) or (d) of section 437 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 or the parallel benefit under part D of title IV of such Act (relating to the repayment of loan liability),

“(ii) pursuant to section 464(c)(1)(F) of such Act, or

“(iii) otherwise discharged on account of death or total and permanent disability of the student.

“(B) LOANS DISCHARGED.—A loan is described in this subparagraph if such loan is—

“(i) a student loan (as defined in paragraph (2)), or

“(ii) a private education loan (as defined in section 140(a) of the Consumer Credit Protection Act (15 U.S.C. 1650(a)).

“(C) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to any discharge during any taxable year unless the taxpayer includes the taxpayer’s social security number on the return of tax for such taxable year.

“(ii) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘social security number’ has the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).”

(b) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by this Act, is further amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (V), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (W) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (W) the following new subparagraph:

“(X) an omission of a correct social security number required under section

108(f)(5)(C) (relating to discharges on account of death or disability).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to discharges after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70120. LIMITATION ON INDIVIDUAL DEDUCTIONS FOR CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES, ETC.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 164(b)(6) is amended—

(1) by striking “and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “\$10,000 (\$5,000 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return)” and inserting “the applicable limitation amount (half the applicable limitation amount in the case of a married individual filing a separate return)”.

(b) APPLICABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.—Section 164(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) APPLICABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of paragraph (6), the term ‘applicable limitation amount’ means—

“(i) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2025, \$40,000,

“(ii) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2026, \$40,400,

“(iii) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2026 and before 2030, 101 percent of the dollar amount in effect under this subparagraph for taxable years beginning in the preceding calendar year, and

“(iv) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2029, \$10,000.

“(B) PHASEDOWN BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in clause (iii), in the case of any taxable year beginning before January 1, 2030, the applicable limitation amount shall be reduced by 30 percent of the excess (if any) of the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income over the threshold amount (half the threshold amount in the case of a married individual filing a separate return).

“(ii) THRESHOLD AMOUNT.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘threshold amount’ means—

“(I) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2025, \$500,000,

“(II) in the case of any taxable year beginning in calendar year 2026, \$505,000, and

“(III) in the case of any taxable year beginning after calendar year 2026, 101 percent of the dollar amount in effect under this subparagraph for taxable years beginning in the preceding calendar year.

“(iii) LIMITATION ON REDUCTION.—The reduction under clause (i) shall not result in the applicable limitation amount being less than \$10,000.

“(iv) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means adjusted gross income increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

CHAPTER 2—DELIVERING ON PRESIDENTIAL PRIORITIES TO PROVIDE NEW MIDDLE-CLASS TAX RELIEF

SEC. 70201. NO TAX ON TIPS.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating section 224 as section 225 and by inserting after section 223 the following new section:

“SEC. 224. QUALIFIED TIPS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to the qualified tips received during the taxable year that are included on statements furnished to

the individual pursuant to section 6041(d)(3), 6041A(e)(3), 6050W(f)(2), or 6051(a)(18), or reported by the taxpayer on Form 4137 (or successor).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowed as a deduction under this section for any taxable year shall not exceed \$25,000.

“(2) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) (after application of paragraph (1)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$100 for each \$1,000 by which the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income exceeds \$150,000 (\$300,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(B) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(C) TIPS RECEIVED IN COURSE OF TRADE OR BUSINESS.—In the case of qualified tips received by an individual during any taxable year in the course of a trade or business (other than the trade or business of performing services as an employee) of such individual, such qualified tips shall be taken into account under subsection (a) only to the extent that the gross income for the taxpayer from such trade or business for such taxable year (including such qualified tips) exceeds the sum of the deductions (other than the deduction allowed under this section) allocable to the trade or business in which such qualified tips are received by the individual for such taxable year.

“(d) QUALIFIED TIPS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified tips’ means cash tips received by an individual in an occupation which customarily and regularly received tips on or before December 31, 2024, as provided by the Secretary.

“(2) EXCLUSIONS.—Such term shall not include any amount received by an individual unless—

“(A) such amount is paid voluntarily without any consequence in the event of non-payment, is not the subject of negotiation, and is determined by the payor,

“(B) the trade or business in the course of which the individual receives such amount is not a specified service trade or business (as defined in section 199A(d)(2)), and

“(C) such other requirements as may be established by the Secretary in regulations or other guidance are satisfied.

For purposes of subparagraph (B), in the case of an individual receiving tips in the trade or business of performing services as an employee, such individual shall be treated as receiving tips in the course of a trade or business which is a specified service trade or business if the trade or business of the employer is a specified service trade or business.

“(3) CASH TIPS.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘cash tips’ includes tips received from customers that are paid in cash or charged and, in the case of an employee, tips received under any tip-sharing arrangement.

“(e) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year such individual’s social security number.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(f) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this section shall apply only

if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.

“(g) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to prevent reclassification of income as qualified tips, including regulations or other guidance to prevent abuse of the deduction allowed by this section.

“(h) TERMINATION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2028.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (3), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (4) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) the deduction provided in section 224.”

(c) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (W), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (X) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (X) the following new subparagraph:

“(Y) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 224(e) (relating to deduction for qualified tips).”

(d) EXCLUSION FROM QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—Section 199A(c)(4) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (C) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) any amount with respect to which a deduction is allowable to the taxpayer under section 224(a) for the taxable year.”

(e) EXTENSION OF TIP CREDIT TO BEAUTY SERVICE BUSINESS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45B(b)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) APPLICATION ONLY TO CERTAIN LINES OF BUSINESS.—In applying paragraph (1) there shall be taken into account only tips received from customers or clients in connection with the following services:

“(A) The providing, delivering, or serving of food or beverages for consumption, if the tipping of employees delivering or serving food or beverages by customers is customary.

“(B) The providing of any of the following services to a customer or client if the tipping of employees providing such services is customary:

“(i) Barbering and hair care.

“(ii) Nail care.

“(iii) Esthetics.

“(iv) Body and spa treatments.”

(2) CREDIT DETERMINED WITH RESPECT TO MINIMUM WAGE IN EFFECT.—Section 45B(b)(1)(B) is amended—

(A) by striking “as in effect on January 1, 2007, and”, and

(B) by inserting “, and in the case of food or beverage establishments, as in effect on January 1, 2007” after “without regard to section 3(m) of such Act”.

(f) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) RETURNS FOR PAYMENTS MADE IN THE COURSE OF A TRADE OR BUSINESS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041(a) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “such gains, profits, and income”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041(d) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of compensation to non-employees, the portion of payments that have been reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(2) RETURNS FOR PAYMENTS MADE FOR SERVICES AND DIRECT SALES.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041A(a) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “amount of such payments”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041A(e) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of subsection (a), the portion of payments that have been reasonably designated as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(3) RETURNS RELATING TO THIRD PARTY SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6050W(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (1), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting “and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) in the case of a third party settlement organization, the portion of reportable payment transactions that have been reasonably designated by payors as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips.”

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6050W(f)(2) is amended by inserting “(including a separate accounting of any such amounts that have been reasonably designated by payors as cash tips and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) of the person receiving such tips)” after “reportable payment transactions”.

(4) RETURNS RELATED TO WAGES.—Section 6051(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (16), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (17) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (17) the following new paragraph:

“(18) the total amount of cash tips reported by the employee under section 6053(a) and the occupation described in section 224(d)(1) such person.”

(g) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 224 as relating to section 225 and by inserting after the item relating to section 223 the following new item:

“Sec. 224. Qualified tips.”

(h) PUBLISHED LIST OF OCCUPATIONS TRADITIONALLY RECEIVING TIPS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall publish a list of occupations which customarily and regularly received tips on or before December 31, 2024, for purposes of section 224(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by subsection (a)).

(i) WITHHOLDING.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall modify the procedures prescribed under section 3402(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025, to take into account the deduction allowed under section 224 of such Code (as added by this Act).

(j) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(k) TRANSITION RULE.—In the case of any cash tips required to be reported for periods

before January 1, 2026, persons required to file returns or statements under section 6041(a), 6041(d)(3), 6041A(a), 6041A(e)(3), 6050W(a), or 6050W(f)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) may approximate a separate accounting of amounts designated as cash tips by any reasonable method specified by the Secretary.

SEC. 70202. NO TAX ON OVERTIME.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—Part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by redesignating section 225 as section 226 and by inserting after section 224 the following new section:

“SEC. 225. QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be allowed as a deduction an amount equal to the qualified overtime compensation received during the taxable year and included on statements furnished to the individual pursuant to section 6041(d)(4) or 6051(a)(19).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowed as a deduction under this section for any taxable year shall not exceed \$12,500 (\$25,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(2) LIMITATION BASED ON ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) (after application of paragraph (1)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$100 for each \$1,000 by which the taxpayer’s modified adjusted gross income exceeds \$150,000 (\$300,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(B) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(c) QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified overtime compensation’ means overtime compensation paid to an individual required under section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 that is in excess of the regular rate (as used in such section) at which such individual is employed.

“(2) EXCLUSIONS.—Such term shall not include any qualified tip (as defined in section 224(d)).

“(d) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes on the return of tax for the taxable year such individual’s social security number.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).

“(e) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS.—If the taxpayer is a married individual (within the meaning of section 7703), this section shall apply only if the taxpayer and the taxpayer’s spouse file a joint return for the taxable year.

“(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent abuse of the deduction allowed by this section.

“(g) TERMINATION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this section for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2028.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (4), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (5) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) the deduction provided in section 225.”

(c) REPORTING.—

(1) REQUIREMENT TO INCLUDE OVERTIME COMPENSATION ON W-2.—Section 6051(a), as amended by the preceding provision of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (17), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (18) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (18) the following new paragraph:

“(19) the total amount of qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c)).”

(2) PAYMENTS TO PERSONS NOT TREATED AS EMPLOYEES UNDER TAX LAWS.—

(A) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO SECRETARY.—Section 6041(a), as amended by section 70201(e)(1)(A), is amended by inserting “and a separate accounting of any amount of qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c))” after “occupation of the person receiving such tips”.

(B) STATEMENT FURNISHED TO PAYEE.—Section 6041(d), as amended by section 70201(e)(1)(B), is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) the portion of payments that are qualified overtime compensation (as defined in section 225(c)).”

(d) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (X), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (Y) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (Y) the following new subparagraph:

“(Z) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 225(d) (relating to deduction for qualified overtime).”

(e) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 225 as an item relating to section 226 and by inserting after the item relating to section 224 the following new item:

“Sec. 225. Qualified overtime compensation.”

(f) WITHHOLDING.—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall modify the procedures prescribed under section 3402(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025, to take into account the deduction allowed under section 225 of such Code (as added by this Act).

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(h) TRANSITION RULE.—In the case of qualified overtime compensation required to be reported for periods before January 1, 2026, persons required to file returns or statements under section 6051(a)(19), 6041(a), or 6041(d)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) may approximate a separate accounting of amounts designated as qualified overtime compensation by any reasonable method specified by the Secretary.

SEC. 70203. NO TAX ON CAR LOAN INTEREST.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(h) is amended by redesignating paragraph (4) as paragraph (5) and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) SPECIAL RULES FOR TAXABLE YEARS 2025 THROUGH 2028 RELATING TO QUALIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and

before January 1, 2029, for purposes of this subsection the term ‘personal interest’ shall not include qualified passenger vehicle loan interest.

“(B) QUALIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST DEFINED.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘qualified passenger vehicle loan interest’ means any interest which is paid or accrued during the taxable year on indebtedness incurred by the taxpayer after December 31, 2024, for the purchase of, and that is secured by a first lien on, an applicable passenger vehicle for personal use.

“(ii) EXCEPTIONS.—Such term shall not include any amount paid or incurred on any of the following:

“(I) A loan to finance fleet sales.

“(II) A loan incurred for the purchase of a commercial vehicle that is not used for personal purposes.

“(III) Any lease financing.

“(IV) A loan to finance the purchase of a vehicle with a salvage title.

“(V) A loan to finance the purchase of a vehicle intended to be used for scrap or parts.

“(iii) VIN REQUIREMENT.—Interest shall not be treated as qualified passenger vehicle loan interest under this paragraph unless the taxpayer includes the vehicle identification number of the applicable passenger vehicle described in clause (i) on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(C) LIMITATIONS.—

“(i) DOLLAR LIMIT.—The amount of interest taken into account by a taxpayer under subparagraph (B) for any taxable year shall not exceed \$10,000.

“(ii) LIMITATION BASED ON MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The amount which is otherwise allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) as qualified passenger vehicle loan interest (determined without regard to this clause and after the application of clause (i)) shall be reduced (but not below zero) by \$200 for each \$1,000 (or portion thereof) by which the modified adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year exceeds \$100,000 (\$200,000 in the case of a joint return).

“(II) MODIFIED ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘modified adjusted gross income’ means the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year increased by any amount excluded from gross income under section 911, 931, or 933.

“(D) APPLICABLE PASSENGER VEHICLE.—The term ‘applicable passenger vehicle’ means any vehicle—

“(i) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

“(ii) which is manufactured primarily for use on public streets, roads, and highways (not including a vehicle operated exclusively on a rail or rails),

“(iii) which has at least 2 wheels,

“(iv) which is a car, minivan, van, sport utility vehicle, pickup truck, or motorcycle,

“(v) which is treated as a motor vehicle for purposes of title II of the Clean Air Act, and

“(vi) which has a gross vehicle weight rating of less than 14,000 pounds.

Such term shall not include any vehicle the final assembly of which did not occur within the United States.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) FINAL ASSEMBLY.—For purposes of subparagraph (D), the term ‘final assembly’ means the process by which a manufacturer produces a vehicle at, or through the use of, a plant, factory, or other place from which the vehicle is delivered to a dealer with all component parts necessary for the mechanical operation of the vehicle included with the vehicle, whether or not the component

parts are permanently installed in or on the vehicle.

“(ii) TREATMENT OF REFINANCING.—Indebtedness described in subparagraph (B) shall include indebtedness that results from refinancing any indebtedness described in such subparagraph, and that is secured by a first lien on the applicable passenger vehicle with respect to which the refinanced indebtedness was incurred, but only to the extent the amount of such resulting indebtedness does not exceed the amount of such refinanced indebtedness.

“(iii) RELATED PARTIES.—Indebtedness described in subparagraph (B) shall not include any indebtedness owed to a person who is related (within the meaning of section 267(b) or 707(b)(1)) to the taxpayer.”

(b) DEDUCTION ALLOWED TO NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 63(b), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (6) and inserting “and”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) so much of the deduction allowed by section 163(a) as is attributable to the exception under section 163(h)(4)(A).”

(c) REPORTING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart B of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by adding at the end the following new section: **“SEC. 6050AA. RETURNS RELATING TO APPLICABLE PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN INTEREST RECEIVED IN TRADE OR BUSINESS FROM INDIVIDUALS.**

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Any person—

“(1) who is engaged in a trade or business, and

“(2) who, in the course of such trade or business, receives from any individual interest aggregating \$600 or more for any calendar year on a specified passenger vehicle loan, shall make the return described in subsection (b) with respect to each individual from whom such interest was received at such time as the Secretary may provide.

“(b) FORM AND MANNER OF RETURNS.—A return is described in this subsection if such return—

“(1) is in such form as the Secretary may prescribe, and

“(2) contains—

“(A) the name and address of the individual from whom the interest described in subsection (a)(2) was received,

“(B) the amount of such interest received for the calendar year,

“(C) the amount of outstanding principal on the specified passenger vehicle loan as of the beginning of such calendar year,

“(D) the date of the origination of such loan,

“(E) the year, make, model, and vehicle identification number of the applicable passenger vehicle which secures such loan (or such other description of such vehicle as the Secretary may prescribe), and

“(F) such other information as the Secretary may prescribe.

“(c) STATEMENTS TO BE FURNISHED TO INDIVIDUALS WITH RESPECT TO WHOM INFORMATION IS REQUIRED.—Every person required to make a return under subsection (a) shall furnish to each individual whose name is required to be set forth in such return a written statement showing—

“(1) the name, address, and phone number of the information contact of the person required to make such return, and

“(2) the information described in subparagraphs (B), (C), (D), and (E) of subsection (b)(2) with respect to such individual (and such information as is described in subsection (b)(2)(F) with respect to such individual as the Secretary may provide for purposes of this subsection).

The written statement required under the preceding sentence shall be furnished on or

before January 31 of the year following the calendar year for which the return under subsection (a) was required to be made.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Terms used in this section which are also used in paragraph (4) of section 163(h) shall have the same meaning as when used in such paragraph.

“(2) SPECIFIED PASSENGER VEHICLE LOAN.—The term ‘specified passenger vehicle loan’ means the indebtedness described in section 163(h)(4)(B) with respect to any applicable passenger vehicle.

“(e) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent the duplicate reporting of information under this section.

“(f) APPLICABILITY.—No return shall be required under this section for any period to which section 163(h)(4) does not apply.”

(2) PENALTIES.—Section 6724(d) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking “or” at the end of clause (xxvii), by striking “and” at the end of clause (xxviii) and inserting “or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xxix) section 6050AA(a) (relating to returns relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals),” and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (KK), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (LL) and inserting “, or”, and by inserting after subparagraph (LL) the following new subparagraph:

“(MM) section 6050AA(c) (relating to statements relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals).”

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 56(e)(1)(B) is amended by striking “section 163(h)(4)” and inserting “section 163(h)(5)”.

(2) The table of sections for subpart B of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6050AA. Returns relating to applicable passenger vehicle loan interest received in trade or business from individuals.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to indebtedness incurred after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70204. TRUMP ACCOUNTS AND CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.

(a) TRUMP ACCOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter F of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new part:

“PART IX—TRUMP ACCOUNTS

“Sec. 530A. Trump accounts.

“SEC. 530A. TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) GENERAL RULE.—Except as provided in this section or under regulations or guidance established by the Secretary, a Trump account shall be treated for purposes of this title in the same manner as an individual retirement account under section 408(a).

“(b) TRUMP ACCOUNT.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Trump account’ means an individual retirement account (as defined in section 408(a)) which is not designated as a Roth IRA and which meets the following requirements:

“(A) The account—

“(i) is created or organized by the Secretary for the exclusive benefit of an eligible individual or such eligible individual’s beneficiaries, or

“(ii) is—

“(I) created or organized in the United States for the exclusive benefit of an individual who has not attained the age of 18 before the end of the calendar year, or such individual’s beneficiaries, and

“(II) funded by a qualified rollover contribution.

“(B) The account is designated (in such manner as the Secretary shall prescribe) at the time of the establishment of the account as a Trump account.

“(C) The written governing instrument creating the account meets the following requirements:

“(i) No contribution will be accepted—

“(I) before the date that is 12 months after the date of the enactment of this section, or

“(II) in the case of a contribution made in any calendar year before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, if such contribution would result in aggregate contributions (other than exempt contributions) for such calendar year in excess of the contribution limit specified in subsection (c)(2)(A).

“(ii) Except as provided in subsection (d), no distribution will be allowed before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(iii) No part of the account funds will be invested in any asset other than an eligible investment during any period before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—The term ‘eligible individual’ means any individual—

“(A) who has not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the election under subparagraph (C) is made,

“(B) for whom a social security number (within the meaning of section 24(h)(7)) has been issued before the date on which an election under subsection (C) is made, and

“(C) for whom—

“(i) an election is made under this subparagraph by the Secretary if the Secretary determines (based on information available to the Secretary from tax returns or otherwise) that such individual meets the requirements of subparagraphs (A) and (B) and no prior election has been made for such individual under clause (ii), or

“(ii) an election is made under this subparagraph by a person other than the Secretary (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) for the establishment of a Trump account if no prior election has been made for such individual under clause (i).

“(3) ELIGIBLE INVESTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘eligible investment’ means any mutual fund or exchange traded fund which—

“(i) tracks the returns of a qualified index,

“(ii) does not use leverage,

“(iii) does not have annual fees and expenses of more than 0.1 percent of the balance of the investment in the fund, and

“(iv) meets such other criteria as the Secretary determines appropriate for purposes of this section.

“(B) QUALIFIED INDEX.—The term ‘qualified index’ means—

“(i) the Standard and Poor’s 500 stock market index, or

“(ii) any other index—

“(I) which is comprised of equity investments in United States companies, and

“(II) for which regulated futures contracts (as defined in section 1256(g)(1)) are traded on a qualified board or exchange (as defined in section 1256(g)(7)).

Such term shall not include any industry or sector-specific index, but may include an index based on market capitalization.

“(4) ACCOUNT BENEFICIARY.—The term ‘account beneficiary’ means the individual on

whose behalf the Trump account was established.

“(C) TREATMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) NO DEDUCTION ALLOWED.—No deduction shall be allowed under section 219 for any contribution which is made before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) CONTRIBUTION LIMIT.—In the case of any contribution made before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The aggregate amount of contributions (other than exempt contributions) for such calendar year shall not exceed \$5,000.

“(B) EXEMPT CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘exempt contribution’ means—

“(i) a qualified rollover contribution,
 “(ii) any qualified general contribution, or
 “(iii) any contribution provided under section 6434.

“(C) COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any calendar year after 2027, the \$5,000 amount under subparagraph (A) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(I) such dollar amount, multiplied by
 “(II) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2026’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(ii) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subparagraph is not a multiple of \$100, such amount shall be rounded to the next lower multiple of \$100.

“(3) TIMING OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 219(f)(3) shall not apply to any contribution made to a Trump account for any taxable year ending before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(d) DISTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, no distribution shall be allowed before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) TAX TREATMENT OF ALLOWABLE DISTRIBUTIONS.—For purposes of applying section 72 to any amount distributed from a Trump account, the investment in the contract shall not include—

“(A) any qualified general contribution,
 “(B) any contribution provided under section 6434, and

“(C) the amount of any contribution which is excluded from gross income under section 128.

“(3) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any distribution which is a qualified rollover contribution and the amount of such distribution shall not be included in the gross income of the beneficiary.

“(4) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any distribution which is a qualified ABLE rollover contribution and the amount of such distribution shall not be included in the gross income of the beneficiary.

“(B) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified ABLE rollover contribution’ means an amount which is paid during the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 17 in a direct trustee-to-trustee transfer from a Trump account maintained for the benefit of the account beneficiary to an ABLE account (as defined in section 529A(e)(6)) for the benefit of the such account beneficiary, but only if the amount of such payment is equal to the entire balance of the Trump account from which the payment is made.

“(5) DISTRIBUTIONS OF EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of any contribution which is made before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18 and which is in excess of the limitation in effect under subsection (c)(2)(A) for the calendar year—

“(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply to the distribution of such excess,

“(B) the amount of such distribution shall not be included in gross income of the account beneficiary, and

“(C) the tax imposed by this chapter on the distributee for the taxable year in which the distribution is made shall be increased by 100 percent of the amount of net income attributable to such excess (determined without regard to subparagraph (B)).

“(6) TREATMENT OF DEATH OF ACCOUNT BENEFICIARY.—If, by reason of the death of the account beneficiary before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, any person acquires the account beneficiary’s interest in the Trump account—

“(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply,
 “(B) such account shall cease to be a Trump account as of the date of death, and
 “(C) an amount equal to the fair market value of the assets (reduced by the investment in the contract) in such account on such date shall—

“(i) if such person is not the estate of such beneficiary, be includible in such person’s gross income for the taxable year which includes such date, or

“(ii) if such person is the estate of such beneficiary, be includible in such beneficiary’s gross income for the last taxable year of such beneficiary.

“(e) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified rollover contribution’ means an amount which is paid in a direct trustee-to-trustee transfer from a Trump account maintained for the benefit of the account beneficiary to a Trump account maintained for such beneficiary, but only if the amount of such payment is equal to the entire balance of the Trump account from which the payment is made.

“(f) QUALIFIED GENERAL CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified general contribution’ means any contribution which—

“(A) is made by the Secretary pursuant to a general funding contribution,

“(B) is made to the Trump account of an account beneficiary in the qualified class of account beneficiaries specified in the general funding contribution, and

“(C) is in an amount which is equal to the ratio of—

“(i) the amount of such general funding contribution, to

“(ii) the number of account beneficiaries in such qualified class.

“(2) GENERAL FUNDING CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘general funding contribution’ means a contribution which—

“(A) is made by—
 “(i) an entity described in section 170(c)(1) (other than a possession of the United States or a political subdivision thereof) or an Indian tribal government, or
 “(ii) an organization described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), and

“(B) which specifies a qualified class of account beneficiaries to whom such contribution is to be distributed.

“(3) QUALIFIED CLASS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified class’ means any of the following:

“(i) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the

calendar year in which the contribution is made.

“(ii) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made and who reside in one or more States or other qualified geographic areas specified by the terms of the general funding contribution.

“(iii) All account beneficiaries who have not attained the age of 18 before the close of the calendar year in which the contribution is made and who were born in one or more calendar years specified by the terms of the general funding contribution.

“(B) QUALIFIED GEOGRAPHIC AREA.—The term ‘qualified geographic area’ means any geographic area in which not less than 5,000 account beneficiaries reside and which is designated by the Secretary as a qualified geographic area under this subparagraph.

“(g) TRUSTEE SELECTION.—In the case of any Trump account created or organized by the Secretary, the Secretary shall take into account the following criteria in selecting the trustee:

“(1) The history of reliability and regulatory compliance of the trustee.

“(2) The customer service experience of the trustee.

“(3) The costs imposed by the trustee on the account or the account beneficiary.

“(h) OTHER SPECIAL RULES AND COORDINATION WITH INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNT RULES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The rules of subsections (k) and (p) of section 408 shall not apply to a Trump account, and the rules of subsections (d) and (i) of section 408 shall not apply to a Trump account for any taxable year beginning before the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18.

“(2) CUSTODIAL ACCOUNTS.—In the case of a Trump account, section 408(h) shall be applied by substituting ‘a Trump account described in section 530A(b)(1)’ for ‘an individual retirement account described in subsection (a)’.

“(3) CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of any taxable year beginning before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, a contribution to a Trump account shall not be taken into account in applying any contribution limit to any individual retirement plan other than a Trump account.

“(4) DISTRIBUTIONS.—Section 408(d)(2) shall be applied separately with respect to Trump Accounts and other individual retirement plans.

“(5) EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—For purposes of applying section 4973(b) to a Trump account for any taxable year beginning before the first day of the calendar year in which the account beneficiary attains age 18, the term ‘excess contributions’ means the sum of—

“(A) the amount by which the amount contributed to the account for the calendar year in which taxable year begins exceeds the amount permitted to be contributed to the account under subsection (c)(2), and

“(B) the amount determined under this paragraph for the preceding taxable year. For purposes of this paragraph, the excess contributions for a taxable year are reduced by the distributions to which subsection (d)(5) applies that are made during the taxable year or by the date prescribed by law (including extensions of time) for filing the account beneficiary’s return for the taxable year.

“(i) REPORTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The trustee of a Trump account shall make such reports regarding such account to the Secretary and to the beneficiary of the account at such time and in such manner as may be required by the

Secretary. Such reports shall include information with respect to—

“(A) contributions (including the amount and source of any contribution in excess of \$25 made from a person other than the Secretary, the account beneficiary, or the parent or legal guardian of the account beneficiary),

“(B) distributions (including distributions which are qualified rollover contributions),

“(C) the fair market value of the account,

“(D) the investment in the contract with respect to such account, and

“(E) such other matters as the Secretary may require.

“(2) QUALIFIED ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Not later than 30 days after the date of any qualified rollover contribution, the trustee of the Trump account to which the contribution was made shall make a report to the Secretary. Such report shall include—

“(A) the name, address, and social security number of the account beneficiary,

“(B) the name and address of such trustee,

“(C) the account number,

“(D) the routing number of the trustee, and

“(E) such other information as the Secretary may require.

“(3) PERIOD OF REPORTING.—This subsection shall not apply to any period after the calendar year in which the beneficiary attains age 17.”

(2) QUALIFIED ABLE ROLLOVER CONTRIBUTIONS EXEMPT FROM ABLE CONTRIBUTION LIMITATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 529A(b)(2)(B) is amended by inserting “or received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” after “except as provided in the case of contributions under subsection (c)(1)(C)”.

(B) PROHIBITION ON EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.—The second sentence of section 529A(b)(6) is amended by inserting “but do not include any contributions received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” before the period at the end.

(C) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 4973(h)(1) is amended by inserting “or contributions received in a qualified ABLE rollover contribution described in section 530A(d)(4)(B)” after “other than contributions under section 529A(c)(1)(C)”.

(3) FAILURE TO PROVIDE REPORTS ON TRUMP ACCOUNTS.—Section 6693(a)(2) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (F) the following new subparagraph:

“(G) section 530A(i) (relating to Trump accounts).”

(4) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—

(A) The table of parts for subchapter F of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“PART IX—TRUMP ACCOUNTS”.

(b) EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 127 the following new section:

“SEC. 128. EMPLOYER CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income of an employee does not include amounts paid by the employer as a contribution to the Trump account of such employee or of any dependent of such employee if the amounts are paid or incurred pursuant to a program which is described in subsection (c).

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount which may be excluded under subsection (a) with respect to any employee shall not exceed \$2,500.

“(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2027, the \$2,500 amount in paragraph (1) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for such calendar year by substituting ‘calendar year 2026’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(B) ROUNDING.—If any increase determined under subparagraph (A) is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.

“(c) TRUMP ACCOUNT CONTRIBUTION PROGRAM.—For purposes of this section, a Trump account contribution program is a separate written plan of an employer for the exclusive benefit of his employees to provide contributions to the Trump accounts of such employees or dependents of such employees which meets requirements similar to the requirements of paragraphs (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) of section 129(d).”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 127 the following new item:

“Sec. 128. Employer contributions to Trump accounts.”

(c) CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS EXCLUDED FROM GROSS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before section 140 the following new section:

“SEC. 139J. CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO TRUMP ACCOUNTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income of an account beneficiary shall not include any qualified general contribution to a Trump account of the account beneficiary.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is used in section 530A shall have the meaning given such term under section 530A.”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 140 the following new item:

“Sec. 139J. Certain contributions to Trump accounts.”

(d) TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 65 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6434. TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual who makes an election under this section with respect to an eligible child of the individual, such eligible child shall be treated as making a payment against the tax imposed by subtitle A (for the taxable year for which the election was made) in an amount equal to \$1,000.

“(b) REFUND OF PAYMENT.—The amount treated as a payment under subsection (a) shall be paid by the Secretary to the Trump account with respect to which such eligible child is the account beneficiary.

“(c) ELIGIBLE CHILD.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘eligible child’ means a qualifying child (as defined in section 152(c))—

“(1) who is born after December 31, 2024, and before January 1, 2029,

“(2) with respect to whom no prior election has been made under this section by such individual or any other individual,

“(3) who is a United States citizen, and

“(4) at least one parent of whom was a United States citizen at the time of such qualifying child’s birth.

“(d) ELECTION.—An election under this section shall be made at such time and in such manner as the Secretary shall provide.

“(e) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIRED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply to any taxpayer unless such individual includes with the election made under this section—

“(A) such individual’s social security number, and

“(B) the social security number of the eligible child with respect to whom the election is made.

“(2) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7), determined by substituting ‘before the date of the election made under section 6434’ for ‘before the due date of such return’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.

“(f) EXCEPTION FROM REDUCTION OR OFFSET.—Any payment made to any individual under this section shall not be—

“(1) subject to reduction or offset pursuant to subsection (c), (d), (e), or (f) of section 6402 or any similar authority permitting offset, or

“(2) reduced or offset by other assessed Federal taxes that would otherwise be subject to levy or collection.

“(g) SPECIAL RULE REGARDING INTEREST.—The period determined under section 6611(a) with respect to any payment under this section shall not begin before January 1, 2028.

“(h) MIRROR CODE POSSESSIONS.—In the case of any possession of the United States with a mirror code tax system (as defined in section 24(k)), this section shall not be treated as part of the income tax laws of the United States for purposes of determining the income tax law of such possession unless such possession elects to have this section be so treated.

“(i) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section, the terms ‘Trump account’ and ‘account beneficiary’ have the meaning given such terms in section 530A(b).”

(2) PENALTY FOR NEGLIGENT CLAIM OR FRAUDULENT CLAIM.—Part I of subchapter A of chapter 68 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6659. IMPROPER CLAIM FOR TRUMP ACCOUNT CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM CREDIT.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any individual who makes an election under section 6434 with respect to an individual who is not an eligible child of the taxpayer—

“(1) if such election was made due to negligence or disregard of the rules or regulations, there shall be imposed a penalty of \$500, or

“(2) if such election was made due to fraud, there shall be imposed a penalty of \$1,000.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—

“(1) ELIGIBLE CHILD.—The term ‘eligible child’ has the meaning given such term under section 6434.

“(2) NEGLIGENCE; DISREGARD.—The terms ‘negligence’ and ‘disregard’ have the same meaning as when such terms are used in section 6662.”

(3) OMISSION OF CORRECT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (Y), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (Z) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after subparagraph (Z) the following new subparagraph:

“(AA) an omission of a correct social security number required under section 6434(e)(1) (relating to the Trump accounts contribution pilot program).”

(4) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6434. Trump accounts contribution pilot program.”

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter A of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6658 the following new item:

“Sec. 6659. Improper claim for Trump account contribution pilot program credit.”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(f) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Department of the Treasury, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$410,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2034, to carry out the amendments made by this section.

CHAPTER 3—ESTABLISHING CERTAINTY AND COMPETITIVENESS FOR AMERICAN JOB CREATORS

Subchapter A—Permanent U.S. Business Tax Reform and Boosting Domestic Investment

SEC. 70301. FULL EXPENSING FOR CERTAIN BUSINESS PROPERTY.

(a) MADE PERMANENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 168(k)(2)(A) is amended by adding “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking “, and” at the end of clause (ii) and inserting a period, and by striking clause (iii).

(2) PROPERTY WITH LONGER PRODUCTION PERIODS.—Section 168(k)(2)(B) is amended—

(A) in clause (i), by striking subclauses (II) and (III) and redesignating subclauses (IV), (V), and (VI), as subclauses (II), (III), and (IV), respectively, and

(B) by striking clause (ii) and redesignating clauses (iii) and (iv) as clauses (ii) and (iii), respectively.

(3) SELF-CONSTRUCTED PROPERTY.—Section 168(k)(2)(E) is amended by striking clause (i) and redesignating clauses (ii) and (iii) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively.

(4) CERTAIN PLANTS.—Section 168(k)(5)(A) is amended by striking “planted before January 1, 2027, or is grafted before such date to a plant that has already been planted,” in the matter preceding clause (i) and inserting “planted or grafted”.

(5) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 168(k)(2)(A)(ii) is amended by striking “clause (ii) of subparagraph (E)” and inserting “clause (i) of subparagraph (E)”.

(B) Section 168(k)(2)(C)(i) is amended by striking “and subclauses (II) and (III) of subparagraph (B)(i)”.

(C) Section 168(k)(2)(C)(ii) is amended by striking “subparagraph (B)(iii)” and inserting “subparagraph (B)(ii)”.

(D) Section 460(c)(6)(B) is amended by striking “which” and all that follows through the period and inserting “which has a recovery period of 7 years or less.”.

(b) 100 PERCENT EXPENSING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 168(k) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking “the applicable percentage” and inserting “100 percent”, and

(B) by striking paragraphs (6) and (8).

(2) CERTAIN PLANTS.—Section 168(k)(5)(A)(i) is amended by striking “the applicable percentage” and inserting “100 percent”.

(3) TRANSITIONAL ELECTION OF REDUCED PERCENTAGE.—Section 168(k)(10) is amended by striking subparagraph (A), by redesignating subparagraph (B) as subparagraph (C), and by inserting before subparagraph (C) (as so redesignated) the following new subparagraphs:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of qualified property placed in service by the taxpayer during the first taxable year ending after January 19, 2025, if the taxpayer elects to have this paragraph apply for such taxable year, paragraph (1)(A) shall be applied—

“(i) in the case of property which is not described in clause (ii), by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘100 percent’, or

“(ii) in the case of property which is described in subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (2), by substituting ‘60 percent’ for ‘100 percent’.

“(B) SPECIFIED PLANTS.—In the case of any specified plant planted or grafted by the taxpayer during the first taxable year ending after January 19, 2025, if the taxpayer elects to have this paragraph apply for such taxable year, paragraph (5)(A)(i) shall be applied by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘100 percent’.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to property acquired after January 19, 2025.

(2) SPECIFIED PLANTS.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in the case of any specified plant (as defined in section 168(k)(5)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as amended by this section), the amendments made by this section shall apply to such plants which are planted or grafted after January 19, 2025.

(3) TRANSITIONAL ELECTION OF REDUCED PERCENTAGE.—The amendment made by subsection (b)(3) shall apply to taxable years ending after January 19, 2025.

(4) ACQUISITION DATE DETERMINATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), property shall not be treated as acquired after the date on which a written binding contract is entered into for such acquisition.

SEC. 70302. FULL EXPENSING OF DOMESTIC RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 174 the following new section:

“SEC. 174A. DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.

“(a) TREATMENT AS EXPENSES.—Notwithstanding section 263, there shall be allowed as a deduction any domestic research or experimental expenditures which are paid or incurred by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(b) DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘domestic research or experimental expenditures’ means research or experimental expenditures paid or incurred by the taxpayer in connection with the taxpayer’s trade or business other than such expenditures which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F)).”

“(c) AMORTIZATION OF CERTAIN DOMESTIC RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—At the election of the taxpayer, made in accordance with regulations or other guidance provided by the Secretary, in the case of domestic research or experimental expenditures which would (but for subsection (a)) be chargeable to capital account but not chargeable to property of a character which is subject to the allowance under section 167 (relating to allowance for depreciation, etc.) or section 611 (relating to allowance for depletion), subsection (a) shall not apply and the taxpayer shall—

“(A) charge such expenditures to capital account, and

“(B) be allowed an amortization deduction of such expenditures ratably over such period of not less than 60 months as may be selected by the taxpayer (beginning with the month in which the taxpayer first realizes benefits from such expenditures).

“(2) TIME FOR AND SCOPE OF ELECTION.—The election provided by paragraph (1) may be made for any taxable year, but only if made not later than the time prescribed by law for filing the return for such taxable year (in-

cluding extensions thereof). The method so elected, and the period selected by the taxpayer, shall be adhered to in computing taxable income for the taxable year for which the election is made and for all subsequent taxable years unless, with the approval of the Secretary, a change to a different method (or to a different period) is authorized with respect to part or all of such expenditures. The election shall not apply to any expenditure paid or incurred during any taxable year before the taxable year for which the taxpayer makes the election.

“(d) SPECIAL RULES.—

“(1) LAND AND OTHER PROPERTY.—This section shall not apply to any expenditure for the acquisition or improvement of land, or for the acquisition or improvement of property to be used in connection with the research or experimentation and of a character which is subject to the allowance under section 167 (relating to allowance for depreciation, etc.) or section 611 (relating to allowance for depletion); but for purposes of this section allowances under section 167, and allowances under section 611, shall be considered as expenditures.

“(2) EXPLORATION EXPENDITURES.—This section shall not apply to any expenditure paid or incurred for the purpose of ascertaining the existence, location, extent, or quality of any deposit of ore or other mineral (including oil and gas).

“(3) SOFTWARE DEVELOPMENT.—For purposes of this section, any amount paid or incurred in connection with the development of any software shall be treated as a research or experimental expenditure.”.

(b) COORDINATION WITH CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

(1) FOREIGN RESEARCH EXPENSES.—Section 174 is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) by striking “a taxpayer’s specified research or experimental expenditures” and inserting “a taxpayer’s foreign research or experimental expenditures”, and

(ii) by striking “over the 5-year period (15-year period in the case of any specified research or experimental expenditures which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F)))” in paragraph (2)(B) and inserting “over the 15-year period”.

(B) in subsection (b)—

(i) by striking “specified research” and inserting “foreign research”,

(ii) by inserting “and which are attributable to foreign research (within the meaning of section 41(d)(4)(F))” before the period at the end, and

(iii) by striking “SPECIFIED” in the heading thereof and inserting “FOREIGN”, and

(C) in subsection (d)—

(i) by striking “specified research or experimental expenditures” and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures”, and

(ii) by inserting “or reduction to amount realized” after “no deduction”.

(2) RESEARCH CREDIT.—

(A) Section 41(d)(1)(A) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) with respect to which expenditures are treated as domestic research or experimental expenditures under section 174A.”.

(B) Section 280C(c)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The domestic research or experimental expenditures otherwise taken into account under section 174A shall be reduced by the amount of the credit allowed under section 41(a).”.

(3) AMT ADJUSTMENT.—Section 56(b)(2) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “or 174(a)” in the matter preceding clause (i) and inserting “, 174(a), or 174A(a)”, and

(ii) by striking “research and experimental expenditures described in section 174(a)” in clause (ii) thereof and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures described in section 174(a) and domestic research or experimental expenditures in section 174A(a)”, and

(B) in subparagraph (C), by inserting “or 174A(a)” after “174(a)”.

(4) **OPTIONAL 10-YEAR WRITEOFF.**—Section 59(e)(2)(B) is amended by striking “section 174(a) (relating to research and experimental expenditures)” and inserting “section 174A(a) (relating to domestic research or experimental expenditures)”.

(5) **QUALIFIED SMALL ISSUE BONDS.**—Section 144(a)(4)(C)(iv) is amended by striking “174(a)” and inserting “174A(a)”.

(6) **START-UP EXPENDITURES.**—Section 195(c)(1) is amended by striking “or 174” in the last sentence and inserting “174, or 174A”.

(7) **CAPITAL EXPENDITURES.**—

(A) Section 263(a)(1)(B) is amended by inserting “or 174A” after “174”.

(B) Section 263A(c)(2) is amended by inserting “or 174A” after “174”.

(8) **ACTIVE BUSINESS COMPUTER SOFTWARE ROYALTIES.**—Section 543(d)(4)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “174A,” after “174”.

(9) **SOURCE RULES.**—Section 864(g)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking “research and experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174” in the first sentence and inserting “foreign research or experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174 or domestic research or experimental expenditures within the meaning of section 174A”, and

(B) in the last sentence—

(i) by striking “treated as deferred expenses under subsection (b) of section 174” and inserting “allowed as an amortization deduction under section 174(a) or section 174A(c)”, and

(ii) by striking “such subsection” and inserting “such section (as the case may be)”.

(10) **BASIS ADJUSTMENT.**—Section 1016(a)(14) is amended by striking “deductions as deferred expenses under section 174(b)(1) (relating to research and experimental expenditures)” and inserting “deductions under section 174 or 174A(c)”.

(11) **SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.**—Section 1202(e)(2)(B) is amended by striking “which may be treated as research and experimental expenditures under section 174” and inserting “which are treated as foreign research or experimental expenditures under section 174 or domestic research or experimental expenditures under section 174A”.

(c) **CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall be treated as a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and—

(A) such change shall be treated as initiated by the taxpayer,

(B) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(C) such change shall be applied only on a cut-off basis for any domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A(b) of such Code (as added by this section) and determined by applying the rules of section 174A(d) of such Code) paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and no adjustments under section 481(a) shall be made.

(2) **SPECIAL RULES.**—In the case of a taxable year which begins after December 31, 2024, and ends before the date of the enactment of this Act—

(A) paragraph (1)(C) shall not apply, and

(B) the change in method of accounting under paragraph (1) shall be applied on a modified cut-off basis, taking into account for purposes of section 481(a) of such Code only the domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A(b) of such Code (as added by this section) and determined by applying the rules of section 174A(d) of such Code) paid or incurred in such taxable year but not allowed as a deduction in such taxable year.

(d) **CLERICAL AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 174 the following new item:

“Sec. 174A. Domestic research or experimental expenditures.”.

(e) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection or subsection (f)(1), the amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(2) **TREATMENT OF FOREIGN RESEARCH OR EXPERIMENTAL EXPENDITURES UPON DISPOSITION.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The amendment by subsection (b)(1)(C)(ii) shall apply to property disposed, retired, or abandoned after May 12, 2025.

(B) **NO INFERENCE.**—The amendment made by subsection (b)(1)(C)(ii) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of section 174(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before May 13, 2025.

(3) **COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT.**—The amendment made by subsection (b)(2)(B) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(4) **NO INFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT FOR PRIOR PERIODS.**—The amendment made by subsection (b)(2)(B) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of section 280C(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before January 1, 2025.

(f) **TRANSITION RULES.**—

(1) **ELECTION FOR RETROACTIVE APPLICATION BY CERTAIN SMALL BUSINESSES.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—At the election of an eligible taxpayer, paragraphs (1) and (3) of subsection (e) shall each be applied by substituting “December 31, 2021” for “December 31, 2024”. An election made under this subparagraph shall be made in such manner as the Secretary may provide and not later than the date that is 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act. The taxpayer shall file an amended return for each taxable year affected by such election.

(B) **ELIGIBLE TAXPAYER.**—For purposes of this paragraph, the term “eligible taxpayer” means any taxpayer (other than a tax shelter prohibited from using the cash receipts and disbursements method of accounting under section 448(a)(3)) which meets the gross receipts test of section 448(c) for the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024.

(C) **ELECTION TREATED AS CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.**—In the case of any taxpayer which elects the application of subparagraph (A)—

(i) such election may be treated as a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of such Code for the taxpayer’s first taxable year affected by such election,

(ii) such change shall be treated as initiated by the taxpayer for such taxable year,

(iii) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(iv) subsection (c) shall not apply to such taxpayer.

(D) **ELECTION REGARDING COORDINATION WITH RESEARCH CREDIT.**—An election under section 280C(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (or revocation of such election) for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2021, by an eligible taxpayer making an election under subparagraph (A) shall not fail to be treated as timely made (or as made on the return) if made during the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act on an amended return for such taxable year.

(2) **ELECTION TO DEDUCT CERTAIN UNAMORTIZED AMOUNTS PAID OR INCURRED IN TAXABLE YEARS BEGINNING BEFORE JANUARY 1, 2025.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—In the case of any domestic research or experimental expenditures (as defined in section 174A, as added by subsection (a)) which are paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2021, and before January 1, 2025, and which was charged to capital account, a taxpayer may elect—

(i) to deduct any remaining unamortized amount with respect to such expenditures in the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024, or

(ii) to deduct such remaining unamortized amount with respect to such expenditures ratably over the 2-taxable year period beginning with the first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024.

(B) **CHANGE IN METHOD OF ACCOUNTING.**—In the case of a taxpayer who makes an election under this paragraph—

(i) such taxpayer shall be treated as initiating a change in method of accounting for purposes of section 481 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the expenditures to which the election applies,

(ii) such change shall be treated as made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(iii) such change shall be applied only on a cut-off basis for such expenditures and no adjustments under section 481(a) shall be made.

(C) **REGULATIONS.**—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall publish such guidance or regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this paragraph, including regulations or guidance allowing for the deduction allowed under subparagraph (A) in the case of taxpayers with taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024, and ending before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70303. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION ON BUSINESS INTEREST.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 163(j)(8)(A)(v) is amended by striking “in the case of taxable years beginning before January 1, 2022.”.

(b) **FLOOR PLAN FINANCING APPLICABLE TO CERTAIN TRAILERS AND CAMPERS.**—Section 163(j)(9)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new flush sentence:

“Such term shall also include any trailer or camper which is designed to provide temporary living quarters for recreational, camping, or seasonal use and is designed to be towed by, or affixed to, a motor vehicle.”.

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE AND SPECIAL RULE.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

(2) **SPECIAL RULE FOR SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.**—The Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) may prescribe such rules as are necessary or appropriate to provide for the application of the amendments made by this section in the case of any taxable year of less than 12 months that begins after December 31, 2024, and ends before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70304. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF PAID FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE CREDIT.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 45S is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking paragraph (1) and inserting the following:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 38, in the case of an eligible employer, the paid family and medical leave credit is an amount equal to either of the following (as elected by such employer):

“(A) The applicable percentage of the amount of wages paid to qualifying employees with respect to any period in which such employees are on family and medical leave.

“(B) If such employer has an insurance policy with regards to the provision of paid family and medical leave which is in force during the taxable year, the applicable percentage of the total amount of premiums paid or incurred by such employer during such taxable year with respect to such insurance policy.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) RATE OF PAYMENT DETERMINED WITHOUT REGARD TO WHETHER LEAVE IS TAKEN.—For purposes of determining the applicable percentage with respect to paragraph (1)(B), the rate of payment under the insurance policy shall be determined without regard to whether any qualifying employees were on family and medical leave during the taxable year.”,

(2) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “credit allowed” and inserting “wages taken into account”,

(3) in subsection (c), by striking paragraphs (3) and (4) and inserting the following:

“(3) AGGREGATION RULE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), all persons which are treated as a single employer under subsections (b) and (c) of section 414 shall be treated as a single employer.

“(B) EXCEPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to any person who establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that such person has a substantial and legitimate business reason for failing to provide a written policy described in paragraph (1) or (2).

“(ii) SUBSTANTIAL AND LEGITIMATE BUSINESS REASON.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘substantial and legitimate business reason’ shall not include the operation of a separate line of business, the rate of wages or category of jobs for employees (or any similar basis), or the application of State or local laws relating to family and medical leave, but may include the grouping of employees of a common law employer.

“(4) TREATMENT OF BENEFITS MANDATED OR PAID FOR BY STATE OR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.—For purposes of this section, any leave which is paid by a State or local government or required by State or local law—

“(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), shall be taken into account in determining the amount of paid family and medical leave provided by the employer, and

“(B) shall not be taken into account in determining the amount of the paid family and medical leave credit under subsection (a).”,

(4) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, at the election of the employer, for not less than 6 months)” after “1 year or more”,

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) by inserting “, as determined on an annualized basis (pro-rata for part-time employees),” after “compensation”, and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(3) is customarily employed for not less than 20 hours per week.”, and

(5) by striking subsection (i).

(b) NO DOUBLE BENEFIT.—Section 280C(a) is amended—

(1) by striking “45S(a)” and inserting “45S(a)(1)(A)”, and

(2) by inserting after the first sentence the following: “No deduction shall be allowed for that portion of the premiums paid or incurred for the taxable year which is equal to that portion of the paid family and medical leave credit which is determined for the taxable year under section 45S(a)(1)(B).”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70305. EXCEPTIONS FROM LIMITATIONS ON DEDUCTION FOR BUSINESS MEALS.

(a) EXCEPTION TO DENIAL OF DEDUCTION FOR BUSINESS MEALS.—Section 274(o), as added by section 13304 of Public Law 115-97, is amended by striking “No deduction” and inserting “Except in the case of an expense described in subsection (e)(8) or (n)(2)(C), no deduction”.

(b) MEALS PROVIDED ON CERTAIN FISHING BOATS AND AT CERTAIN FISH PROCESSING FACILITIES NOT SUBJECT TO 50 PERCENT LIMITATION.—Section 274(n)(2)(C) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (iii) and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(v) provided—

“(I) on a fishing vessel, fish processing vessel, or fish tender vessel (as such terms are defined in section 2101 of title 46, United States Code), or

“(II) at a facility for the processing of fish for commercial use or consumption which—

“(aa) is located in the United States north of 50 degrees north latitude, and

“(bb) is not located in a metropolitan statistical area (within the meaning of section 143(k)(2)(B)), or”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70306. INCREASED DOLLAR LIMITATIONS FOR EXPENSING OF CERTAIN DEPRECIABLE BUSINESS ASSETS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 179(b) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “\$1,000,000” and inserting “\$2,500,000”, and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$2,500,000” and inserting “\$4,000,000”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 179(b)(6)(A) is amended—

(1) by inserting “(2025 in the case of the dollar amounts in paragraphs (1) and (2))” after “In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2018”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.” and inserting “determined by substituting in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof—

“(I) in the case of amounts in paragraphs (1) and (2), ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’, and

“(II) in the case of the amount in paragraph (5)(A), ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70307. SPECIAL DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCE FOR QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 168 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(n) SPECIAL ALLOWANCE FOR QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any qualified production property of a taxpayer making an election under this subsection—

“(A) the depreciation deduction provided by section 167(a) for the taxable year in which such property is placed in service shall include an allowance equal to 100 percent of the adjusted basis of the qualified production property, and

“(B) the adjusted basis of the qualified production property shall be reduced by the amount of such deduction before computing the amount otherwise allowable as a depreciation deduction under this chapter for such taxable year and any subsequent taxable year.

“(2) QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified production property’ means that portion of any nonresidential real property—

“(i) to which this section applies,

“(ii) which is used by the taxpayer as an integral part of a qualified production activity,

“(iii) which is placed in service in the United States or any possession of the United States,

“(iv) the original use of which commences with the taxpayer,

“(v) the construction of which begins after January 19, 2025, and before January 1, 2029,

“(vi) which is designated by the taxpayer in the election made under this subsection, and

“(vii) which is placed in service before January 1, 2031.

For purposes of clause (ii), in the case of property with respect to which the taxpayer is a lessor, property used by a lessee shall not be considered to be used by the taxpayer as part of a qualified production activity.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN PROPERTY NOT PREVIOUSLY USED IN QUALIFIED PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of property acquired by the taxpayer during the period described in subparagraph (A)(v), the requirements of clauses (iv) and (v) of subparagraph (A) shall be treated as satisfied if—

“(I) such property was not used in a qualified production activity (determined without regard to the second sentence of subparagraph (D)) by any person at any time during the period beginning on January 1, 2021, and ending on May 12, 2025,

“(II) such property was not used by the taxpayer at any time prior to such acquisition, and

“(III) the acquisition of such property meets the requirements of paragraphs (2)(A), (2)(B), (2)(C), and (3) of section 179(d).

“(ii) WRITTEN BINDING CONTRACTS.—For purposes of determining under clause (i)—

“(I) whether such property is acquired before the period described in subparagraph (A)(v), such property shall be treated as acquired not later than the date on which the taxpayer enters into a written binding contract for such acquisition, and

“(II) whether such property is acquired after such period, such property shall be treated as acquired not earlier than such date.

“(C) EXCLUSION OF OFFICE SPACE, ETC.—The term ‘qualified production property’ shall not include that portion of any nonresidential real property which is used for offices, administrative services, lodging, parking, sales activities, research activities, software development or engineering activities, or other functions unrelated to the manufacturing, production, or refining of tangible personal property.

“(D) QUALIFIED PRODUCTION ACTIVITY.—The term ‘qualified production activity’ means the manufacturing, production, or refining of a qualified product. The activities of any taxpayer do not constitute manufacturing, production, or refining of a qualified product unless the activities of such taxpayer result in a substantial transformation of the property comprising the product.

“(E) PRODUCTION.—The term ‘production’ shall not include activities other than agricultural production and chemical production.

“(F) QUALIFIED PRODUCT.—The term ‘qualified product’ means any tangible personal property if such property is not a food or beverage prepared in the same building as a retail establishment in which such property is sold.

“(G) SYNDICATION.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(iv), rules similar to the rules of subsection (k)(2)(E)(iii) shall apply.

“(H) EXTENSION OF PLACED IN SERVICE DATE UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.—The Secretary may extend the date under subparagraph (A)(vii) with respect to any property that meets the requirements of clauses (i) through (vi) of subparagraph (A) if the Secretary determines that an act of God (as defined in section 101(1) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980) prevents the taxpayer from placing such property in service before such date.

“(3) DEDUCTION ALLOWED IN COMPUTING MINIMUM TAX.—For purposes of determining alternative minimum taxable income under section 55, the deduction under section 167 for qualified production property shall be determined under this section without regard to any adjustment under section 56.

“(4) COORDINATION WITH CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

“(A) OTHER SPECIAL DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES.—For purposes of subsections (k)(7), (l)(3)(D), and (m)(2)(B)(iii)—

“(i) qualified production property shall be treated as a separate class of property, and

“(ii) the taxpayer shall be treated as having made an election under such subsections with respect to such class.

“(B) ALTERNATIVE DEPRECIATION PROPERTY.—The term ‘qualified production property’ shall include any property to which the alternative depreciation system under subsection (g) applies. For purposes of subsection (g)(7)(A), qualified production property to which this subsection applies shall be treated as separate nonresidential real property.

“(5) RECAPTURE.—If, at any time during the 10-year period beginning on the date that any qualified production property is placed in service by the taxpayer, such property ceases to be used as described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii) and is used by the taxpayer in a productive use not described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii)—

“(A) section 1245 shall be applied—

“(i) by treating such property as having been disposed of by the taxpayer as of the first time such property is so used in a productive use not described in paragraph (2)(A)(ii), and

“(ii) by treating the amount described in subparagraph (B) of section 1245(a)(1) with respect to such disposition as being not less than the amount described in subparagraph (A) of such section, and

“(B) the basis of the taxpayer in such property, and the taxpayer’s allowance for depreciation with respect to such property, shall be appropriately adjusted to take into account amounts recognized by reason of subparagraph (A).

“(6) ELECTION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—An election under this subsection for any taxable year shall—

“(i) specify the nonresidential real property subject to the election and the portion of such property designated under paragraph (2)(A)(vi), and

“(ii) except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, be made on the taxpayer’s return of the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year.

Such election shall be made in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe by regulations or other guidance.

“(B) ELECTION.—Any election made under this subsection, and any specification con-

tained in any such election, may not be revoked except with the consent of the Secretary (and the Secretary shall provide such consent only in extraordinary circumstances).

“(7) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance—

“(A) providing rules for regarding what constitutes substantial transformation of property which are consistent with guidance provided under section 954(d), and

“(B) providing for the application of paragraph (5) with respect to a change in use described in such paragraph by a transferee following a fully or partially tax free transfer of qualified production property.”

(b) TREATMENT OF QUALIFIED PRODUCTION PROPERTY AS SECTION 1245 PROPERTY.—Section 1245(a)(3) is amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (F) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(G) any qualified production property (as defined in section 168(n)(2)).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70308. ENHANCEMENT OF ADVANCED MANUFACTURING INVESTMENT CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 48D(a) is amended by striking “25 percent” and inserting “35 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to property placed in service after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70309. SPACEPORTS ARE TREATED LIKE AIRPORTS UNDER EXEMPT FACILITY BOND RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 142(a)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) airports and spaceports.”

(b) TREATMENT OF GROUND LEASES.—Section 142(b)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR SPACEPORT GROUND LEASES.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), spaceport property located on land leased by a governmental unit from the United States shall not fail to be treated as owned by a governmental unit if the requirements of this paragraph are met by the lease and any subleases of the property.”

(c) DEFINITION OF SPACEPORT.—Section 142 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(d) SPACEPORT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(1), the term ‘spaceport’ means any facility located at or in close proximity to a launch site or reentry site used for—

“(A) manufacturing, assembling, or repairing spacecraft, space cargo, other facilities described in this paragraph, or any component of the foregoing,

“(B) flight control operations,

“(C) providing launch services and reentry services, or

“(D) transferring crew, spaceflight participants, or space cargo to or from spacecraft.

“(2) ADDITIONAL TERMS.—For purposes of paragraph (1)—

“(A) SPACE CARGO.—The term ‘space cargo’ includes satellites, scientific experiments, other property transported into space, and any other type of payload, whether or not such property returns from space.

“(B) SPACECRAFT.—The term ‘spacecraft’ means a launch vehicle or a reentry vehicle.

“(C) OTHER TERMS.—The terms ‘launch site’, ‘crew’, ‘space flight participant’, ‘launch services’, ‘launch vehicle’, ‘payload’, ‘reentry services’, ‘reentry site’, a ‘reentry vehicle’ shall have the respective meanings

given to such terms by section 50902 of title 51, United States Code (as in effect on the date of enactment of this subsection).

“(3) PUBLIC USE REQUIREMENT.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, a facility shall not be required to be available for use by the general public to be treated as a spaceport for purposes of this section.

“(4) MANUFACTURING FACILITIES AND INDUSTRIAL PARKS ALLOWED.—With respect to spaceports, subsection (c)(2)(E) shall not apply to spaceport property described in paragraph (1)(A).”

(d) EXCEPTION FROM FEDERALLY GUARANTEED BOND PROHIBITION.—Section 149(b)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) EXCEPTION FOR SPACEPORTS.—A bond shall not be treated as federally guaranteed merely because of the payment of rent, user fees, or other charges by the United States (or any agency or instrumentality thereof) in exchange for the use of the spaceport by the United States (or any agency or instrumentality thereof).”

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The heading for section 142(c) is amended by inserting “SPACEPORTS,” after “AIRPORTS.”

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to obligations issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Subchapter B—Permanent America-first International Tax Reforms

PART I—FOREIGN TAX CREDIT

SEC. 70311. MODIFICATIONS RELATED TO FOREIGN TAX CREDIT LIMITATION.

(a) RULES FOR ALLOCATION OF CERTAIN DEDUCTIONS TO FOREIGN SOURCE NET CFC TESTED INCOME FOR PURPOSES OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT LIMITATION.—Section 904(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) DEDUCTIONS TREATED AS ALLOCABLE TO FOREIGN SOURCE NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—Solely for purposes of the application of subsection (a) with respect to amounts described in subsection (d)(1)(A), the taxpayer’s taxable income from sources without the United States shall be determined by allocating and apportioning—

“(A) any deduction allowed under section 250(a)(1)(B) (and any deduction allowed under section 164(a)(3) for taxes imposed on amounts described in section 250(a)(1)(B)) to such income,

“(B) no amount of interest expense or research and experimental expenditures to such income, and

“(C) any other deduction to such income only if such deduction is directly allocable to such income.

Any amount or deduction which would (but for subparagraphs (B) and (C)) have been allocated or apportioned to such income shall only be allocated or apportioned to income which is from sources within the United States.”

(b) OTHER MODIFICATIONS.—

(1) Section 904(d)(2)(H)(i) is amended by striking “paragraph (1)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(D)”.

(2) Section 904(d)(4)(C)(ii) is amended by striking “paragraph (1)(A)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(C)”.

(3) Section 951A(f)(1)(A) is amended by striking “904(h)(1)” and inserting “904(h)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70312. MODIFICATIONS TO DETERMINATION OF DEEMED PAID CREDIT FOR TAXES PROPERLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO TESTED INCOME.

(a) INCREASE IN DEEMED PAID CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 960(d)(1) is amended by striking “80 percent” and inserting “90 percent”.

(2) GROSS UP FOR DEEMED PAID FOREIGN TAX CREDIT.—Section 78 is amended—

(A) by striking “subsections (a), (b), and (d)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (d)”, and

(B) by striking “80 percent” and inserting “90 percent”.

(b) DISALLOWANCE OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUSLY TAXED NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—Section 960(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) DISALLOWANCE OF FOREIGN TAX CREDIT WITH RESPECT TO DISTRIBUTIONS OF PREVIOUSLY TAXED NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—No credit shall be allowed under section 901 for 10 percent of any foreign income taxes paid or accrued (or deemed paid under subsection (b)(1)) with respect to any amount excluded from gross income under section 959(a) by reason of an inclusion in gross income under section 951A(a).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(2) DISALLOWANCE.—The amendment made by subsection (b) shall apply to amounts distributed after June 28, 2025.

SEC. 70313. SOURCING CERTAIN INCOME FROM THE SALE OF INVENTORY PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 904(b), as amended by section 70311, is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) SOURCE RULES FOR CERTAIN INVENTORY PRODUCED IN THE UNITED STATES AND SOLD THROUGH FOREIGN BRANCHES.—For purposes of this section, if a United States person maintains an office or other fixed place of business in a foreign country (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 864(c)(5)), the portion of income which—

“(A) is from the sale or exchange outside the United States of inventory property (within the meaning of section 865(i)(1))—

“(i) which is produced in the United States,

“(ii) which is for use outside the United States, and

“(iii) to which the third sentence of section 863(b) applies, and

“(B) is attributable (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 864(c)(5)) to such office or other fixed place of business, shall be treated as from sources without the United States, except that the amount so treated shall not exceed 50 percent of the income from the sale or exchange of such inventory property.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART II—FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME

SEC. 70321. MODIFICATION OF DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(a) is amended—

(1) by striking “37.5 percent” in paragraph (1)(A) and inserting “33.34 percent”,

(2) by striking “50 percent” in paragraph (1)(B) and inserting “40 percent”, and

(3) by striking paragraph (3).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70322. DETERMINATION OF DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME.

(a) SALES OR OTHER DISPOSITIONS OF CERTAIN PROPERTY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(b)(3)(A)(i) is amended—

(A) by striking “and” at the end of subsection (V),

(B) by striking “over” at the end of subsection (VI) and inserting “and”, and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(VII) except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, any income and gain from the sale or other disposition (including pursuant to a transaction subject to section 367(d)) of—

“(aa) intangible property (as defined in section 367(d)(4)), and

“(bb) any other property of a type that is subject to depreciation, amortization, or depletion by the seller, over”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 250(b)(5)(E) is amended by inserting “(other than paragraph (3)(A)(i)(VII))” after “For purposes of this subsection”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to sales or other dispositions (including pursuant to a transaction subject to section 367(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) occurring after June 16, 2025.

(b) EXPENSE APPORTIONMENT LIMITED TO PROPERLY ALLOCABLE EXPENSES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(b)(3)(A)(ii) is amended to read as follows:

“(ii) expenses and deductions (including taxes), other than interest expense and research or experimental expenditures, properly allocable to such gross income.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70323. RULES RELATED TO DEEMED INTANGIBLE INCOME.

(a) TAXATION OF NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 951A(a) is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(2) REPEAL OF TAX-FREE DEEMED RETURN ON FOREIGN INVESTMENTS.—Section 951A, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by striking subsections (b) and (d) and by redesignating subsections (c), (e), and (f) as subsections (b), (c), and (d), respectively.

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A)(i) Section 250 is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” each place it appears in subsections (a)(1)(B)(i), (a)(2), and (b)(3)(A)(i)(II) and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(ii) The heading for section 250 of such Code is amended by striking “GLOBAL INTANGIBLE LOW-TAXED INCOME” and inserting “NET CFC TESTED INCOME”.

(iii) The item relating to section 250 in the table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “net CFC tested income”.

(B) Section 951A(c)(1), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended by striking “subsections (b), (c)(1)(A), and (c)(1)(B)” and inserting “subsections (b)(1)(A) and (b)(1)(B)”.

(C) Section 951A(d), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended—

(i) by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” each place it appears and inserting “net CFC tested income”, and

(ii) by striking “subsection (c)(1)(A)” in paragraph (2)(B)(ii) and inserting “subsection (b)(1)(A)”.

(D) Section 960(d)(2) is amended—

(i) by striking “global intangible low-taxed income” in subparagraph (A) and inserting “net CFC tested income”, and

(ii) by striking “section 951A(c)(1)(A)” in subparagraph (B) and inserting “section 951A(b)(1)(A)”.

(E)(i) The heading for section 951A is amended by striking “GLOBAL INTANGIBLE

LOW-TAXED INCOME” and inserting “NET CFC TESTED INCOME”.

(ii) The item relating to section 951A in the table of sections for subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by striking “Global intangible low-taxed income” and inserting “Net CFC tested income”.

(b) DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 250(a)(1)(A) is amended by striking “foreign-derived intangible income” and inserting “foreign-derived deduction eligible income”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 250(a)(2) is amended by striking “foreign-derived intangible income” each place it appears and inserting “foreign-derived deduction eligible income”.

(B) Section 250(b), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(i) by striking paragraphs (1) and (2),

(ii) by redesignating paragraphs (4) and (5) as paragraphs (1) and (2), respectively, and by moving such paragraphs before paragraph (3),

(iii) in paragraph (2)(B)(ii), as so redesignated, by striking “paragraph (4)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(B)”, and

(iv) by striking “INTANGIBLE” in the heading thereof and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(C)(i) The heading for section 250 is amended by striking “INTANGIBLE” in the heading thereof and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(ii) The heading for section 172(d)(9) is amended by striking “INTANGIBLE” and inserting “DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE”.

(iii) The item relating to section 250 in the table of sections for part VIII of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking “intangible” and inserting “deduction eligible”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART III—BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX

SEC. 70331. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF BASE EROSION MINIMUM TAX AMOUNT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 59A(b) is amended—

(1) by striking “10 percent” in paragraph (1) and inserting “10.5 percent”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (2) and by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (2) and (3), respectively.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 59A(b)(1) is amended by striking “Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3)” and inserting “Except as provided in paragraph (2)”.

(2) Section 59A(b)(2), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2), is amended by striking “the percentage otherwise in effect under paragraphs (1)(A) and (2)(A) shall each be increased” and inserting “the percentages otherwise in effect under paragraph (1)(A) shall be increased”.

(3) Section 59A(e)(1)(C) is amended by striking “in the case of a taxpayer described in subsection (b)(3)(B)” and inserting “in the case of a taxpayer described in subsection (b)(2)(B)”.

(c) OTHER MODIFICATIONS.—

(1) Section 59A(b)(2)(B)(ii), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2), is amended by striking “registered securities dealer” and inserting “securities dealer registered”.

(2) Section 59A(h)(2)(B) is amended by striking “section 6038B(b)(2)” and inserting “section 6038A(b)(2)”.

(3) Section 59A(i)(2) is amended—

(A) by striking “subsection (g)” and inserting “subsection (h)”, and

(B) by striking “subsection (g)(3)” and inserting “subsection (h)(3)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART IV—BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION

SEC. 70341. COORDINATION OF BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION WITH INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 163(j) is amended by redesignating paragraphs (10) and (11) as paragraphs (11) and (12) and by inserting after paragraph (9) the following:

“(10) COORDINATION WITH INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In applying this subsection—

“(i) the limitation under paragraph (1) shall apply to business interest without regard to whether the taxpayer would otherwise deduct such business interest or capitalize such business interest under an interest capitalization provision, and

“(ii) any reference in this subsection to a deduction for business interest shall be treated as including a reference to the capitalization of business interest.

“(B) AMOUNT ALLOWED APPLIED FIRST TO CAPITALIZED INTEREST.—The amount allowed after taking into account the limitation described in paragraph (1)—

“(i) shall be applied first to the aggregate amount of business interest which would otherwise be capitalized, and

“(ii) the remainder (if any) shall be applied to the aggregate amount of business interest which would be deducted.

“(C) TREATMENT OF DISALLOWED INTEREST CARRIED FORWARD.—No portion of any business interest carried forward under paragraph (2) from any taxable year to any succeeding taxable year shall, for purposes of this title (including any interest capitalization provision which previously applied to such portion) be treated as interest to which an interest capitalization provision applies.

“(D) INTEREST CAPITALIZATION PROVISION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘interest capitalization provision’ means any provision of this subtitle under which interest—

“(i) is required to be charged to capital account, or

“(ii) may be deducted or charged to capital account.”.

(b) CERTAIN CAPITALIZED INTEREST NOT TREATED AS BUSINESS INTEREST.—Section 163(j)(5) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: “Such term shall not include any interest which is capitalized under section 263(g) or 263A(f).”.

(c) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—Section 163(j), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by redesignating paragraphs (11) and (12) as paragraphs (12) and (13) and by inserting after paragraph (10) the following:

“(11) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or guidance to determine which business interest is taken into account under this subsection and section 59A(c)(3).”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70342. DEFINITION OF ADJUSTED TAXABLE INCOME FOR BUSINESS INTEREST LIMITATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 163(j)(8) is amended—

(1) by striking “and” at the end of clause (iv), and

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

“(vi) the amounts included in gross income under sections 951(a), 951A(a), and 78 (and the portion of the deductions allowed under sec-

tions 245A(a) (by reason of section 964(e)(4)) and 250(a)(1)(B) by reason of such inclusions), and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

PART V—OTHER INTERNATIONAL TAX REFORMS

SEC. 70351. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF LOOK-THRU RULE FOR RELATED CONTROLLED FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 954(c)(6)(C) is amended by striking “and before January 1, 2026.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70352. REPEAL OF ELECTION FOR 1-MONTH DEFERRAL IN DETERMINATION OF TAXABLE YEAR OF SPECIFIED FOREIGN CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 898(c) is amended by striking paragraph (2) and redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (2).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of specified foreign corporations beginning after November 30, 2025.

(c) TRANSITION RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a corporation that is a specified foreign corporation as of November 30, 2025, such corporation’s first taxable year beginning after such date shall end at the same time as the first required year (within the meaning of section 898(c)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) ending after such date. If any specified foreign corporation is required by the amendments made by this section to change its taxable year for its first taxable year beginning after November 30, 2025—

(A) such change shall be treated as initiated by such corporation,

(B) such change shall be treated as having been made with the consent of the Secretary, and

(C) the Secretary shall issue regulations or other guidance for allocating foreign taxes that are paid or accrued in such first taxable year and the succeeding taxable year among such taxable years in the manner the Secretary determines appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section.

(2) SECRETARY.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary’s delegate.

SEC. 70353. RESTORATION OF LIMITATION ON DOWNWARD ATTRIBUTION OF STOCK OWNERSHIP IN APPLYING CONSTRUCTIVE OWNERSHIP RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 958(b) is amended—

(1) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following:

“(4) Subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of section 318(a)(3) shall not be applied so as to consider a United States person as owning stock which is owned by a person who is not a United States person.”, and

(2) by striking “Paragraph (1)” in the last sentence and inserting “Paragraphs (1) and (4)”.

(b) FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDERS.—Subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 951A the following new section:

“SEC. 951B. AMOUNTS INCLUDED IN GROSS INCOME OF FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDERS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any foreign controlled United States shareholder of a foreign controlled foreign corporation—

“(1) this subpart (other than sections 951A, 951(b), and 957) shall be applied with respect to such shareholder (separately from, and in

addition to, the application of this subpart without regard to this section)—

“(A) by substituting ‘foreign controlled United States shareholder’ for ‘United States shareholder’ each place it appears therein, and

“(B) by substituting ‘foreign controlled foreign corporation’ for ‘controlled foreign corporation’ each place it appears therein, and

“(2) section 951A (and such other provisions of this subpart as provided by the Secretary) shall be applied with respect to such shareholder—

“(A) by treating each reference to ‘United States shareholder’ in such section as including a reference to such shareholder, and

“(B) by treating each reference to ‘controlled foreign corporation’ in such section as including a reference to such foreign controlled foreign corporation.

“(b) FOREIGN CONTROLLED UNITED STATES SHAREHOLDER.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘foreign controlled United States shareholder’ means, with respect to any foreign corporation, any United States person which would be a United States shareholder with respect to such foreign corporation if—

“(1) section 951(b) were applied by substituting ‘more than 50 percent’ for ‘10 percent or more’, and

“(2) section 958(b) were applied without regard to paragraph (4) thereof.

“(c) FOREIGN CONTROLLED FOREIGN CORPORATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘foreign controlled foreign corporation’ means a foreign corporation, other than a controlled foreign corporation, which would be a controlled foreign corporation if section 957(a) were applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘foreign controlled United States shareholders’ for ‘United States shareholders’, and

“(2) by substituting ‘section 958(b) (other than paragraph (4) thereof)’ for ‘section 958(b)’.

“(d) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance—

“(1) to treat a foreign controlled United States shareholder or a foreign controlled foreign corporation as a United States shareholder or as a controlled foreign corporation, respectively, for purposes of provisions of this title other than this subpart (including any reporting requirement), and

“(2) with respect to the treatment of foreign controlled foreign corporations that are passive foreign investment companies (as defined in section 1297).”.

(c) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for subpart F of part III of subchapter N of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 951A the following new item:

“Sec. 951B. Amounts included in gross income of foreign controlled United States shareholders.”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

(e) SPECIAL RULE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except to the extent provided by the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate), the effective date of any amendment to the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied by treating references to United States shareholders as references to foreign controlled United States shareholders, and by treating references to controlled foreign corporations as references to foreign controlled foreign corporations.

(2) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in paragraph (1) which is used in subpart F of part

III of subchapter N of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as amended by this section) shall have the meaning given such term in such subpart.

(f) NO INFERENCE.—The amendments made by this section shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of any provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxable years beginning before the taxable years to which such amendments apply.

SEC. 70354. MODIFICATIONS TO PRO RATA SHARE RULES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 951 is amended to read as follows:

“(a) AMOUNTS INCLUDED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If a foreign corporation is a controlled foreign corporation at any time during a taxable year of the foreign corporation (in this subsection referred to as the ‘CFC year’)—

“(A) each United States shareholder which owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in such corporation on any day during the CFC year shall include in gross income such shareholder’s pro rata share (determined under paragraph (2)) of the corporation’s subpart F income for the CFC year, and

“(B) each United States shareholder which owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in such corporation on the last day, in the CFC year, on which such corporation is a controlled foreign corporation shall include in gross income the amount determined under section 956 with respect to such shareholder for the CFC year (but only to the extent not excluded from gross income under section 959(a)(2)).

“(2) PRO RATA SHARE OF SUBPART F INCOME.—A United States shareholder’s pro rata share of a controlled foreign corporation’s subpart F income for a CFC year shall be the portion of such income which is attributable to—

“(A) the stock of such corporation owned (within the meaning of section 958(a)) by such shareholder, and

“(B) any period of the CFC year during which—

“(i) such shareholder owned (within the meaning of section 958(a)) such stock,

“(ii) such shareholder was a United States shareholder of such corporation, and

“(iii) such corporation was a controlled foreign corporation.

“(3) TAXABLE YEAR OF INCLUSION.—Any amount required to be included in gross income by a United States shareholder under paragraph (1) with respect to a CFC year shall be included in gross income for the shareholder’s taxable year which includes the last day on which the shareholder owns (within the meaning of section 958(a)) stock in the controlled foreign corporation during such CFC year.

“(4) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance allowing taxpayers to elect, or requiring taxpayers, to close the taxable year of a controlled foreign corporation upon a direct or indirect disposition of stock of such corporation.”

(b) COORDINATION WITH SECTION 951A.—Section 951A(c), as redesignated by section 70323(a)(2), is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “in which or with which the taxable year of the controlled foreign corporation ends” and inserting “determined under section 951(a)(3)”, and

(2) in paragraph (2), by striking “the last day in the taxable year of such foreign corporation on which such foreign corporation is a controlled foreign corporation” and inserting “any day in such taxable year”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years of foreign corporations beginning after December 31, 2025.

(2) TRANSITION RULE FOR DIVIDENDS.—A dividend paid (or deemed paid) by a controlled foreign corporation shall not be treated as a dividend for purposes of applying section 951(a)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as in effect before the amendments made by this section) if—

(A) such dividend—

(i) was paid (or deemed paid) on or before June 28, 2025, during the taxable year of such controlled foreign corporation which includes such date and the United States shareholder described in section 951(a)(1) of such Code (as so in effect) did not own (within the meaning of section 958(a) of such Code) the stock of such controlled foreign corporation during the portion of such taxable year on or before June 28, 2025, or

(ii) was paid (or deemed paid) after June 28, 2025, and before such controlled foreign corporation’s first taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, and

(B) such dividend does not increase the taxable income of a United States person (including by reason of a dividends received deduction, an exclusion from gross income, or an exclusion from subpart F income).

CHAPTER 4—INVESTING IN AMERICAN FAMILIES, COMMUNITIES, AND SMALL BUSINESSES

Subchapter A—Permanent Investments in Families and Children

SEC. 70401. ENHANCEMENT OF EMPLOYER-PROVIDED CHILD CARE CREDIT.

(a) INCREASE OF AMOUNT OF QUALIFIED CHILD CARE EXPENDITURES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—Section 45F(a)(1) is amended by striking “25 percent” and inserting “40 percent (50 percent in the case of an eligible small business)”.

(b) INCREASE OF MAXIMUM CREDIT AMOUNT.—Subsection (b) of section 45F is amended to read as follows:

“(b) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The credit allowable under subsection (a) for any taxable year shall not exceed \$500,000 (\$600,000 in the case of an eligible small business).

“(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$500,000 and \$600,000 amounts in paragraph (1) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.”

(c) ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESS.—Section 45F(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) ELIGIBLE SMALL BUSINESS.—The term ‘eligible small business’ means a business that meets the gross receipts test of section 448(c), determined—

“(A) by substituting ‘5-taxable-year’ for ‘3-taxable-year’ in paragraph (1) thereof, and

“(B) by substituting ‘5-year’ for ‘3-year’ in paragraph (3)(A) thereof.”

(d) CREDIT ALLOWED FOR THIRD-PARTY INTERMEDIARIES.—Section 45F(c)(1)(A)(iii) is amended by inserting “, or under a contract with an intermediate entity that contracts with one or more qualified child care facilities to provide such child care services” before the period at the end.

(e) TREATMENT OF JOINTLY OWNED OR OPERATED CHILD CARE FACILITY.—Section 45F(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) TREATMENT OF JOINTLY OWNED OR OPERATED CHILD CARE FACILITY.—A facility shall not fail to be treated as a qualified child care facility of the taxpayer merely because such facility is jointly owned or operated by the taxpayer and other persons.”

(f) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—Section 45F is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including guidance to carry out the purposes of paragraphs (1)(A)(iii) and (2)(C) of subsection (c).”

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70402. ENHANCEMENT OF ADOPTION CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 23(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) PORTION OF CREDIT REFUNDABLE.—So much of the credit allowed under paragraph (1) as does not exceed \$5,000 shall be treated as a credit allowed under subpart C and not as a credit allowed under this subpart.”

(b) ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—Section 23(h) is amended to read as follows:

“(h) ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 2002, each of the dollar amounts in paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (a) and paragraphs (1) and (2)(A)(i) of subsection (b) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2001’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(i) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any amount as increased under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$10, such amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10.

“(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR REFUNDABLE PORTION.—In the case of the dollar amount in subsection (a)(4), paragraph (1) shall be applied—

“(A) by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘2002’ in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), and

“(B) by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2001’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.”

(c) EXCLUSION OF REFUNDABLE PORTION OF CREDIT FROM CARRYFORWARD.—Section 23(c)(1) is amended by striking “credit allowable under subsection (a)” and inserting “portion of the credit allowable under subsection (a) which is allowed under this subpart”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70403. RECOGNIZING INDIAN TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS FOR PURPOSES OF DETERMINING WHETHER A CHILD HAS SPECIAL NEEDS FOR PURPOSES OF THE ADOPTION CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 23(d)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “or Indian tribal government” after “a State”, and

(2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “or Indian tribal government” after “such State”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70404. ENHANCEMENT OF THE DEPENDENT CARE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 129(a)(2)(A) is amended by striking “\$5,000 (\$2,500)” and inserting “\$7,500 (\$3,750)”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70405. ENHANCEMENT OF CHILD AND DEPENDENT CARE TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (2) of section 21(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE DEFINED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘applicable percentage’ means 50 percent—

“(A) reduced (but not below 35 percent) by 1 percentage point for each \$2,000 or fraction thereof by which the taxpayer’s adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds \$15,000, and

“(B) further reduced (but not below 20 percent) by 1 percentage point for each \$2,000 (\$4,000 in the case of a joint return) or fraction thereof by which the taxpayer’s adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds \$75,000 (\$150,000 in the case of a joint return).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter B—Permanent Investments in Students and Reforms to Tax-exempt Institutions

SEC. 70411. TAX CREDIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS TO SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 25E the following new section:

“SEC. 25F. QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION SCHOLARSHIPS.

“(a) ALLOWANCE OF CREDIT.—In the case of an individual who is a citizen or resident of the United States (within the meaning of section 7701(a)(9)), there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year an amount equal to the aggregate amount of qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(b) LIMITATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The credit allowed under subsection (a) to any taxpayer for any taxable year shall not exceed an amount equal to the greater of—

“(A) 10 percent of the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$5,000.

“(2) ALLOCATION OF VOLUME CAP.—The credit allowed under subsection (a) to any taxpayer for any taxable year shall not exceed the amount of the volume cap allocated by the Secretary to such taxpayer under subsection (h) with respect to qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(3) REDUCTION BASED ON STATE CREDIT.—The amount allowed as a credit under subsection (a) for a taxable year shall be reduced by the amount allowed as a credit on any State tax return of the taxpayer for qualified contributions made by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

“(c) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) ELIGIBLE STUDENT.—The term ‘eligible student’ means an individual who—

“(A) is a member of a household with an income which, for the calendar year prior to the date of the application for a scholarship, is not greater than 300 percent of the area median gross income (as such term is used in section 42), and

“(B) is eligible to enroll in a public elementary or secondary school.

“(2) QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘qualified contribution’ means a charitable

contribution (as defined by section 170(c)) to a scholarship granting organization in the form of cash or publicly traded securities (as defined in section 6050L(a)(2)(B)).

“(3) QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSE.—The term ‘qualified elementary or secondary education expense’ means the following expenses in connection with enrollment or attendance at, or for students enrolled at or attending, an elementary or secondary public, private, or religious school:

“(A) Tuition.

“(B) Curriculum and curricular materials.

“(C) Books or other instructional materials.

“(D) Online educational materials.

“(E) Tuition for tutoring or educational classes outside of the home, including at a tutoring facility, but only if the tutor or instructor does not bear a relationship to the student which is described in section 152(d)(2) and—

“(i) is licensed as a teacher in any State,

“(ii) has taught at—

“(I) a public or private elementary or secondary school, or

“(II) an institution of higher education (as defined in section 101(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001(a))), or

“(iii) is a subject matter expert in the relevant subject.

“(F) Fees for a nationally standardized norm-referenced achievement test, an advanced placement examination, or any examinations related to college or university admission.

“(G) Fees for dual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

“(H) Educational therapies for students with disabilities provided by a licensed or accredited practitioner or provider, including occupational, behavioral, physical, and speech-language therapies, but only if the practitioner or provider does not bear a relationship to the student which is described in section 152(d)(2).

“(4) SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATION.—The term ‘scholarship granting organization’ means any organization—

“(A) which—

“(i) is described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), and

“(ii) is not a private foundation,

“(B) substantially all of the activities of which are providing scholarships for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of eligible students,

“(C) which prevents the co-mingling of qualified contributions with other amounts by maintaining one or more separate accounts exclusively for qualified contributions,

“(D) is approved to operate in the State in which such organization grants scholarships, and

“(E) which satisfies the requirements of subsection (d).

“(d) REQUIREMENTS FOR SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—An organization meets the requirements of this subsection if—

“(A) such organization provides scholarships to 10 or more students who do not all attend the same school,

“(B) such organization spends not less than 90 percent of revenues on scholarships for eligible students,

“(C) such organization does not provide scholarships for any expenses other than qualified elementary or secondary education expenses,

“(D) such organization provides a scholarship to eligible students with a priority for—

“(i) students awarded a scholarship the previous school year, and

“(ii) after application of clause (i), any eligible students who have a sibling who was

awarded a scholarship from such organization,

“(E) such organization does not earmark or set aside contributions for scholarships on behalf of any particular student,

“(F) such organization—

“(i) verifies the annual household income and family size of eligible students who apply for scholarships in a manner which complies with the requirement described in paragraph (2), and

“(ii) limits the awarding of scholarships to eligible students who are a member of a household for which the income does not exceed the amount established under subsection (c)(1)(A),

“(G) such organization—

“(i) obtains from an independent certified public accountant annual financial and compliance audits, and

“(ii) certifies to the Secretary (at such time, and in such form and manner, as the Secretary may prescribe) that the audit described in clause (i) has been completed, and

“(H) no officer or board member of such organization has been convicted of a felony.

“(2) INCOME VERIFICATION.—The requirement described in this paragraph is that the organization review all of the following documents which are applicable with respect to members of the household of the applicant for the calendar year prior to application for a scholarship:

“(A) Federal and State income tax returns or tax return transcripts with applicable schedules.

“(B) Income reporting statements for tax purposes or wage and income transcripts from the Internal Revenue Service.

“(C) Notarized income verification letter from employers.

“(D) Unemployment or workers compensation statements.

“(E) Benefit verification letters regarding public assistance payments and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program payments, including a list of household members.

“(3) INDEPENDENT CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(F), the term ‘independent certified public accountant’ means, with respect to an organization, a certified public accountant who is not a person described in section 465(b)(3)(A) with respect to such organization or any employee of such organization.

“(4) PROHIBITION ON SELF-DEALING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—A scholarship granting organization may not award a scholarship to—

“(i) any disqualified person, or

“(ii) an eligible student if, during the taxable year or the period of the 3 taxable years preceding such taxable year, such scholarship granting organization has received a qualified contribution from an individual who bears a relationship to such student which is described in section 152(d)(2).

“(B) DISQUALIFIED PERSON.—For purposes of this paragraph, a disqualified person shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules of section 4946.

“(e) DENIAL OF DOUBLE BENEFIT.—Any qualified contribution for which a credit is allowed under this section shall not be taken into account as a charitable contribution for purposes of section 170.

“(f) CARRYFORWARD OF UNUSED CREDIT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If the credit allowable under subsection (a) for any taxable year exceeds the limitation imposed by section 26(a) for such taxable year reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under this subpart (other than this section, section 23, and section 25D), such excess shall be carried to the succeeding taxable year and added to the credit allowable under subsection (a) for such taxable year.

“(2) LIMITATION.—No credit may be carried forward under this subsection to any taxable year following the fifth taxable year after the taxable year in which the credit arose. For purposes of the preceding sentence, credits shall be treated as used on a first-in first-out basis.

“(g) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to permit, allow, encourage, or authorize any Federal control over any aspect of any private or religious school.

“(h) VOLUME CAP.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The volume cap applicable under this section shall be \$4,000,000,000 for calendar year 2027 and each calendar year thereafter. Such amount shall be allocated by the Secretary as provided in paragraph (2) to taxpayers with respect to qualified contributions made by such taxpayers, except that 10 percent of such amount shall be divided evenly among the States, and shall be available with respect to individuals residing in such States.

“(2) FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVED.—For purposes of applying the volume cap under this section, such volume cap for any calendar year shall be allocated by the Secretary on a first-come, first-served basis, as determined based on the time (during such calendar year) at which the taxpayer made the qualified contribution with respect to which the allocation is made. The Secretary shall not make any allocation of the volume cap for any calendar year after December 31 of such calendar year.

“(3) REAL-TIME INFORMATION.—For purposes of this section, the Secretary shall develop a system to track the amount of qualified contributions made during the calendar year for which a credit may be claimed under this section, with such information to be updated in real time.

“(4) STATE.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘State’ means only the States and the District of Columbia.

“(i) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance—

“(1) providing for enforcement of the requirements under subsection (d)(4), and

“(2) with respect to recordkeeping or information reporting for purposes of administering the requirements of this section.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 25(e)(1)(C) is amended by striking “and 25D” and inserting “25D, and 25F”.

(B) The table of sections for subpart A of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 25E the following new item:

“Sec. 25F. Qualified elementary and secondary education scholarships.”.

(b) EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME FOR SCHOLARSHIPS FOR QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSES OF ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before section 140 the following new section:

“SEC. 139K. SCHOLARSHIPS FOR QUALIFIED ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY EDUCATION EXPENSES OF ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, gross income shall not include any amounts provided to such individual or any dependent of such individual pursuant to a scholarship for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of an eligible student which is provided by a scholarship granting organization.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the terms ‘qualified elementary or secondary

education expense’, ‘eligible student’, and ‘scholarship granting organization’ have the same meaning given such terms under section 25F(c).”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by inserting before the item relating to section 140 the following new item:

“Sec. 139K. Scholarships for qualified elementary or secondary education expenses of eligible students.”.

(c) FAILURE OF SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS TO MAKE DISTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 42 is amended by adding at the end the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter I—Scholarship Granting Organizations

“Sec. 4969. Failure to distribute receipts.

“SEC. 4969. FAILURE TO DISTRIBUTE RECEIPTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any scholarship granting organization (as defined in section 25F) which has been determined by the Secretary to have failed to satisfy the requirement under subsection (b) for any taxable year, any contribution made to such organization during the first taxable year beginning after the date of such determination shall not be treated as a qualified contribution (as defined in section 25F(c)(2)) for purposes of section 25F.

“(b) REQUIREMENT.—The requirement described in this subsection is that the amount of receipts of the scholarship granting organization for the taxable year which are distributed before the distribution deadline with respect to such receipts shall not be less than the required distribution amount with respect to such taxable year.

“(c) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) REQUIRED DISTRIBUTION AMOUNT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The required distribution amount with respect to a taxable year is the amount equal to 100 percent of the total receipts of the scholarship granting organization for such taxable year—

“(i) reduced by the sum of such receipts that are retained for reasonable administrative expenses for the taxable year or are carried to the succeeding taxable year under subparagraph (C), and

“(ii) increased by the amount of the carryover under subparagraph (C) from the preceding taxable year.

“(B) SAFE HARBOR FOR REASONABLE ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), if the percentage of total receipts of a scholarship granting organization for a taxable year which are used for administrative expenses is equal to or less than 10 percent, such expenses shall be deemed to be reasonable for purposes of such subparagraph.

“(C) CARRYOVER.—With respect to the amount of the total receipts of a scholarship granting organization with respect to any taxable year, an amount not greater than 15 percent of such amount may, at the election of such organization, be carried to the succeeding taxable year.

“(2) DISTRIBUTIONS.—The term ‘distribution’ includes amounts which are formally committed but not distributed. A formal commitment described in the preceding sentence may include contributions set aside for eligible students for more than one year.

“(3) DISTRIBUTION DEADLINE.—The distribution deadline with respect to receipts for a taxable year is the first day of the third taxable year following the taxable year in which such receipts are received by the scholarship granting organization.

“(d) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other

guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance which provides for requirements for recordkeeping or information reporting for purposes of administering the requirements of this section.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 42 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER I—SCHOLARSHIP GRANTING ORGANIZATIONS”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 2026.

(2) EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to amounts received after December 31, 2026, in taxable years ending after such date.

SEC. 70412. EXCLUSION FOR EMPLOYER PAYMENTS OF STUDENT LOANS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 127(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “in the case of payments made before January 1, 2026.”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 127 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

“(d) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, both of the \$5,250 amounts in subsection (a)(2) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any increase under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$50, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$50.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to payments made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70413. ADDITIONAL EXPENSES TREATED AS QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES FOR PURPOSES OF 529 ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(c)(7) is amended to read as follows:

“(7) TREATMENT OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY TUITION.—Any reference in this section to the term ‘qualified higher education expense’ shall include a reference to the following expenses in connection with enrollment or attendance at, or for students enrolled at or attending, an elementary or secondary public, private, or religious school:

“(A) Tuition.

“(B) Curriculum and curricular materials.

“(C) Books or other instructional materials.

“(D) Online educational materials.

“(E) Tuition for tutoring or educational classes outside of the home, including at a tutoring facility, but only if the tutor or instructor is not related to the student and—

“(i) is licensed as a teacher in any State,

“(ii) has taught at an eligible educational institution, or

“(iii) is a subject matter expert in the relevant subject.

“(F) Fees for a nationally standardized norm-referenced achievement test, an advanced placement examination, or any examinations related to college or university admission.

“(G) Fees for dual enrollment in an institution of higher education.

“(H) Educational therapies for students with disabilities provided by a licensed or accredited practitioner or provider, including occupational, behavioral, physical, and speech-language therapies.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to distributions made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) INCREASE IN LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The last sentence of section 529(e)(3) is amended by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$20,000”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70414. CERTAIN POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES TREATED AS QUALIFIED HIGHER EDUCATION EXPENSES FOR PURPOSES OF 529 ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 529(e)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) CERTAIN POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—The term ‘qualified higher education expenses’ includes qualified postsecondary credentialing expenses (as defined in subsection (f)).”

(b) QUALIFIED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—Section 529 is amended by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (g) and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) QUALIFIED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIALING EXPENSES.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified postsecondary credentialing expenses’ means—

“(A) tuition, fees, books, supplies, and equipment required for the enrollment or attendance of a designated beneficiary in a recognized postsecondary credential program, or any other expense incurred in connection with enrollment in or attendance at a recognized postsecondary credential program if such expense would, if incurred in connection with enrollment or attendance at an eligible educational institution, be covered under subsection (e)(3)(A),

“(B) fees for testing if such testing is required to obtain or maintain a recognized postsecondary credential, and

“(C) fees for continuing education if such education is required to maintain a recognized postsecondary credential.

“(2) RECOGNIZED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIAL PROGRAM.—The term ‘recognized postsecondary credential program’ means any program to obtain a recognized postsecondary credential if—

“(A) such program is included on a State list prepared under section 122(d) of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (29 U.S.C. 3152(d)),

“(B) such program is listed in the public directory of the Web Enabled Approval Management System (WEAMS) of the Veterans Benefits Administration, or successor directory such program,

“(C) an examination (developed or administered by an organization widely recognized as providing reputable credentials in the occupation) is required to obtain or maintain such credential and such organization recognizes such program as providing training or education which prepares individuals to take such examination, or

“(D) such program is identified by the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Labor, as being a reputable program for obtaining a recognized postsecondary credential for purposes of this subparagraph.

“(3) RECOGNIZED POSTSECONDARY CREDENTIAL.—The term ‘recognized postsecondary credential’ means—

“(A) any postsecondary employment credential that is industry recognized and is—

“(i) any postsecondary employment credential issued by a program that is accredited by the Institute for Credentialing Excellence, the National Commission on Certifying Agencies, or the American National Standards Institute,

“(ii) any postsecondary employment credential that is included in the Credentialing Opportunities On-Line (COOL) directory of credentialing programs (or successor directory) maintained by the Department of Defense or by any branch of the Armed Forces, or

“(iii) any postsecondary employment credential identified for purposes of this clause by the Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Labor, as being industry recognized,

“(B) any certificate of completion of an apprenticeship that is registered and certified with the Secretary of Labor under the Act of August 16, 1937 (commonly known as the ‘National Apprenticeship Act’; 50 Stat. 664, chapter 663; 29 U.S.C. 50 et seq.),

“(C) any occupational or professional license issued or recognized by a State or the Federal Government (and any certification that satisfies a condition for obtaining such a license), and

“(D) any recognized postsecondary credential as defined in section 3(52) of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (29 U.S.C. 3102(52)), provided through a program described in paragraph (2)(A).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to distributions made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70415. MODIFICATION OF EXCISE TAX ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF CERTAIN PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4968 is amended to read as follows:

“**SEC. 4968. EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.**

“(a) TAX IMPOSED.—There is hereby imposed on each applicable educational institution for the taxable year a tax equal to the applicable percentage of the net investment income of such institution for the taxable year.

“(b) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable percentage’ means—

“(1) 1.4 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment of at least \$500,000, and not in excess of \$750,000,

“(2) 4 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment in excess of \$750,000, and not in excess of \$2,000,000, and

“(3) 8 percent in the case of an institution with a student adjusted endowment in excess of \$2,000,000.

“(c) APPLICABLE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.—For purposes of this subchapter, the term ‘applicable educational institution’ means an eligible educational institution (as defined in section 25A(f)(2))—

“(1) which had at least 3,000 tuition-paying students during the preceding taxable year,

“(2) more than 50 percent of the tuition-paying students of which are located in the United States,

“(3) the student adjusted endowment of which is at least \$500,000, and

“(4) which is not described in the first sentence of section 511(a)(2)(B) (relating to State colleges and universities).

“(d) STUDENT ADJUSTED ENDOWMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘student adjusted endowment’ means, with respect to any institution for any taxable year—

“(1) the aggregate fair market value of the assets of such institution (determined as of the end of the preceding taxable year), other than those assets which are used directly in

carrying out the institution’s exempt purpose, divided by

“(2) the number of students of such institution.

“(e) DETERMINATION OF NUMBER OF STUDENTS.—For purposes of subsections (c) and (d), the number of students of an institution (including for purposes of determining the number of students at a particular location) shall be based on the daily average number of full-time students attending such institution (with part-time students taken into account on a full-time student equivalent basis).

“(f) NET INVESTMENT INCOME.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Net investment income shall be determined under rules similar to the rules of section 4940(c).

“(2) OVERRIDE OF CERTAIN REGULATORY EXCEPTIONS.—

“(A) STUDENT LOAN INTEREST.—Net investment income shall be determined by taking into account any interest income from a student loan made by the applicable educational institution (or any related organization) as gross investment income.

“(B) FEDERALLY-SUBSIDIZED ROYALTY INCOME.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Net investment income shall be determined by taking into account any Federally-subsidized royalty income as gross investment income.

“(ii) FEDERALLY-SUBSIDIZED ROYALTY INCOME.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Federally-subsidized royalty income’ means any otherwise-regulatory-exempt royalty income if any Federal funds were used in the research, development, or creation of the patent, copyright, or other intellectual or intangible property from which such royalty income is derived.

“(II) OTHERWISE-REGULATORY-EXEMPT ROYALTY INCOME.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘otherwise-regulatory-exempt royalty income’ means royalty income which (but for this subparagraph) would not be taken into account as gross investment income by reason of being derived from patents, copyrights, or other intellectual or intangible property which resulted from the work of students or faculty members in their capacities as such with the applicable educational institution.

“(III) FEDERAL FUNDS.—The term ‘Federal funds’ includes any grant made by, and any payment made under any contract with, any Federal agency to the applicable educational institution, any related organization, or any student or faculty member referred to in subclause (II).

“(g) ASSETS AND NET INVESTMENT INCOME OF RELATED ORGANIZATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsections (d) and (f), assets and net investment income of any related organization with respect to an educational institution shall be treated as assets and net investment income, respectively, of the educational institution, except that—

“(A) no such amount shall be taken into account with respect to more than 1 educational institution, and

“(B) unless such organization is controlled by such institution or is described in section 509(a)(3) with respect to such institution for the taxable year, assets and net investment income which are not intended or available for the use or benefit of the educational institution shall not be taken into account.

“(2) RELATED ORGANIZATION.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘related organization’ means, with respect to an educational institution, any organization which—

“(A) controls, or is controlled by, such institution,

“(B) is controlled by 1 or more persons which also control such institution, or

“(C) is a supported organization (as defined in section 509(f)(3)), or an organization described in section 509(a)(3), during the taxable year with respect to such institution.

“(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary to prevent avoidance of the tax under this section, including regulations or other guidance to prevent avoidance of such tax through the restructuring of endowment funds or other arrangements designed to reduce or eliminate the value of net investment income or assets subject to the tax imposed by this section.”

(b) REQUIREMENT TO REPORT CERTAIN INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO APPLICATION OF EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—Section 6033 is amended by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p) and by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) REQUIREMENT TO REPORT CERTAIN INFORMATION WITH RESPECT TO EXCISE TAX BASED ON INVESTMENT INCOME OF PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.—Each applicable educational institution described in section 4968(c) which is subject to the requirements of subsection (a) shall include on the return required under subsection (a)—

“(1) the number of tuition-paying students taken into account under section 4968(c), and

“(2) the number of students of such institution (determined under the rules of section 4968(e)).”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70416. EXPANDING APPLICATION OF TAX ON EXCESS COMPENSATION WITHIN TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 4960(c)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) COVERED EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘covered employee’ means any employee of an applicable tax-exempt organization (or any predecessor of such an organization) and any former employee of such an organization (or predecessor) who was such an employee during any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2016.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter C—Permanent Investments in Community Development

SEC. 70421. PERMANENT RENEWAL AND ENHANCEMENT OF OPPORTUNITY ZONES.

(a) DECENNIAL DESIGNATIONS.—

(1) DETERMINATION PERIOD.—Section 1400Z-1(c)(2)(B) is amended by striking “beginning on the date of the enactment of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act” and inserting “beginning on the decennial determination date”.

(2) DECENNIAL DETERMINATION DATE.—Section 1400Z-1(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) DECENNIAL DETERMINATION DATE.—The term ‘decennial determination date’ means—

“(i) July 1, 2026, and

“(ii) each July 1 of the year that is 10 years after the preceding decennial determination date under this subparagraph.”

(3) REPEAL OF SPECIAL RULE FOR PUERTO RICO.—Section 1400Z-1(b) is amended by striking paragraph (3).

(4) LIMITATION ON NUMBER OF DESIGNATIONS.—Section 1400Z-1(d)(1) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “and subsection (b)(3)”, and

(ii) by inserting “during any period” after “the number of population census tracts in a State that may be designated as qualified opportunity zones under this section”, and

(B) in paragraph (2), by inserting “during any period” before the period at the end.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) PUERTO RICO.—The amendment made by paragraph (3) shall take effect on December 31, 2026.

(b) QUALIFICATION FOR DESIGNATIONS.—

(1) DETERMINATION OF LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.—Section 1400Z-1(c) is amended by striking all that precedes paragraph (2) and inserting the following:

“(c) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.—The term ‘low-income community’ means any population census tract if—

“(A) such population census tract has a median family income that—

“(i) in the case of a population census tract not located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 70 percent of the statewide median family income, or

“(ii) in the case of a population census tract located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 70 percent of the metropolitan area median family income, or

“(B) such population census tract—

“(i) has a poverty rate of at least 20 percent, and

“(ii) has a median family income that—

“(I) in the case of a population census tract not located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 125 percent of the statewide median family income, or

“(II) in the case of a population census tract located within a metropolitan area, does not exceed 125 percent of the metropolitan area median family income.”

(2) REPEAL OF RULE FOR CONTIGUOUS CENSUS TRACTS.—Section 1400Z-1 is amended by striking subsection (e) and by redesignating subsection (f) as subsection (e).

(3) PERIOD FOR WHICH DESIGNATION IS IN EFFECT.—Section 1400Z-1(e), as redesignated by paragraph (2), is amended to read as follows:

“(e) PERIOD FOR WHICH DESIGNATION IS IN EFFECT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—A designation as a qualified opportunity zone shall remain in effect for the period beginning on the applicable start date and ending on the day before the date that is 10 years after the applicable start date.

“(2) APPLICABLE START DATE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable start date’ means, with respect to any qualified opportunity zone designated under this section, the January 1 following the date on which such qualified opportunity zone was certified and designated by the Secretary under subsection (b)(1)(B).”

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to areas designated under section 1400Z-1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) APPLICATION OF SPECIAL RULES FOR CAPITAL GAINS.—

(1) REPEAL OF SUNSET ON ELECTION.—Section 1400Z-2(a)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) ELECTION.—No election may be made under paragraph (1) with respect to a sale or exchange if an election previously made with respect to such sale or exchange is in effect.”

(2) MODIFICATION OF RULES FOR DEFERRAL OF GAIN.—Section 1400Z-2(b) is amended to read as follows:

“(b) DEFERRAL OF GAIN INVESTED IN OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—

“(1) YEAR OF INCLUSION.—Gain to which subsection (a)(1)(B) applies shall be included

in gross income in the taxable year which includes the earlier of—

“(A) the date on which such investment is sold or exchanged, or

“(B) the date which is 5 years after the date the investment in the qualified opportunity fund was made.

“(2) AMOUNT INCLUDIBLE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The amount of gain included in gross income under subsection (a)(1)(B) shall be the excess of—

“(i) the lesser of the amount of gain excluded under subsection (a)(1)(A) or the fair market value of the investment as determined as of the date described in paragraph (1), over

“(ii) the taxpayer’s basis in the investment.

“(B) DETERMINATION OF BASIS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subparagraph or subsection (c), the taxpayer’s basis in the investment shall be zero.

“(ii) INCREASE FOR GAIN RECOGNIZED UNDER SUBSECTION (a)(1)(B).—The basis in the investment shall be increased by the amount of gain recognized by reason of subsection (a)(1)(B) with respect to such investment.

“(iii) INVESTMENTS HELD FOR 5 YEARS.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any investment held for at least 5 years, the basis of such investment shall be increased by an amount equal to 10 percent (30 percent in the case of any investment in a qualified rural opportunity fund) of the amount of gain deferred by reason of subsection (a)(1)(A).

“(II) APPLICATION OF INCREASE.—For purposes of this subsection, any increase in basis under this clause shall be treated as occurring before the date described in paragraph (1)(B).

“(C) QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUND.—For purposes of subparagraph (B)(iii)—

“(i) QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUND.—The term ‘qualified rural opportunity fund’ means a qualified opportunity fund that holds at least 90 percent of its assets in qualified opportunity zone property which—

“(I) is qualified opportunity zone business property substantially all of the use of which, during substantially all of the fund’s holding period for such property, was in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area, or

“(II) is qualified opportunity zone stock, or a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest, in a qualified opportunity zone business in which substantially all of the tangible property owned or leased is qualified opportunity zone business property described in subsection (d)(3)(A)(i) and substantially all the use of which is in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area.

For purposes of the preceding sentence, property held in the fund shall be measured under rules similar to the rules of subsection (d)(1).

“(ii) RURAL AREA.—The term ‘rural area’ means any area other than—

“(I) a city or town that has a population of greater than 50,000 inhabitants, and

“(II) any urbanized area contiguous and adjacent to a city or town described in subclause (I).”

(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR INVESTMENTS HELD AT LEAST 10 YEARS.—Section 1400Z-2(c) is amended by striking “makes an election under this clause” and all that follows and inserting “makes an election under this subsection, the basis of such investment shall be equal to—

“(A) in the case of an investment sold before the date that is 30 years after the date of the investment, the fair market value of such investment on the date such investment is sold or exchanged, or

“(B) in any other case, the fair market value of such investment on the date that is 30 years after the date of the investment.”.

(4) DETERMINATION OF QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—

(A) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESS PROPERTY.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2)(D)(i)(I) is amended by striking “December 31, 2017” and inserting “the applicable start date (as defined in section 1400Z-1(e)(2)) with respect to the qualified opportunity zone described in subclause (III)”.

(B) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE STOCK AND PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2) is amended—

(i) by striking “December 31, 2017,” each place it appears in subparagraphs (B)(i)(I) and (C)(i) and inserting “the applicable date”, and

(ii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) APPLICABLE DATE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘applicable date’ means, with respect to any corporation or partnership which is a qualified opportunity zone business, the earliest date described in subparagraph (D)(i)(I) with respect to the qualified opportunity zone business property held by such qualified opportunity zone business.”.

(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING STRUCTURES IN RURAL AREAS.—Section 1400Z-2(d)(2)(D)(ii) is amended by inserting “(50 percent of such adjusted basis in the case of property in a qualified opportunity zone comprised entirely of a rural area (as defined in subsection (b)(2)(C)(ii))” after “the adjusted basis of such property”.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this paragraph, the amendments made by this subsection shall apply to amounts invested in qualified opportunity funds after December 31, 2026.

(B) ACQUISITION OF QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (4) shall apply to property acquired after December 31, 2026.

(C) SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT.—The amendment made by paragraph (4)(C) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(d) INFORMATION REPORTING ON QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—

(1) FILING REQUIREMENTS FOR FUNDS AND INVESTORS.—Subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by inserting after section 6039J the following new sections:

“SEC. 6039K. RETURNS WITH RESPECT TO QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Every qualified opportunity fund shall file an annual return (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) containing the information described in subsection (b).

“(b) INFORMATION FROM QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—The information described in this subsection is—

“(1) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the qualified opportunity fund,

“(2) whether the qualified opportunity fund is organized as a corporation or a partnership,

“(3) the value of the total assets held by the qualified opportunity fund as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1),

“(4) the value of all qualified opportunity zone property held by the qualified opportunity fund on each such date,

“(5) with respect to each investment held by the qualified opportunity fund in quali-

fied opportunity zone stock or a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest—

“(A) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the corporation in which such stock is held or the partnership in which such interest is held, as the case may be,

“(B) each North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code that applies to the trades or businesses conducted by such corporation or partnership,

“(C) the population census tract or population census tracts in which the qualified opportunity zone business property of such corporation or partnership is located,

“(D) the amount of the investment in such stock or partnership interest as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1),

“(E) the value of tangible property held by such corporation or partnership on each such date which is owned by such corporation or partnership,

“(F) the value of tangible property held by such corporation or partnership on each such date which is leased by such corporation or partnership,

“(G) the approximate number of residential units (if any) for any real property held by such corporation or partnership, and

“(H) the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees of such corporation or partnership for the year (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such corporation or partnership as determined appropriate by the Secretary,

“(6) with respect to the items of qualified opportunity zone business property held by the qualified opportunity fund—

“(A) the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code that applies to the trades or businesses in which such property is held,

“(B) the population census tract in which the property is located,

“(C) whether the property is owned or leased,

“(D) the aggregate value of the items of qualified opportunity zone property held by the qualified opportunity fund as of each date described in section 1400Z-2(d)(1), and

“(E) in the case of real property, the number of residential units (if any),

“(7) the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees for the year of the trades or businesses of the qualified opportunity fund in which qualified opportunity zone business property is held (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such trades or businesses as determined appropriate by the Secretary,

“(8) with respect to each person who disposed of an investment in the qualified opportunity fund during the year—

“(A) the name, address, and taxpayer identification number of such person,

“(B) the date or dates on which the investment disposed was acquired, and

“(C) the date or dates on which any such investment was disposed and the amount of the investment disposed, and

“(9) such other information as the Secretary may require.

“(c) STATEMENT REQUIRED TO BE FURNISHED TO INVESTORS.—Every person required to make a return under subsection (a) shall furnish to each person whose name is required to be set forth in such return by reason of subsection (b)(8) (at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may prescribe) a written statement showing—

“(1) the name, address, and phone number of the information contact of the person required to make such return, and

“(2) the information required to be shown on such return by reason of subsection (b)(8) with respect to the person whose name is required to be so set forth.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any term used in this section which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

“(2) FULL-TIME EQUIVALENT EMPLOYEES.—The term ‘full-time equivalent employees’ means, with respect to any month, the sum of—

“(A) the number of full-time employees (as defined in section 4980H(c)(4)) for the month, plus

“(B) the number of employees determined (under rules similar to the rules of section 4980H(c)(2)(E)) by dividing the aggregate number of hours of service of employees who are not full-time employees for the month by 120.

“(e) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—Every qualified rural opportunity fund (as defined in section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)) shall file the annual return required under subsection (a), and the statements required under subsection (c), applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘qualified rural opportunity’ for ‘qualified opportunity’ each place it appears,

“(2) by substituting ‘section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)’ for ‘section 1400Z-2(d)(1)’ each place it appears, and

“(3) by treating any reference (after the application of paragraph (1)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, a qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, a qualified rural opportunity zone business, or qualified opportunity zone business property as stock, an interest, a business, or property, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i).

“SEC. 6039L. INFORMATION REQUIRED FROM QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESSES AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESSES.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Every applicable qualified opportunity zone business shall furnish to the qualified opportunity fund described in subsection (b) a written statement at such time, in such manner, and setting forth such information as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe for purposes of enabling such qualified opportunity fund to meet the requirements of section 6039K(b)(5).

“(b) APPLICABLE QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY ZONE BUSINESS.—For purposes of subsection (a), the term ‘applicable qualified opportunity zone business’ means any qualified opportunity zone business—

“(1) which is a trade or business of a qualified opportunity fund,

“(2) in which a qualified opportunity fund holds qualified opportunity zone stock, or

“(3) in which a qualified opportunity fund holds a qualified opportunity zone partnership interest.

“(c) OTHER TERMS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

“(d) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY BUSINESSES.—Every applicable qualified rural opportunity zone business (as defined in subsection (b) determined after application of the substitutions described in this sentence) shall furnish the written statement required under subsection (a), applied—

“(1) by substituting ‘qualified rural opportunity’ for ‘qualified opportunity’ each place it appears, and

“(2) by treating any reference (after the application of paragraph (1)) to qualified

rural opportunity zone stock, a qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, or a qualified rural opportunity zone business as stock, an interest, or a business, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i).”.

(2) PENALTIES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Part II of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6725 the following new section:

“SEC. 6726. FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH INFORMATION REPORTING REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—If any person required to file a return under section 6039K fails to file a complete and correct return under such section in the time and in the manner prescribed therefor, such person shall pay a penalty of \$500 for each day during which such failure continues.

“(b) LIMITATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The maximum penalty under this section on failures with respect to any 1 return shall not exceed \$10,000.

“(2) LARGE QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—In the case of any failure described in subsection (a) with respect to a fund the gross assets of which (determined on the last day of the taxable year) are in excess of \$10,000,000, paragraph (1) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$50,000’ for ‘\$10,000’.

“(c) PENALTY IN CASES OF INTENTIONAL DISREGARD.—If a failure described in subsection (a) is due to intentional disregard, then—

“(1) subsection (a) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$2,500’ for ‘\$500’.

“(2) subsection (b)(1) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$50,000’ for ‘\$10,000’, and

“(3) subsection (b)(2) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$250,000’ for ‘\$50,000’.

“(d) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any failure relating to a return required to be filed in a calendar year beginning after 2025, each of the dollar amounts in subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the \$500 dollar amount in subsection (a) and (c)(1) or the \$2,500 amount in subsection (c)(1), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$10, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

“(B) ASSET THRESHOLD.—If the \$10,000,000 dollar amount in subsection (b)(2), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$10,000, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10,000.

“(C) OTHER DOLLAR AMOUNTS.—If any dollar amount in subsection (b) or (c) (other than any amount to which subparagraph (A) or (B) applies), after being increased under paragraph (1), is not a multiple of \$1,000, such dollar amount shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$1,000.”.

(B) INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE SENT TO OTHER TAXPAYERS.—Section 6724(d)(2), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended—

(i) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (LL),

(ii) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (MM) and inserting a comma, and

(iii) by inserting after subparagraph (MM) the following new subparagraphs:

“(NN) section 6039K(c) (relating to disposition of qualified opportunity fund investments), or

“(OO) section 6039L (relating to information required from certain qualified opportunity zone businesses and qualified rural opportunity zone businesses).”.

(3) ELECTRONIC FILING.—Section 6011(e) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) QUALIFIED OPPORTUNITY FUNDS AND QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—Notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2), any return filed by a qualified opportunity fund or qualified rural opportunity fund under section 6039K shall be filed on magnetic media or other machine-readable form.”.

(4) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subpart A of part III of subchapter A of chapter 61 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6039J the following new items:

“Sec. 6039K. Returns with respect to qualified opportunity funds and qualified rural opportunity funds.

“Sec. 6039L. Information required from qualified opportunity zone businesses and qualified rural opportunity zone businesses.”.

(B) The table of sections for part II of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 6725 the following new item:

“Sec. 6726. Failure to comply with information reporting requirements relating to qualified opportunity funds and qualified rural opportunity funds.”.

(5) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(e) SECRETARY REPORTING OF DATA ON OPPORTUNITY ZONE AND RURAL OPPORTUNITY ZONE TAX INCENTIVES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$15,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for necessary expenses of the Internal Revenue Service to make the reports described in paragraph (2).

(2) REPORTS.—As soon as practical after the date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter, the Secretary of the Treasury, or the Secretary’s delegate (referred to in this section as the “Secretary”) shall make publicly available a report on qualified opportunity funds.

(3) INFORMATION INCLUDED.—The report required under paragraph (2) shall include, to the extent available, the following information:

(A) The number of qualified opportunity funds.

(B) The aggregate dollar amount of assets held in qualified opportunity funds.

(C) The aggregate dollar amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in qualified opportunity fund property, stated separately for each North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code.

(D) The percentage of population census tracts designated as qualified opportunity zones that have received qualified opportunity fund investments.

(E) For each population census tract designated as a qualified opportunity zone, the approximate average monthly number of full-time equivalent employees of the qualified opportunity zone businesses in such qualified opportunity zone for the preceding 12-month period (within numerical ranges identified by the Secretary) or such other indication of the employment impact of such

qualified opportunity fund businesses as determined appropriate by the Secretary.

(F) The percentage of the total amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in—

(i) qualified opportunity zone property which is real property; and

(ii) other qualified opportunity zone property.

(G) For each population census tract, the aggregate approximate number of residential units resulting from investments made by qualified opportunity funds in real property.

(H) The aggregate dollar amount of investments made by qualified opportunity funds in each population census tract.

(4) ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning with the report submitted under paragraph (2) for the 6th year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall include in such report the impacts and outcomes of a designation of a population census tract as a qualified opportunity zone as measured by economic indicators, such as job creation, poverty reduction, new business starts, and other metrics as determined by the Secretary.

(B) SEMI-DECENNIAL INFORMATION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any report submitted under paragraph (2) in the 6th year or the 11th year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall include the following information:

(I) For population census tracts designated as a qualified opportunity zone, a comparison (based on aggregate information) of the factors listed in clause (iii) between the 5-year period ending on the date of the enactment of Public Law 115-97 and the most recent 5-year period for which data is available.

(II) For population census tracts designated as a qualified opportunity zone, a comparison (based on aggregate information) of the factors listed in clause (iii) for the most recent 5-year period for which data is available between such population census tracts and similar population census tracts that were not designated as a qualified opportunity zone.

(ii) CONTROL GROUPS.—For purposes of clause (i), the Secretary may combine population census tracts into such groups as the Secretary determines appropriate for purposes of making comparisons.

(iii) FACTORS LISTED.—The factors listed in this clause are the following:

(I) The unemployment rate.

(II) The number of persons working in the population census tract, including the percentage of such persons who were not residents in the population census tract in the preceding year.

(III) Individual, family, and household poverty rates.

(IV) Median family income of residents of the population census tract.

(V) Demographic information on residents of the population census tract, including age, income, education, race, and employment.

(VI) The average percentage of income of residents of the population census tract spent on rent annually.

(VII) The number of residences in the population census tract.

(VIII) The rate of home ownership in the population census tract.

(IX) The average value of residential property in the population census tract.

(X) The number of affordable housing units in the population census tract.

(XI) The number of new business starts in the population census tract.

(XII) The distribution of employees in the population census tract by North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code.

(5) PROTECTION OF IDENTIFIABLE RETURN INFORMATION.—In making reports required under this subsection, the Secretary—

(A) shall establish appropriate procedures to ensure that any amounts reported do not disclose taxpayer return information that can be associated with any particular taxpayer or competitive or proprietary information, and

(B) if necessary to protect taxpayer return information, may combine information required with respect to individual population census tracts into larger geographic areas.

(6) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this subsection which is also used in subchapter Z of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall have the meaning given such term under such subchapter.

(7) REPORTS ON QUALIFIED RURAL OPPORTUNITY FUNDS.—The Secretary shall make publicly available, with respect to qualified rural opportunity funds, separate reports as required under this subsection, applied—

(A) by substituting “qualified rural opportunity” for “qualified opportunity” each place it appears,

(B) by substituting a reference to this Act for “Public Law 115-97”, and

(C) by treating any reference (after the application of subparagraph (A)) to qualified rural opportunity zone stock, qualified rural opportunity zone partnership interest, qualified rural opportunity zone business, or qualified opportunity zone business property as stock, interest, business, or property, respectively, described in subclause (I) or (II), as the case may be, of section 1400Z-2(b)(2)(C)(i) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

SEC. 70422. PERMANENT ENHANCEMENT OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT.

(a) PERMANENT STATE HOUSING CREDIT CEILING INCREASE FOR LOW-INCOME HOUSING CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 42(h)(3)(I) is amended—

(A) by striking “2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021,” and inserting “beginning after December 31, 2025,”

(B) by striking “1.125” and inserting “1.12”, and

(C) by striking “2018, 2019, 2020, AND 2021” in the heading and inserting “CALENDAR YEARS AFTER 2025”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(b) TAX-EXEMPT BOND FINANCING REQUIREMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 42(h)(4) is amended by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) SPECIAL RULE WHERE MINIMUM PERCENT OF BUILDINGS IS FINANCED WITH TAX-EXEMPT BONDS SUBJECT TO VOLUME CAP.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), paragraph (1) shall not apply to any portion of the credit allowable under subsection (a) with respect to a building if—

“(i) 50 percent or more of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located is financed by 1 or more obligations described in subparagraph (A), or

“(ii) 25 percent or more of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located is financed by 1 or more obligations described in subparagraph (A), and

“(II) 1 or more of such obligations—

“(aa) are part of an issue the issue date of which is after December 31, 2025, and

“(bb) provide the financing for not less than 5 percent of the aggregate basis of such building and the land on which the building is located.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to buildings placed in service in taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(B) REHABILITATION EXPENDITURES TREATED AS SEPARATE NEW BUILDING.—In the case of any building with respect to which any expenditures are treated as a separate new building under section 42(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, for purposes of subparagraph (A), both the existing building and the separate new building shall be treated as having been placed in service on the date such expenditures are treated as placed in service under section 42(e)(4) of such Code.

SEC. 70423. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF NEW MARKETS TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 45D(f)(1)(H) is amended by striking “for each of calendar years 2020 through 2025” and inserting “for each calendar year after 2019”.

(b) CARRYOVER OF UNUSED LIMITATION.—Section 45D(f)(3) is amended—

(1) by striking “If the” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the”, and

(2) by striking the second sentence and inserting the following:

“(B) LIMITATION.—No amount may be carried under subparagraph (A) to any calendar year after the fifth calendar year after the calendar year in which the excess described in such subparagraph occurred. For purposes of this subparagraph, any excess described in subparagraph (A) with respect to any calendar year before 2026 shall be treated as occurring in calendar year 2025.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70424. PERMANENT AND EXPANDED REINSTATEMENT OF PARTIAL DEDUCTION FOR CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO DO NOT ELECT TO ITEMIZE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(p) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$300 (\$600)” and inserting “\$1,000 (\$2,000)”, and

(2) by striking “beginning in 2021”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70425. 0.5 PERCENT FLOOR ON DEDUCTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 170(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(I) 0.5-PERCENT FLOOR.—Any charitable contribution otherwise allowable (without regard to this subparagraph) as a deduction under this section shall be allowed only to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions exceeds 0.5 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base for the taxable year. The preceding sentence shall be applied—

“(i) first, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (D) applies to the extent thereof,

“(ii) second, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (C) applies to the extent thereof,

“(iii) third, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (B) applies to the extent thereof,

“(iv) fourth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (E) applies to the extent thereof,

“(v) fifth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (A) applies to the extent thereof, and

“(vi) sixth, by taking into account charitable contributions to which subparagraph (G) applies to the extent thereof.”.

(2) APPLICATION OF CARRYFORWARD.—Paragraph (1) of section 170(d) is amended by add-

ing at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) CONTRIBUTIONS DISALLOWED BY 0.5-PERCENT FLOOR CARRIED FORWARD ONLY FROM YEARS IN WHICH LIMITATION IS EXCEEDED.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year from which an excess is carried forward (determined without regard to this subparagraph) under any carryover rule, the applicable carryover rule shall be applied by increasing the excess determined under such applicable carryover rule for the contribution year (before the application of subparagraph (B)) by the amount attributable to the charitable contributions to which such rule applies which is not allowed as a deduction for the contribution year by reason of subsection (b)(1)(I).

“(ii) CARRYOVER RULE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘carryover rule’ means—

“(I) subparagraph (A) of this paragraph,

“(II) subparagraphs (C)(ii), (D)(ii), (E)(ii), and (G)(ii) of subsection (b)(1), and

“(III) the second sentence of subsection (b)(1)(B).

“(iii) APPLICABLE CARRYOVER RULE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘applicable carryover rule’ means any carryover rule applicable to charitable contributions which were (in whole or in part) not allowed as a deduction for the contribution year by reason of subsection (b)(1)(I).”.

(3) COORDINATION WITH DEDUCTION FOR NON-ITEMIZERS.—Section 170(p), as amended by this Act, is further amended by inserting “, (b)(1)(I),” after “subsections (b)(1)(G)(ii)”.

(b) MODIFICATION OF LIMITATION FOR CASH CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Clause (i) of section 170(b)(1)(G) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For taxable years beginning after December 31, 2017, any contribution of cash to an organization described in subparagraph (A) shall be allowed as a deduction under subsection (a) to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions does not exceed the excess of—

“(I) 60 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base for the taxable year, over

“(II) the aggregate amount of contributions taken into account under subparagraph (A) for such taxable year.”.

(2) COORDINATION WITH OTHER LIMITATIONS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Clause (iii) of section 170(b)(1)(G) is amended—

(i) by striking “SUBPARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B)” in the heading and inserting “SUBPARAGRAPH (A)”, and

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “, and subparagraph (B)” and all that follows through “this subparagraph”.

(B) OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Subparagraph (B) of section 170(b)(1) is amended—

(i) by striking “to which subparagraph (A)” both places it appears and inserting “to which subparagraph (A) or (G)”, and

(ii) in clause (ii), by striking “over the amount” and all that follows through “subparagraph (C).” and inserting “over—

“(I) the amount of charitable contributions allowable under subparagraph (A) (determined without regard to subparagraph (C)) and subparagraph (G), reduced by

“(II) so much of the contributions taken into account under subparagraph (G) as does not exceed 10 percent of the taxpayer’s contribution base.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70426. 1-PERCENT FLOOR ON DEDUCTION OF CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY CORPORATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(b)(2)(A) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any charitable contribution otherwise allowable (without regard to this subparagraph) as a deduction under this section for any taxable year, other than any contribution to which subparagraph (B) or (C) applies, shall be allowed only to the extent that the aggregate of such contributions—

“(i) exceeds 1 percent of the taxpayer’s taxable income for the taxable year, and

“(ii) does not exceed 10 percent of the taxpayer’s taxable income for the taxable year.”.

(b) APPLICATION OF CARRYFORWARD.—Section 170(d)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) CORPORATIONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any charitable contribution taken into account under subsection (b)(2)(A) for any taxable year which is not allowed as a deduction by reason of clause (ii) thereof shall be taken into account as a charitable contribution for the succeeding taxable year, except that, for purposes of determining under this subparagraph whether such contribution is allowed in such succeeding taxable year, contributions in such succeeding taxable year (determined without regard to this paragraph) shall be taken into account under subsection (b)(2)(A) before any contribution taken into account by reason of this paragraph.

“(B) 5-YEAR CARRYFORWARD.—No charitable contribution may be carried forward under subparagraph (A) to any taxable year following the fifth taxable year after the taxable year in which the charitable contribution was first taken into account. For purposes of the preceding sentence, contributions shall be treated as allowed on a first-in first-out basis.

“(C) CONTRIBUTIONS DISALLOWED BY 1-PERCENT FLOOR CARRIED FORWARD ONLY FROM YEARS IN WHICH 10 PERCENT LIMITATION IS EXCEEDED.—In the case of any taxable year from which a charitable contribution is carried forward under subparagraph (A) (determined without regard to this subparagraph), subparagraph (A) shall be applied by substituting ‘clause (i) or (ii)’ for ‘clause (ii)’.

“(D) SPECIAL RULE FOR NET OPERATING LOSS CARRYOVERS.—The amount of charitable contributions carried forward under subparagraph (A) shall be reduced to the extent that such carryforward would (but for this subparagraph) reduce taxable income (as computed for purposes of the second sentence of section 172(b)(2)) and increase a net operating loss carryover under section 172 to a succeeding taxable year.”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Subparagraphs (B)(ii) and (C)(ii) of section 170(b)(2) are each amended by inserting “other than subparagraph (C) thereof” after “subsection (d)(2)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70427. PERMANENT INCREASE IN LIMITATION ON COVER OVER OF TAX ON DISTILLED SPIRITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) of section 7652(f) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) \$13.25, or”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to distilled spirits brought into the United States after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70428. NONPROFIT COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES IN REMOTE NATIVE VILLAGES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subchapter F of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any activity substantially related to participation or investment in fisheries in the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands statistical and reporting areas (as described in Figure 1 of section 679 of title 50, Code of Federal Regulations) carried on by

an entity identified in section 305(i)(1)(D) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)(D)) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this section) shall be considered substantially related to the exercise or performance of the purpose constituting the basis of such entity’s exemption under section 501(a) of such Code if the conduct of such activity is in furtherance of 1 or more of the purposes specified in section 305(i)(1)(A) of such Act (as so in effect). For purposes of this paragraph, activities substantially related to participation or investment in fisheries include the harvesting, processing, transportation, sales, and marketing of fish and fish products of the Bering Sea and Aleutian Islands statistical and reporting areas.

(b) APPLICATION TO CERTAIN WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARIES.—If the assets of a trade or business relating to an activity described in subsection (a) of any subsidiary wholly owned by an entity identified in section 305(i)(1)(D) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)(D)) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this section) are transferred to such entity (including in liquidation of such subsidiary) not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this Act—

(1) no gain or income resulting from such transfer shall be recognized to either such subsidiary or such entity under such Code, and

(2) all income derived from such subsidiary from such transferred trade or business shall be exempt from taxation under such Code.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act and shall remain effective during the existence of the western Alaska community development quota program established by Section 305(i)(1) of the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act (16 U.S.C. 1855(i)(1)), as amended.

SEC. 70429. ADJUSTMENT OF CHARITABLE DEDUCTION FOR CERTAIN EXPENSES INCURRED IN SUPPORT OF NATIVE ALASKAN SUBSISTENCE WHALING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 170(n)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$50,000”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70430. EXCEPTION TO PERCENTAGE OF COMPLETION METHOD OF ACCOUNTING FOR CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 460(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) by striking “home construction contract” both places it appears and inserting “residential construction contract”, and

(B) by inserting “(determined by substituting ‘3-year’ for ‘2-year’ in subparagraph (B)(i) for any residential construction contract which is not a home construction contract)” after “the requirements of clauses (i) and (ii) of subparagraph (B)”;

(2) by striking paragraph (4) and redesignating paragraph (5) as paragraph (4), and

(3) in subparagraph (A) of paragraph (4), as so redesignated, by striking “paragraph (4)” and inserting “paragraph (3)”.

(b) APPLICATION OF EXCEPTION FOR PURPOSES OF ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX.—Section 56(a)(3) is amended by striking “any home construction contract (as defined in section 460(e)(6))” and inserting “any residential construction contract (as defined in section 460(e)(4))”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to contracts entered into after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Subchapter D—Permanent Investments in Small Business and Rural America

SEC. 70431. EXPANSION OF QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK GAIN EXCLUSION.

(a) PHASED INCREASE IN EXCLUSION FOR GAIN FROM QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1202(a)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.— In the case of a taxpayer other than a corporation, gross income shall not include—

“(A) except as provided in paragraphs (3) and (4), 50 percent of any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock acquired on or before the applicable date and held for more than 5 years, and

“(B) the applicable percentage of any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock acquired after the applicable date and held for at least 3 years.”.

(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—Section 1202(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—The applicable percentage under paragraph (1) shall be determined under the following table:

Years stock held:	Applicable percentage:
3 years	50%
4 years	75%
5 years or more	100%”

(3) APPLICABLE DATE; ACQUISITION DATE.—Section 1202(a), as amended by paragraph (2), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) APPLICABLE DATE; ACQUISITION DATE.— For purposes of this section—

“(A) APPLICABLE DATE.—The term ‘applicable date’ means the date of the enactment of this paragraph.

“(B) ACQUISITION DATE.—In the case of any stock which would (but for this paragraph) be treated as having been acquired before, on, or after the applicable date, whichever is applicable, the acquisition date for purposes of this section shall be the first day on which such stock was held by the taxpayer determined after the application of section 1223.”.

(4) CONTINUED TREATMENT AS NOT ITEM OF TAX PREFERENCE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 57(a)(7) is amended by striking “An amount” and inserting “In the case of stock acquired on or before the date of the enactment of the Creating Small Business Jobs Act of 2010, an amount”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1202(a)(4) is amended—

(i) by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting a period, and

(ii) by striking subparagraph (C).

(5) OTHER CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Paragraphs (3)(A) and (4)(A) of section 1202(a) are each amended by striking “paragraph (1)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(A)”.

(B) Paragraph (4)(A) of section 1202(a) is amended by inserting “and on or before the applicable date” after “2010”.

(C) Sections 1202(b)(2), 1202(g)(2)(A), and 1202(j)(1)(A) are each amended by striking “more than 5 years” and inserting “at least 3 years (more than 5 years in the case of stock acquired on or before the applicable date)”.

(6) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) CONTINUED TREATMENT AS NOT ITEM OF TAX PREFERENCE.—The amendments made by paragraph (4) shall take effect as if included in the enactment of section 2011 of the Creating Small Business Jobs Act of 2010.

(b) INCREASE IN PER ISSUER LIMITATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of section 1202(b)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) the applicable dollar limit for the taxable year, or”.

(2) APPLICABLE DOLLAR LIMIT.—Section 1202(b) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) APPLICABLE DOLLAR LIMIT.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), the applicable dollar limit for any taxable year with respect to eligible gain from 1 or more dispositions by a taxpayer of qualified business stock of a corporation is—

“(A) if such stock was acquired by the taxpayer on or before the applicable date, \$10,000,000, reduced by the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for prior taxable years and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer before, on, or after the applicable date, and

“(B) if such stock was acquired by the taxpayer after the applicable date, \$15,000,000, reduced by the sum of—

“(i) the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for prior taxable years and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer before, on, or after the applicable date, plus

“(ii) the aggregate amount of eligible gain taken into account by the taxpayer under subsection (a) for the taxable year and attributable to dispositions of stock issued by such corporation and acquired by the taxpayer on or before the applicable date.

“(5) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the \$15,000,000 amount in paragraph (4)(B) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this subparagraph is not a multiple of \$10,000, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10,000.

“(B) NO INCREASE ONCE LIMIT REACHED.—If, for any taxable year, the eligible gain attributable to dispositions of stock issued by a corporation and acquired by the taxpayer after the applicable date exceeds the applicable dollar limit, then notwithstanding any increase under subparagraph (A) for any subsequent taxable year, the applicable dollar limit for such subsequent taxable year shall be zero.”.

(3) SEPARATE RETURNS.—Subparagraph (A) of section 1202(b)(3) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) SEPARATE RETURNS.—In the case of a separate return by a married individual for any taxable year—

“(i) paragraph (4)(A) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$5,000,000’ for ‘\$10,000,000’, and

“(ii) paragraph (4)(B) shall be applied by substituting one-half of the dollar amount in effect under such paragraph for the taxable year for the amount so in effect.”.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(C) INCREASE IN LIMIT IN AGGREGATE GROSS ASSETS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 1202(d)(1) are each amended by striking “\$50,000,000” and inserting “\$75,000,000”.

(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1202(b) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, the

\$75,000,000 amounts in paragraphs (1)(A) and (1)(B) shall each be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under this paragraph is not a multiple of \$10,000, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$10,000.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to stock issued after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70432. REPEAL OF REVISION TO DE MINIMIS RULES FOR THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS.

(a) REINSTATEMENT OF EXCEPTION FOR DE MINIMIS PAYMENTS AS IN EFFECT PRIOR TO ENACTMENT OF AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN ACT OF 2021.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6050W(e) is amended to read as follows:

“(e) EXCEPTION FOR DE MINIMIS PAYMENTS BY THIRD PARTY SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATIONS.—A third party settlement organization shall be required to report any information under subsection (a) with respect to third party network transactions of any participating payee only if—

“(1) the amount which would otherwise be reported under subsection (a)(2) with respect to such transactions exceeds \$20,000, and

“(2) the aggregate number of such transactions exceeds 200.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall take effect as if included in section 9674 of the American Rescue Plan Act.

(b) APPLICATION OF DE MINIMIS RULE FOR THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS TO BACKUP WITHHOLDING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 3406(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) OTHER REPORTABLE PAYMENTS INCLUDE PAYMENTS IN SETTLEMENT OF THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS ONLY WHERE AGGREGATE TRANSACTIONS EXCEED REPORTING THRESHOLD FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any payment in settlement of a third party network transaction required to be shown on a return required under section 6050W which is made during any calendar year shall be treated as a reportable payment only if—

“(i) the aggregate number of transactions with respect to the participating payee during such calendar year exceeds the number of transactions specified in section 6050W(e)(2), and

“(ii) the aggregate amount of transactions with respect to the participating payee during such calendar year exceeds the dollar amount specified in section 6050W(e)(1) at the time of such payment.

“(B) EXCEPTION IF THIRD PARTY NETWORK TRANSACTIONS MADE IN PRIOR YEAR WERE REPORTABLE.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to payments to any participating payee during any calendar year if one or more payments in settlement of third party network transactions made by the payor to the participating payee during the preceding calendar year were reportable payments.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to calendar years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 70433. INCREASE IN THRESHOLD FOR REQUIRING INFORMATION REPORTING WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN PAYEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6041(a) is amended by striking “\$600” and inserting “\$2,000”.

(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 6041 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—In the case of any calendar year after 2026, the dollar amount in subsection (a) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(1) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(2) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for such calendar year, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any increase under the preceding sentence is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.”.

(c) APPLICATION TO REPORTING ON REMUNERATION FOR SERVICES.—Section 6041A(a)(2) is amended by striking “is \$600 or more” and inserting “equals or exceeds the dollar amount in effect for such calendar year under section 6041(a)”.

(d) APPLICATION TO BACKUP WITHHOLDING.—Section 3406(b)(6) is amended—

(1) by striking “\$600” in subparagraph (A) and inserting “the dollar amount in effect for such calendar year under section 6041(a)”, and

(2) by striking “ONLY WHERE AGGREGATE FOR CALENDAR YEAR IS \$600 OR MORE” in the heading and inserting “ONLY WHERE IN EXCESS OF THRESHOLD”.

(e) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading of section 6041(a) is amended by striking “OF \$600 OR MORE” and inserting “EXCEEDING THRESHOLD”.

(2) Section 6041(a) is amended by striking “taxable year” and inserting “calendar year”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to payments made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70434. TREATMENT OF CERTAIN QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTIONS.

(a) ELECTION TO TREAT COSTS AS EXPENSES.—Section 181(a)(1) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production, and any qualified live theatrical production,” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, any qualified live theatrical production, and any qualified sound recording production”.

(b) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—Section 181(a)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to so much of the aggregate cost of any qualified sound recording production, or to so much of the aggregate, cumulative cost of all such qualified sound recording productions in the taxable year, as exceeds \$150,000.”.

(c) NO OTHER DEDUCTION OR AMORTIZATION DEDUCTION ALLOWABLE.—Section 181(b) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production or any qualified live theatrical production” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, or any qualified sound recording production”.

(d) ELECTION.—Section 181(c)(1) is amended by striking “qualified film or television production or any qualified live theatrical production” and inserting “qualified film or television production, any qualified live theatrical production, or any qualified sound recording production”.

(e) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION DEFINED.—Section 181 is amended by redesignating subsections (f) and (g) as subsections (g) and (h), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified sound recording production’ means a sound recording (as defined in section 101 of title 17, United States Code) produced and recorded in the United States.”.

(f) APPLICATION OF TERMINATION.—Section 181(h), as redesignated by subsection (e), is amended by striking “qualified film and television productions or qualified live theatrical productions” and inserting “qualified film and television productions, qualified live theatrical productions, or qualified sound recording productions”.

(g) BONUS DEPRECIATION.—

(1) QUALIFIED SOUND RECORDING PRODUCTION AS QUALIFIED PROPERTY.—Section 168(k)(2)(A)(i) is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of subclause (IV), by inserting “or” at the end of subclause (V), and by inserting after subclause (V) the following:

“(VI) which is a qualified sound recording production (as defined in subsection (f) of section 181) for which a deduction would have been allowable under section 181 without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (h) of such section or this subsection, and”, and

(B) in subclauses (IV) and (V) (as so amended) by striking “without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (g)” both places it appears and inserting “without regard to subsections (a)(2) and (h)”.

(2) PRODUCTION PLACED IN SERVICE.—Section 168(k)(2)(H) is amended by striking “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting “, and”, and by adding after clause (ii) the following:

“(iii) a qualified sound recording production shall be considered to be placed in service at the time of initial release or broadcast.”.

(h) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading for section 181 is amended to read as follows: “**TREATMENT OF CERTAIN QUALIFIED PRODUCTIONS.**”.

(2) The table of sections for part VI of subchapter B of chapter 1 is amended by striking the item relating to section 181 and inserting the following new item:

“Sec. 181. Treatment of certain qualified productions.”.

(i) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to productions commencing in taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act. **SEC. 70435. EXCLUSION OF INTEREST ON LOANS SECURED BY RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after section 139K the following new section:

“**SEC. 139L. INTEREST ON LOANS SECURED BY RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY.**

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Gross income shall not include 25 percent of the interest received by a qualified lender on any qualified real estate loan.

“(b) QUALIFIED LENDER.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified lender’ means—

“(1) any bank or savings association the deposits of which are insured under the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1811 et seq.),

“(2) any State- or federally-regulated insurance company,

“(3) any entity wholly owned, directly or indirectly, by a company that is treated as a bank holding company for purposes of section 8 of the International Banking Act of 1978 (12 U.S.C. 3106) if—

“(A) such entity is organized, incorporated, or established under the laws of the United States or any State, and

“(B) the principal place of business of such entity is in the United States (including any territory of the United States),

“(4) any entity wholly owned, directly or indirectly, by a company that is considered

an insurance holding company under the laws of any State if such entity satisfies the requirements described in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (3), and

“(5) with respect to interest received on a qualified real estate loan secured by real estate described in subsection (c)(3)(A), any federally chartered instrumentality of the United States established under section 8.1(a) of the Farm Credit Act of 1971 (12 U.S.C. 2279aa-1(a)).

“(c) QUALIFIED REAL ESTATE LOAN.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified real estate loan’ means any loan—

“(A) secured by—

“(i) rural or agricultural real estate, or

“(ii) a leasehold mortgage (with a status as a lien) on rural or agricultural real estate,

“(B) made to a person other than a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)), and

“(C) made after the date of the enactment of this section.

For purposes of the preceding sentence, the determination of whether property securing such loan is rural or agricultural real estate shall be made as of the time the interest income on such loan is accrued.

“(2) REFINANCINGS.—For purposes of subparagraphs (A) and (C) of paragraph (1), a loan shall not be treated as made after the date of the enactment of this section to the extent that the proceeds of such loan are used to refinance a loan which was made on or before the date of the enactment of this section (or, in the case of any series of refinancings, the original loan was made on or before such date).

“(3) RURAL OR AGRICULTURAL REAL ESTATE.—The term ‘rural or agricultural real estate’ means—

“(A) any real property which is substantially used for the production of one or more agricultural products,

“(B) any real property which is substantially used in the trade or business of fishing or seafood processing, and

“(C) any aquaculture facility.

Such term shall not include any property which is not located in a State or a possession of the United States.

“(4) AQUACULTURE FACILITY.—The term ‘aquaculture facility’ means any land, structure, or other appurtenance that is used for aquaculture (including any hatchery, rearing pond, raceway, pen, or incubator).

“(d) COORDINATION WITH SECTION 265.—25 percent of any qualified real estate loan shall be treated as an obligation described in section 265(a)(2) the interest on which is wholly exempt from the taxes imposed by this subtitle.”.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 139K the following new item:

“Sec. 139L. Interest on loans secured by rural or agricultural real property.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70436. REDUCTION OF TRANSFER AND MANUFACTURING TAXES FOR CERTAIN DEVICES.

(a) TRANSFER TAX.—Section 5811(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) RATE.—There shall be levied, collected, and paid on firearms transferred a tax at the rate of—

“(1) \$200 for each firearm transferred in the case of a machinegun or a destructive device, and

“(2) \$0 for any firearm transferred which is not described in paragraph (1).”.

(b) MAKING TAX.—Section 5821(a) is amended to read as follows:

“(a) RATE.—There shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the making of a firearm a tax at the rate of—

“(1) \$200 for each firearm made in the case of a machinegun or a destructive device, and

“(2) \$0 for any firearm made which is not described in paragraph (1).”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 4182(a) is amended by adding at the end the following: “For purposes of the preceding sentence, any firearm described in section 5811(a)(2) shall be deemed to be a firearm on which the tax provided by section 5811 has been paid.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to calendar quarters beginning more than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70437. TREATMENT OF CAPITAL GAINS FROM THE SALE OF CERTAIN FARMLAND PROPERTY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating section 1062 as section 1063 and by inserting after section 1061 the following new section:

“**SEC. 1062. GAIN FROM THE SALE OR EXCHANGE OF QUALIFIED FARMLAND PROPERTY TO QUALIFIED FARMERS.**

“(a) ELECTION TO PAY TAX IN INSTALLMENTS.—In the case of gain from the sale or exchange of qualified farmland property to a qualified farmer, at the election of the taxpayer, the portion of the net income tax of such taxpayer for the taxable year of the sale or exchange which is equal to the applicable net tax liability shall be paid in 4 equal installments.

“(b) RULES RELATING TO INSTALLMENT PAYMENTS.—

“(1) DATE FOR PAYMENT OF INSTALLMENTS.—If an election is made under subsection (a), the first installment shall be paid on the due date (determined without regard to any extension of time for filing the return) for the return of tax for the taxable year in which the sale or exchange occurs and each succeeding installment shall be paid on the due date (as so determined) for the return of tax for the taxable year following the taxable year with respect to which the preceding installment was made.

“(2) ACCELERATION OF PAYMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If there is an addition to tax for failure to timely pay any installment required under this section, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be due on the date of such failure.

“(B) INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual, if the individual dies, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installment shall be paid on the due date for the return of tax for the taxable year in which the taxpayer dies.

“(C) C CORPORATIONS.—In the case of a taxpayer which is a C corporation, trust, or estate, if there is a liquidation or sale of substantially all the assets of the taxpayer (including in a title 11 or similar case), a cessation of business by the taxpayer (in the case of a C corporation), or any similar circumstance, then the unpaid portion of all remaining installments shall be due on the date of such event (or in the case of a title 11 or similar case, the day before the petition is filed). The preceding sentence shall not apply to the sale of substantially all the assets of a taxpayer to a buyer if such buyer enters into an agreement with the Secretary under which such buyer is liable for the remaining installments due under this subsection in the same manner as if such buyer were the taxpayer.

“(3) PRORATION OF DEFICIENCY TO INSTALLMENTS.—If an election is made under subsection (a) to pay the applicable net tax liability in installments and a deficiency has

been assessed with respect to such applicable net tax liability, the deficiency shall be prorated to the installments payable under subsection (a). The part of the deficiency so prorated to any installment the date for payment of which has not arrived shall be collected at the same time as, and as a part of, such installment. The part of the deficiency so prorated to any installment the date for payment of which has arrived shall be paid upon notice and demand from the Secretary. This section shall not apply if the deficiency is due to negligence, to intentional disregard of rules and regulations, or to fraud with intent to evade tax.

“(c) ELECTION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Any election under subsection (a) shall be made not later than the due date for the return of tax for the taxable year described in subsection (a).

“(2) PARTNERSHIPS AND S CORPORATIONS.—In the case of a sale or exchange described in subsection (a) by a partnership or S corporation, the election under subsection (a) shall be made at the partner or shareholder level. The Secretary may prescribe such regulations or other guidance as necessary to carry out the purposes of this paragraph.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) APPLICABLE NET TAX LIABILITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The applicable net tax liability with respect to the sale or exchange of any property described in subsection (a) is the excess (if any) of—

“(i) such taxpayer’s net income tax for the taxable year, over

“(ii) such taxpayer’s net income tax for such taxable year determined without regard to any gain recognized from the sale or exchange of such property.

“(B) NET INCOME TAX.—The term ‘net income tax’ means the regular tax liability reduced by the credits allowed under subparts A, B, and D of part IV of subchapter A.

“(2) QUALIFIED FARMLAND PROPERTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified farmland property’ means real property located in the United States—

“(i) which—

“(I) has been used by the taxpayer as a farm for farming purposes, or

“(II) leased by the taxpayer to a qualified farmer for farming purposes, during substantially all of the 10-year period ending on the date of the qualified sale or exchange, and

“(ii) which is subject to a covenant or other legally enforceable restriction which prohibits the use of such property other than as a farm for farming purposes for any period before the date that is 10 years after the date of the sale or exchange described in subsection (a).

For purposes of clause (i), property which is used or leased by a partnership or S corporation in a manner described in such clause shall be treated as used or leased in such manner by each person who holds a direct or indirect interest in such partnership or S corporation.

“(B) FARM; FARMING PURPOSES.—The terms ‘farm’ and ‘farming purposes’ have the respective meanings given such terms under section 2032A(e).

“(3) QUALIFIED FARMER.—The term ‘qualified farmer’ means any individual who is actively engaged in farming (within the meaning of subsections (b) and (c) of section 1001 of the Food Security Act of 1986 (7 U.S.C. 1308-1(b) and (c))).

“(e) RETURN REQUIREMENT.—A taxpayer making an election under subsection (a) shall include with the return for the taxable year of the sale or exchange described in subsection (a) a copy of the covenant or other legally enforceable restriction described in subsection (d)(2)(A)(ii).”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by redesignating the item relating to section 1062 as relating to section 1063 and by inserting after the item relating to section 1061 the following new item:

“Sec. 1062. Gain from the sale or exchange of qualified farmland property to qualified farmers.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to sales or exchanges in taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70438. EXTENSION OF RULES FOR TREATMENT OF CERTAIN DISASTER-RELATED PERSONAL CASUALTY LOSSES.

For purposes of applying section 304(b) of the Taxpayer Certainty and Disaster Tax Relief Act of 2020 (division EE of Public Law 116-260), section 301 of such Act shall be applied by substituting the date of the enactment of this section for “the date of the enactment of this Act” each place it appears.

CHAPTER 5—ENDING GREEN NEW DEAL SPENDING, PROMOTING AMERICA-FIRST ENERGY, AND OTHER REFORMS

Subchapter A—Termination of Green New Deal Subsidies

SEC. 70501. TERMINATION OF PREVIOUSLY-OWNED CLEAN VEHICLE CREDIT.

Section 25E(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “September 30, 2025”.

SEC. 70502. TERMINATION OF CLEAN VEHICLE CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 30D(h) is amended by striking “placed in service after December 31, 2032” and inserting “acquired after September 30, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 30D(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(B)—

(A) in clause (iii), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(B) in clause (iv), by striking “, and” and inserting a period, and

(C) by striking clause (v), and

(2) in paragraph (2)(B)—

(A) in clause (ii), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the comma at the end and inserting a period, and

(C) by striking clauses (iv) through (vi).

SEC. 70503. TERMINATION OF QUALIFIED COMMERCIAL CLEAN VEHICLES CREDIT.

Section 45W(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “September 30, 2025”.

SEC. 70504. TERMINATION OF ALTERNATIVE FUEL VEHICLE REFUELING PROPERTY CREDIT.

Section 30C(i) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “June 30, 2026”.

SEC. 70505. TERMINATION OF ENERGY EFFICIENT HOME IMPROVEMENT CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 25C(h) is amended by striking “placed in service” and all that follows through “December 31, 2032” and inserting “placed in service after December 31, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 25C(d)(2)(C) is amended to read as follows:

“(C) Any oil furnace or hot water boiler which—

“(i) meets or exceeds 2021 Energy Star efficiency criteria, and

“(ii) is rated by the manufacturer for use with fuel blends at least 20 percent of the volume of which consists of an eligible fuel.”

SEC. 70506. TERMINATION OF RESIDENTIAL CLEAN ENERGY CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 25D(h) is amended by striking “to property placed in service

after December 31, 2034” and inserting “with respect to any expenditures made after December 31, 2025”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 25D(g) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end,

(2) in paragraph (3), by striking “ and before January 1, 2033, 30 percent,” and inserting “30 percent.”, and

(3) by striking paragraphs (4) and (5).

SEC. 70507. TERMINATION OF ENERGY EFFICIENT COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS DEDUCTION.

Section 179D is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(i) TERMINATION.—This section shall not apply with respect to property the construction of which begins after June 30, 2026.”

SEC. 70508. TERMINATION OF NEW ENERGY EFFICIENT HOME CREDIT.

Section 45L(h) is amended by striking “December 31, 2032” and inserting “June 30, 2026”.

SEC. 70509. TERMINATION OF COST RECOVERY FOR ENERGY PROPERTY AND QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.

(a) ENERGY PROPERTY.—Section 168(e)(3)(B)(vi), as amended by section 13703 of Public Law 117-169, is amended—

(1) by striking subclause (I), and

(2) by redesignating subclauses (II) and (III) as subclauses (I) and (II), respectively.

(b) QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.—Section 168(e)(3)(B), as amended by section 13703 of Public Law 117-169 and by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) in clause (vi)(II), by adding “and” at the end,

(2) in clause (vii), by striking “, and” and inserting a period, and

(3) by striking clause (viii).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) ENERGY PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2024.

(2) QUALIFIED CLEAN ENERGY FACILITIES, PROPERTY, AND TECHNOLOGY.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to property placed in service after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70510. MODIFICATIONS OF ZERO-EMISSION NUCLEAR POWER PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45U(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).

“(B) OTHER PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”

(b) PROHIBITION WITH RESPECT TO NUCLEAR POWER FACILITIES USING NUCLEAR FUEL PRODUCED IN COVERED NATIONS OR BY COVERED ENTITIES.—Section 45U, as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) and (C) as subparagraphs (C) and (D), respectively, and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (A) the following new subparagraph:

“(B) which satisfies the requirements described in subsection (c)(4).”, and

(2) in subsection (c), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO USE OF CERTAIN IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For any taxable year, the requirements described in this paragraph with respect to any nuclear facility are that—

“(i) with respect to any nuclear fuel used by such facility during such taxable year, such fuel was not—

“(I) produced in a covered nation or by a covered entity,

“(II) exchanged with, traded for, or substituted for nuclear fuel described in subclause (I), or

“(III) otherwise obtained in lieu of nuclear fuel described in subclause (I) in a manner which is designed to circumvent the purposes of this paragraph, and

“(ii) the taxpayer shall certify to the Secretary (at such time and in such form and manner as the Secretary may prescribe) that any fuel used by such facility during such taxable year complies with the requirements described in clause (i).

“(B) EXCEPTION.—The requirements described in subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect to any nuclear fuel which was acquired by the taxpayer pursuant to a binding written contract in effect before January 1, 2023, and which was not modified in any material respect on or after such date.

“(C) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph—

“(i) COVERED ENTITY.—The term ‘covered entity’ means an entity organized under the laws of, or otherwise subject to the jurisdiction of, the government of a covered nation.

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f) of title 10, United States Code.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO USE OF CERTAIN IMPORTED NUCLEAR FUEL.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2027.

SEC. 70511. TERMINATION OF CLEAN HYDROGEN PRODUCTION CREDIT.

Section 45V(c)(3)(C) is amended by striking “January 1, 2033” and inserting “January 1, 2028”.

SEC. 70512. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 45Y(d) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

“(3) APPLICABLE YEAR.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘applicable year’ means calendar year 2032.

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply with respect to any applicable facility placed in service after December 31, 2027.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”.

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Y is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any facility for which construction begins after December 31, 2025 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in subsection (d)(4)(B), after June 16, 2025), if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”, and

(2) in subsection (g), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(1).”.

(c) DEFINITIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 7701(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(51) PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—

“(i) DEFINITION.—The term ‘prohibited foreign entity’ means a specified foreign entity or a foreign-influenced entity.

“(ii) DETERMINATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subclause (II), for any taxable year, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity or foreign-influenced entity shall be made as of the last day of such taxable year.

“(II) INITIAL TAXABLE YEAR.—For purposes of the first taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity described in clauses (i) through (iv) of subparagraph (B) shall be made as of the first day of such taxable year.

“(B) SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified foreign entity’ means—

“(i) a foreign entity of concern described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), or (E) of section 9901(8) of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 15 U.S.C. 4651),

“(ii) an entity identified as a Chinese military company operating in the United States in accordance with section 1260H of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 10 U.S.C. 113 note),

“(iii) an entity included on a list required by clause (i), (ii), (iv), or (v) of section 2(d)(2)(B) of Public Law 117-78 (135 Stat. 1527),

“(iv) an entity specified under section 154(b) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2024 (Public Law 118-31; 10 U.S.C. note prec. 4651), or

“(v) a foreign-controlled entity.

“(C) FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (B), the term ‘foreign-controlled entity’ means—

“(i) the government (including any level of government below the national level) of a covered nation.

“(ii) an agency or instrumentality of a government described in clause (i).

“(iii) a person who is a citizen or national of a covered nation, provided that such person is not an individual who is a citizen, national, or lawful permanent resident of the United States.

“(iv) an entity or a qualified business unit (as defined in section 989(a)) incorporated or organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a covered nation, or

“(v) an entity (including subsidiary entities) controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by an entity described in clause (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv).

“(D) FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘foreign-influenced entity’ means an entity—

“(I) with respect to which, during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the direct authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity owns at least 25 percent of such entity,

“(cc) one or more specified foreign entities own in the aggregate at least 40 percent of such entity, or

“(dd) at least 15 percent of the debt of such entity has been issued, in the aggregate, to 1 or more specified foreign entities, or

“(II) which, during the previous taxable year, made a payment to a specified foreign entity pursuant to a contract, agreement, or other arrangement which entitles such specified foreign entity (or an entity related to such specified foreign entity) to exercise effective control over—

“(aa) any qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer), or

“(bb) with respect to any eligible component produced by the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer)—

“(AA) the extraction, processing, or recycling of any applicable critical mineral, or

“(BB) the production of an eligible component which is not an applicable critical mineral.

“(ii) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—

“(aa) GENERAL RULE.—Subject to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means 1 or more agreements or arrangements similar to those described in subclauses (II) and (III) which provide 1 or more contractual counterparties of a taxpayer with specific authority over key aspects of the production of eligible components, energy generation in a qualified facility, or energy storage which are not included in the measures of control through authority, ownership, or debt held which are described in clause (i)(I).

“(bb) GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this clause, including the establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions described in subparagraph (C) and subclauses (II) and (III) of this clause through a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(II) APPLICATION OF RULES PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF GUIDANCE.—During any period prior to the date that the guidance described in subclause (I)(bb) is issued by the Secretary, for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means the unrestricted

contractual right of a contractual counterparty to—

“(aa) determine the quantity or timing of production of an eligible component produced by the taxpayer,

“(bb) determine the amount or timing of activities related to the production of electricity undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer or the storage of electrical energy in energy storage technology of the taxpayer,

“(cc) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a production unit of the taxpayer that produces eligible components,

“(dd) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a qualified facility of the taxpayer,

“(ee) restrict access to data critical to production or storage of energy undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer, or to the site of production or any part of a qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer, to the personnel or agents of such contractual counterparty, or

“(ff) on an exclusive basis, maintain, repair, or operate any plant or equipment which is necessary to the production by the taxpayer of eligible components or electricity.

“(III) LICENSING AND OTHER AGREEMENTS.—

“(aa) IN GENERAL.—In addition to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means, with respect to a licensing agreement for the provision of intellectual property or any other contract, agreement, or other arrangement entered into with a contractual counterparty which is related to such licensing agreement and to a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or the production of an eligible component, any of the following:

“(AA) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to specify or otherwise direct 1 or more sources of components, subcomponents, or applicable critical minerals utilized in a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(BB) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct the operation of any qualified facility, any energy storage technology, or any production unit that produces an eligible component.

“(CC) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to limit the taxpayer’s utilization of intellectual property related to the operation of a qualified facility or energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(DD) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to receive royalties under the licensing agreement or any similar agreement (or payments under any related agreement) beyond the 10th year of the agreement (including modifications or extensions thereof).

“(EE) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct or otherwise require the taxpayer to enter into an agreement for the provision of services for a duration longer than 2 years (including any modifications or extensions thereof).

“(FF) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement does not provide the licensee with all the technical data, information, and know-how necessary to enable the licensee to produce the eligible component or components subject to the contract, agreement, or other arrangement without further involvement from the contractual counterparty or a specified foreign entity.

“(GG) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement was entered into (or modified) on or after June 16, 2025.

“(bb) EXCEPTION.—

“(AA) IN GENERAL.—Item (aa) shall not apply in the case of a bona fide purchase or sale of intellectual property.

“(BB) BONA FIDE PURCHASE OR SALE.—For purposes of item (aa), any purchase or sale of intellectual property where the agreement provides that ownership of the intellectual property reverts to the contractual counterparty after a period of time shall not be considered a bona-fide purchase or sale.

“(IV) PERSONS RELATED TO THE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of subclauses (I), (II), and (III), the term ‘taxpayer’ shall include any person related to the taxpayer.

“(V) CONTRACTUAL COUNTERPARTY.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘contractual counterparty’ means an entity with which the taxpayer has entered into a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(iii) GUIDANCE.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this subparagraph, including establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions against impermissible technology licensing arrangements with specified foreign entities, such as through temporary transfers of intellectual property, retention by a specified foreign entity of a reversionary interest in transferred intellectual property, or otherwise.

“(E) PUBLICLY TRADED ENTITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—

“(I) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (C)(v) shall not apply in the case of any entity the securities of which are regularly traded on—

“(aa) a national securities exchange which is registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission,

“(bb) the national market system established pursuant to section 11A of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934, or

“(cc) any other exchange or other market which the Secretary has determined in guidance issued under section 1296(e)(1)(A)(ii) has rules adequate to carry out the purposes of part VI of subchapter P of chapter 1 of subtitle A.

“(II) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (D)(i)(I) shall not apply in the case of any entity—

“(aa) the securities of which are regularly traded in a manner described in subclause (I), or

“(bb) for which not less than 80 percent of the equity securities of such entity are owned directly or indirectly by an entity which is described in item (aa).

“(III) EXCLUSION OF EXCHANGES OR MARKETS IN COVERED NATIONS.—Subclause (I)(cc) shall not apply with respect to any exchange or market which—

“(aa) is incorporated or organized under the laws of a covered nation, or

“(bb) has its principal place of business in a covered nation.

“(ii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(I), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-controlled entity under subparagraph (C)(v) if such entity is controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by—

“(I) 1 or more specified foreign entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (B)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in clause (iii)(D)(bb), or

“(II) 1 or more foreign-controlled entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (C)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in such clause.

“(iii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(II), such entity shall be

deemed to be a foreign-influenced entity under subparagraph (D)(i)(I) if—

“(I) during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity required to report its beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 (or, in the case of an exchange or market described in clause (i)(I)(cc), an equivalent rule) owns not less than 25 percent of such entity, or

“(cc) 1 or more specified foreign entities that are each required to report their beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 own, in the aggregate, not less than 40 percent of such entity, or

“(II) such entity has issued debt, as part of an original issuance, in excess of 15 percent of its publicly-traded debt to 1 or more specified foreign entities.

“(F) COVERED OFFICER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘covered officer’ means, with respect to an entity—

“(i) a member of the board of directors, board of supervisors, or equivalent governing body,

“(ii) an executive-level officer, including the president, chief executive officer, chief operating officer, chief financial officer, general counsel, or senior vice president, or

“(iii) an individual having powers or responsibilities similar to those of officers or members described in clause (i) or (ii).

“(G) DETERMINATION OF CONTROL.—For purposes of subparagraph (C)(v), the term ‘control’ means—

“(i) in the case of a corporation, ownership (by vote or value) of more than 50 percent of the stock in such corporation,

“(ii) in the case of a partnership, ownership of more than 50 percent of the profits interests or capital interests in such partnership, or

“(iii) in any other case, ownership of more than 50 percent of the beneficial interests in the entity.

“(H) DETERMINATION OF OWNERSHIP.—For purposes of this section, section 318(a)(2) shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of stock in a corporation. Similar principles shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of interests in any other entity.

“(I) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL.—The term ‘applicable critical mineral’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(6).

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f)(2) of title 10, United States Code.

“(iii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(1).

“(iv) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(v) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1), and

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3).

“(vi) RELATED.—The term ‘related’ shall have the same meaning given such term under sections 267(b) and 707(b).

“(J) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of applying any provision under this paragraph, the beginning of construction with respect to any property shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules under Internal Revenue Service Notice 2013-

29 and Internal Revenue Service Notice 2018-59 (as well as any subsequently issued guidance clarifying, modifying, or updating either such Notice), as in effect on January 1, 2025.

“(K) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including rules to prevent the circumvention of any rules or restrictions with respect to prohibited foreign entities.

“(52) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity’ means—

“(i) with respect to any qualified facility or energy storage technology, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (B), or

“(ii) with respect to any facility which produces eligible components, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (C).

“(B) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(i) in the case of a qualified facility the construction of which begins—

“(I) after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 37.5 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2026, 40 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2027, 45 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2028, 50 percent,

“(V) during calendar year 2029, 55 percent,

and

“(VI) after December 31, 2029, 60 percent,

and

“(ii) in the case of energy storage technology the construction of which begins—

“(I) during calendar year 2026, 55 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2028, 65 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2029, 70 percent,

and

“(V) after December 31, 2029, 75 percent.

“(C) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(I) in the case of any solar energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(3)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

“(II) in the case of any wind energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(4)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 85 percent,

and

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 90 percent,

“(III) in the case of any inverter described in subparagraphs (B) through (G) of section 45X(c)(2) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 55 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 60 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 65 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 70 percent,

“(IV) in the case of any qualifying battery component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(5)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 60 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 65 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

“(V) subject to clause (ii), in the case of any applicable critical mineral (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(6)) which is sold—

“(aa) after December 31, 2025, and before January 1, 2030, 0 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2030, 25 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2031, 30 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2032, 40 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2032, 50 percent.

“(ii) ADJUSTED THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS.—Not later than December 31, 2027, the Secretary shall issue threshold percentages for each of the applicable critical minerals described in section 45X(c)(6), which shall—

“(I) apply in lieu of the threshold percentage determined under clause (i)(V) for each calendar year, and

“(II) equal or exceed the threshold percentage which would otherwise apply with respect to such applicable critical mineral under such clause for such calendar year, taking into account—

“(aa) domestic geographic availability,

“(bb) supply chain constraints,

“(cc) domestic processing capacity needs,

and

“(dd) national security concerns.

“(V) subject to clause (ii), in the case of any applicable critical mineral (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(6)) which is sold—

“(aa) after December 31, 2025, and before January 1, 2030, 0 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2030, 25 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2031, 30 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2032, 40 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2032, 50 percent.

“(i) ADJUSTED THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS.—Not later than December 31, 2027, the Secretary shall issue threshold percentages for each of the applicable critical minerals described in section 45X(c)(6), which shall—

“(I) apply in lieu of the threshold percentage determined under clause (i)(V) for each calendar year, and

“(II) equal or exceed the threshold percentage which would otherwise apply with respect to such applicable critical mineral under such clause for such calendar year, taking into account—

“(aa) domestic geographic availability,

“(bb) supply chain constraints,

“(cc) domestic processing capacity needs,

and

“(dd) national security concerns.

“(D) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO.—

“(i) QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, minus

“(bb) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are—

“(AA) incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, and

“(BB) mined, produced, or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(ii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component, minus

“(bb) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component that are attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(iii) SAFE HARBOR TABLES.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue safe harbor tables (and such other guidance as deemed necessary) to—

“(aa) identify the percentage of total direct costs of any manufactured product which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity,

“(bb) identify the percentage of total direct material costs of any eligible compo-

nent which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(cc) provide all rules necessary to determine the amount of a taxpayer’s material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity within the meaning of this paragraph.

“(II) SAFE HARBORS PRIOR TO ISSUANCE.—For purposes of this paragraph, prior to the date on which the Secretary issues the safe harbor tables described in subclause (I), and for construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology which begins on or before the date which is 60 days after the date of issuance of such tables, a taxpayer may—

“(aa) use the tables included in Internal Revenue Service Notice 2025-08 to establish the percentage of the total direct costs of any listed eligible component and any manufactured product, and

“(bb) rely on a certification by the supplier of the manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component—

“(AA) of the total direct costs or the total direct material costs, as applicable, of such product or component that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(BB) that such product or component was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(III) EXCEPTION.—Notwithstanding subclauses (I) and (II)—

“(aa) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that a manufactured product or eligible component was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, the taxpayer shall treat all direct costs with respect to such manufactured product, or all direct material costs with respect to such eligible component, as attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(bb) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) pertaining to a manufactured product or eligible component is inaccurate, the taxpayer may not rely on such certification.

“(IV) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—In a manner consistent with Treasury Regulation section 1.45X-4(c)(4)(i) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) shall—

“(aa) include—

“(AA) the supplier’s employer identification number, or

“(BB) any such similar identification number issued by a foreign government,

“(bb) be signed under penalties of perjury,

“(cc) be retained by the supplier and the taxpayer for a period of not less than 6 years and shall be provided to the Secretary upon request, and

“(dd) be from the supplier from which the taxpayer purchased any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent elements, materials, or subcomponents of an eligible component, stating either—

“(AA) that such property was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity and that the supplier is not aware that any prior supplier in the chain of production of that property is a prohibited foreign entity,

“(BB) for purposes of section 45X, the total direct material costs for each component, constituent element, material, or subcomponent that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(CC) for purposes of section 45Y or section 48E, the total direct costs attributable to all manufactured products that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(iv) EXISTING CONTRACT.—Upon the election of the taxpayer (in such form and manner as the Secretary shall designate), in the case of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component which is—

“(I) acquired by the taxpayer, or manufactured or assembled by or for the taxpayer, pursuant to a binding written contract which was entered into prior to June 16, 2025, and

“(II)(aa) placed into service before January 1, 2030 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in section 45Y(d)(4)(B), before January 1, 2028), or

“(bb) in the case of a constituent element, material, or subcomponent, used in a product sold before January 1, 2030,

the cost to the taxpayer with respect to such product, component, element, material, or subcomponent shall not be included for purposes of determining the material assistance cost ratio under this subparagraph.

“(v) ANTI-CIRCUMVENTION RULES.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to prevent circumvention of the rules under this subparagraph, including prevention of—

“(I) any abuse of the exception provided under clause (iv) through the stockpiling of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component during any period prior to the application of the requirements under this paragraph, or

“(II) any evasion with respect to the requirements of this subparagraph where the facts and circumstances demonstrate that the beginning of construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology has not in fact occurred.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ means—

“(I) any property described in section 45X(c)(1), or

“(II) any component which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(ii) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(iii) MANUFACTURED PRODUCT.—The term ‘manufactured product’ means—

“(I) a manufactured product which is a component of a qualified facility, as described in section 45Y(g)(11)(B) and any guidance issued thereunder, or

“(II) any product which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(iv) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1),

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3), and

“(III) any qualified interconnection property (as defined in section 48E(b)(4)) which is part of the qualified investment with respect to a qualified facility (as described in section 48E(b)(1)).

“(F) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—Rules similar to the rules under paragraph (5)(J) shall apply for purposes of this paragraph.

“(G) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including—

“(i) identification of components or products for purposes of clauses (i) and (iii) of subparagraph (E), and

“(ii) for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), rules to address facilities which produce more than one eligible component.”.

(d) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—Section 45Y is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section with respect to any production of electricity during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘lessee’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”.

(e) EMISSIONS RATES TABLES.—Section 45Y(b)(2)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXISTING STUDIES.—For purposes of clause (i), in determining greenhouse gas emissions rates for types or categories of facilities for the purpose of determining whether a facility satisfies the requirements under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall consider studies published on or before the date of enactment of this clause which demonstrate a net lifecycle greenhouse gas emissions rate which is not greater than zero using widely accepted lifecycle assessment concepts, such as concepts described in standards developed by the International Organization for Standardization.”.

(f) NUCLEAR ENERGY COMMUNITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45(b)(11) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (ii)(II), by striking “or” at the end,

(ii) in clause (iii)(II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or”, and

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

“(iv) for purposes of any qualified facility which is an advanced nuclear facility, a metropolitan statistical area which has (or, at any time during the period beginning after December 31, 2009, had) 0.17 percent or greater direct employment related to the advancement of nuclear power, including employment related to—

“(I) an advanced nuclear facility,

“(II) advanced nuclear power research and development,

“(III) nuclear fuel cycle research, development, or production, including mining, enrichment, manufacture, storage, disposal, or recycling of nuclear fuel, and

“(IV) the manufacturing or assembly of components used in an advanced nuclear facility.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) ADVANCED NUCLEAR FACILITIES.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), for purposes of subparagraph (B)(iv), the term ‘advanced nuclear facility’ means any nuclear facility the reactor design for which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2).

(ii) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of clause (i), a facility shall be deemed to have a reactor design which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2) if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has authorized construction and issued a site-specific construction permit or combined license with respect to such facility.”.

(2) NONAPPLICATION FOR CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.—Section 48E(a)(3)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “, as applied without regard to clause (iv) thereof” after “section 45(b)(11)(B)”.

(g) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Paragraph (1) of section 48D(c) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) is not a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), and”.

(2) Section 45Y(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraph (D) as subparagraph (E), and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DETERMINATION OF CAPACITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (C), additions of capacity of a facility shall be determined in any reasonable manner, including based on—

“(i) determinations by, or reports to, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (including interconnection agreements), the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, or any similar entity, reflecting additions of capacity,

“(ii) determinations or reports reflecting additions of capacity made by an independent professional engineer,

“(iii) reports to, or issued by, regional transmission organizations or independent system operators reflecting additions of capacity, or

“(iv) any other method or manner provided by the Secretary.”.

(h) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 6418(g) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—With respect to any eligible credit described in clause (iii), (iv), (vi), (vii), (viii), or (xi) of subsection (f)(1)(A), an eligible taxpayer may not elect to transfer any portion of such credit to a taxpayer that is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).”.

(i) EXTENSION OF PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS FOR ERRORS RELATING TO DETERMINING OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—Section 6501 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—In the case of a deficiency attributable to an error with respect to the determination under section 7701(a)(52) for any taxable year, such deficiency may be assessed at any time within 6 years after the return for such year was filed.”.

(j) IMPOSITION OF ACCURACY-RELATED PENALTIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6662 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(m) SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTATEMENT OF INCOME TAX DUE TO DISALLOWANCE OF APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which there is a disallowance of an applicable energy credit for any taxable year, for purposes of determining whether there is a substantial understatement of income tax for such taxable year, subsection (d)(1) shall be applied—

“(A) in subparagraphs (A) and (B), by substituting ‘1 percent’ for ‘10 percent’ each place it appears, and

“(B) without regard to subparagraph (C).

“(2) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘disallowance of an applicable energy credit’ means the disallowance of a credit under section 45X, 45Y, or 48E by reason of overstating the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)) with respect to any qualified facility, energy storage technology, or facility which produces eligible components.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 6417(d)(6) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—In the case of an applicable entity which made an election under subsection (a) with respect to an applicable credit for which there is a disallowance described in section 6662(m)(2), subparagraph (A) shall apply with respect to any excessive payment resulting from such disallowance.”.

(k) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6695A the following new section:

“SEC. 6695B. PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.

“(a) IMPOSITION OF PENALTY.—If—

“(1) a person—

“(A) provides a certification described in clause (iii)(II)(bb) of section 7701(a)(52)(D) with respect to any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component, and

“(B) knows, or reasonably should have known, that the certification would be used in connection with a determination under such section,

“(2) such certification is inaccurate or false with respect to—

“(A) whether such property was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(B) the total direct costs or total direct material costs of such property that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity that were provided on such certification, and

“(3) the inaccuracy or falsity described in paragraph (2) resulted in the disallowance of an applicable energy credit (as defined in section 6662(m)(2)) and an understatement of income tax (within the meaning of section 6662(d)(2)) for the taxable year in an amount which exceeds the lesser of—

“(A) 5 percent of the tax required to be shown on the return for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$100,000,

then such person shall pay a penalty in the amount determined under subsection (b).

“(b) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—The amount of the penalty imposed under subsection (a) on any person with respect to a certification shall be equal to the greater of—

“(1) 10 percent of the amount of the underpayment (as defined in section 6664(a)) solely attributable to the inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2), or

“(2) \$5,000.

“(c) EXCEPTION.—No penalty shall be imposed under subsection (a) if the person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that any inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2) is due to a reasonable cause and not willful neglect.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in section 7701(a)(52) shall have the meaning given such term in such section.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 6696 is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “AND 6695A” and inserting “6695A, AND 6695B”;

(ii) in subsections (a), (b), and (e), by striking “and 6695A” each place it appears and inserting “6695A, and 6695B”;

(iii) in subsection (c), by striking “or 6695A” and inserting “6695A, or 6695B”;

(iv) in subsection (d)—

(I) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, in the case of any penalty under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “assessed within 3 years”;

(II) in paragraph (2), by inserting “(or, in the case of any claim for refund of an overpayment of any penalty assessed under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “filed within 3 years”.

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after item relating to section 6695A the following new item:

“Sec. 6695B. Penalty for substantial misstatements on certification provided by supplier.”.

(1) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES

“Sec. 5000E-1. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 5000E-1. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable facility for which there is a material assistance cost ratio violation, a tax is hereby imposed for the taxable year in which such facility is placed in service in the amount determined under subsection (d) with respect to such facility.

“(b) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a facility owned by the taxpayer—

“(1) which—

“(A) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(B) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), and

“(2) either—

“(A) the construction of which begins after the date of the enactment of this section and before January 1, 2028, and which is placed in service after December 31, 2027, or

“(B) the construction of which begins after December 31, 2027, and before January 1, 2036.

“(c) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO VIOLATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘material assistance cost ratio violation’ means, with respect to an applicable facility, that the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(d) AMOUNT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount determined under this subsection with respect to any applicable facility shall be equal to the applicable percentage of the amount equal to the product of—

“(A) the amount (expressed in percentage points) by which the threshold percentage (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(B)(i)) exceeds the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)), multiplied by

“(B) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the applicable facility upon completion of construction (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)(I)).

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable percentage shall be—

“(A) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (A) of subsection (b)(1), 30 percent, or

“(B) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (B) of such subsection, 50 percent.

“(e) RULE OF APPLICATION.—For purposes of this section, with respect to the application of section 7701(a)(52) or any provision thereof, such section shall be applied by substituting ‘applicable facility’ for ‘qualified facility’ each place it appears.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters for subtitle D is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50A the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES”.

(m) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (b)(1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(3) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(4) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—The amendments made by subsection (k) shall apply to certifications provided after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70513. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 48E(e) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

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

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply to any qualified property placed in service by the taxpayer after December 31, 2027, which is part of an applicable facility.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).

“(C) EXCEPTION.—This paragraph shall not apply with respect to any energy storage technology which is placed in service at any applicable facility.”.

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 48E is amended—

(A) in subsection (b)—

(i) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7), and

(ii) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following new paragraph:

“(6) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the terms ‘qualified facility’ and ‘qualified interconnection property’ shall not include any facility or property the construction, reconstruction, or erection of which begins after December 31, 2025, if the construction, reconstruction, or erection of such facility or property includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any applicable facility (as defined in subsection (e)(4)(B)) for which construction begins after June 16, 2025, if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”, and

(B) in subsection (c), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ shall not include any property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2025, if the construction of such property includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”.

(2) ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS.—Section 48E(d) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D)), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof.

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(3) or energy storage technology described in subsection (c)(2).”.

(3) RECAPTURE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 50(a) is amended—

(i) by redesignating paragraphs (4) through (6) as paragraphs (5) through (7), respectively,

(ii) by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) PAYMENTS TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If there is an applicable payment made by a specified taxpayer before the close of the 10-year period beginning on the date such taxpayer placed in service investment credit property which is eligible for the clean electricity investment credit under section 48E(a), then the tax under this chapter for the taxable year in which such applicable payment occurs shall be increased by 100 percent of the aggregate decrease in the credits allowed under section 38 for all prior taxable years which would have resulted solely from reducing to zero any credit determined under section 46 which is attributable to the clean electricity investment credit under section 48E(a) with respect to such property.

“(B) APPLICABLE PAYMENT.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable payment’ means, with respect to any taxable year, a payment or payments described in section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II).

“(C) SPECIFIED TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified taxpayer’ means any taxpayer who has been allowed a credit under section 48E(a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph.”.

(iii) in paragraph (5), as redesignated by clause (i), by striking “or any applicable transaction to which paragraph (3)(A) applies,” and inserting “any applicable transaction to which paragraph (3)(A) applies, or any applicable payment to which paragraph (4)(A) applies,” and

(iv) in paragraph (7), as redesignated by clause (i), by striking “or (3)” and inserting “(3), or (4)”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(i) Section 1371(d)(1) is amended by striking “section 50(a)(5)” and inserting “section 50(a)(6)”.

(ii) Section 6418(g)(3) is amended by striking “subsection (a)(5)” each place it appears and inserting “subsection (a)(7)”.

(C) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 48E is amended—

(A) by redesignating subsection (i) as subsection (j), and

(B) by inserting after subsection (h) the following new subsection:

“(i) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR EXPENDITURES FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section for any qualified investment during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘lessee’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”.

(2) CONFORMING RULES.—Section 50 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) RULES FOR GEOTHERMAL HEAT PUMPS.—For purposes of this section and section 168, the ownership of energy property described in section 48(a)(3)(A)(vii) shall be determined without regard to whether such property is readily usable by a person other than the lessee or service recipient.”.

(d) DOMESTIC CONTENT RULES.—Subparagraph (B) of section 48E(a)(3) is amended to read as follows:

“(B) DOMESTIC CONTENT.—Rules similar to the rules of section 48(a)(12) shall apply, except that, for purposes of subparagraph (B) of such section and the application of rules similar to the rules of section 45(b)(9)(B), the adjusted percentage (as determined under section 45(b)(9)(C)) shall be determined as follows:

“(i) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins before June 16, 2025, 40 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 20 percent).

“(ii) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins on or after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 45 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 27.5 percent).

“(iii) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins during calendar year 2026, 50 percent (or, in the case of a qualified facility which is an offshore wind facility, 35 percent).

“(iv) In the case of any qualified investment with respect to any qualified facility the construction of which begins after December 31, 2026, 55 percent.”.

(e) ELIMINATION OF ENERGY CREDIT FOR CERTAIN ENERGY PROPERTY.—Section 48(a)(2) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by striking “2 percent” and inserting “0 percent”, and

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

“(C) NONAPPLICATION OF INCREASES TO ENERGY PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of energy property described in subparagraph (A)(ii), the energy percentage applicable to such property pursuant to such subparagraph shall not be increased or otherwise adjusted by any provision of this section.”.

(f) APPLICATION OF CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL

PROPERTY.—Section 48E, as amended by subsection (c), is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (j) as subsection (k), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (i) the following new subsection:

“(j) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—For purposes of this section, in the case of any qualified fuel cell property (as defined in section 48(c)(1), as applied without regard to subparagraph (E) thereof)—

“(1) subsection (b)(3)(A) shall be applied without regard to clause (iii) thereof,

“(2) for purposes of subsection (a)(1), the applicable percentage shall be 30 percent and such percentage shall not be increased or otherwise adjusted by any other provision of this section, and

“(3) subsection (g) shall not apply.”.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) DOMESTIC CONTENT RULES.—The amendment made by subsection (d) shall apply on or after June 16, 2025.

(3) ELIMINATION OF ENERGY CREDIT FOR CERTAIN ENERGY PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (e) shall apply to property the construction of which begins on or after June 16, 2025.

(4) APPLICATION OF CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT TO QUALIFIED FUEL CELL PROPERTY.—The amendments made by subsection (f) shall apply to property the construction of which begins after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70514. PHASE-OUT AND RESTRICTIONS ON ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) MODIFICATION OF PROVISION RELATING TO SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—Paragraph (4) of section 45X(d) is amended to read as follows:

“(4) SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, a person shall be treated as having sold an eligible component to an unrelated person if—

“(i) such component (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘primary component’) is integrated, incorporated, or assembled into another eligible component (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘secondary component’) produced within the same manufacturing facility as the primary component, and

“(ii) the secondary component is sold to an unrelated person.

“(B) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS.—Subparagraph (A) shall only apply with respect to a secondary component for which not less than 65 percent of the total direct material costs which are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer to produce such secondary component are attributable to primary components which are mined, produced, or manufactured in the United States.”.

(b) PHASE OUT AND TERMINATION.—Section 45X(b)(3) is amended—

(1) in the heading, by inserting “AND TERMINATION” after “PHASE OUT”,

(2) in subparagraph (A), in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “subparagraph (C)” and inserting “subparagraphs (C) and (D)”, and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following:

“(C) PHASE OUT FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS OTHER THAN METALLURGICAL COAL.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any applicable critical mineral (other than metallurgical coal) produced after December 31, 2030, the amount determined under this subsection with respect to such mineral shall be equal to the product of—

“(I) the amount determined under paragraph (1) with respect to such mineral, as determined without regard to this subparagraph, multiplied by

“(II) the phase out percentage under clause (ii).

“(ii) PHASE OUT PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS OTHER THAN METALLURGICAL COAL.—The phase out percentage under this clause is equal to—

“(I) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2031, 75 percent,

“(II) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2032, 50 percent,

“(III) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced during calendar year 2033, 25 percent, and

“(IV) in the case of any applicable critical mineral produced after December 31, 2033, 0 percent.

“(D) TERMINATION FOR WIND ENERGY COMPONENTS.—This section shall not apply to any wind energy component produced and sold after December 31, 2027.

“(E) TERMINATION FOR METALLURGICAL COAL.—This section shall not apply to any metallurgical coal produced after December 31, 2029.”

(c) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45X is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—In the case of taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the term ‘eligible component’ shall not include any property which includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52), as applied by substituting ‘used in a product sold before January 1, 2027’ for ‘used in a product sold before January 1, 2030’ in subparagraph (D)(iii)(V)(bb) thereof),” and

(2) in subsection (d), as amended by subsection (a) of this section, by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to an eligible component described in subsection (c)(1).”

(d) MODIFICATION OF DEFINITION OF BATTERY MODULE.—Section 45X(c)(5)(B)(iii) is amended—

(1) in subclause (I)(bb), by striking “and” at the end,

(2) in subclause (II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) which is comprised of all other essential equipment needed for battery

functionality, such as current collector assemblies and voltage sense harnesses, thermal collection assemblies, or other essential energy collection equipment.”

(e) INCLUSION OF METALLURGICAL COAL AS AN APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL FOR PURPOSES OF THE ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45X(c)(6) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (R) through (Z) as subparagraphs (S) through (AA), respectively, and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (Q) the following new subparagraph:

“(R) METALLURGICAL COAL.—Metallurgical coal which is suitable for use in the production of steel (within the meaning of the notice published by the Department of Energy entitled ‘Critical Material List: Addition of Metallurgical Coal Used for Steelmaking’ (90 Fed. Reg. 22711 (May 29, 2025))), regardless of whether such production occurs inside or outside of the United States.”

(2) CREDIT AMOUNT.—Section 45X(b)(1)(M) is amended by inserting “(2.5 percent in the case of metallurgical coal)” after “10 percent”.

(f) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MODIFICATION OF PROVISION RELATING TO SALE OF INTEGRATED COMPONENTS.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to components sold during taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 70515. RESTRICTION ON THE EXTENSION OF ADVANCED ENERGY PROJECT CREDIT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 48C(e)(3)(C) is amended by striking “shall be increased” and inserting “shall not be increased”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

Subchapter B—Enhancement of America-first Energy Policy

SEC. 70521. EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) PROHIBITION ON FOREIGN FEEDSTOCKS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(f)(1)(A) is amended—

(A) in clause (i)(II)(bb), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iii) such fuel is exclusively derived from a feedstock which was produced or grown in the United States, Mexico, or Canada.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(b) PROHIBITION ON NEGATIVE EMISSION RATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting the following:

“(C) ROUNDING OF EMISSIONS RATE.—The Secretary may round the emissions rates under subparagraph (B) to the nearest multiple of 5 kilograms of CO₂e per mmBTU.”, and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) PROHIBITION ON NEGATIVE EMISSION RATES.—For purposes of this section, the emissions rate for a transportation fuel may not be less than zero.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to emissions rates published for transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(c) DETERMINATION OF EMISSIONS RATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(b)(1)(B) is amended by adding at the end the following new clauses:

“(iv) EXCLUSION OF INDIRECT LAND USE CHANGES.—Notwithstanding clauses (i), (ii), and (iii), the emissions rate shall be adjusted as necessary to exclude any emissions attributed to indirect land use change. Any such adjustment shall be based on regulations or methodologies determined by the Secretary.

“(v) ANIMAL MANURES.—With respect to any transportation fuel which is derived from animal manure, the Secretary—

“(I) shall provide a distinct emissions rate with respect to such fuel based on the specific animal manure feedstock, which may include dairy manure, swine manure, poultry manure, or any other sources as are determined appropriate by the Secretary, and

“(II) notwithstanding subparagraph (E), may provide an emissions rate that is less than zero.”

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 45Z(b)(1)(B)(i) is amended by striking “clauses (ii) and (iii)” and inserting “clauses (ii), (iii), (iv), and (v)”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to emissions rates published for transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(d) EXTENSION OF CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—Section 45Z(g) is amended by striking “December 31, 2027” and inserting “December 31, 2029”.

(e) PREVENTING DOUBLE CREDIT.—Section 45Z(d)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iv) is not produced from a fuel for which a credit under this section is allowable.”, and

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

“(C) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of subparagraph (A)(iv).”

(f) SALES TO UNRELATED PERSONS.—Section 45Z(f)(3) is amended by adding at the end the following: “The Secretary may prescribe additional related person rules similar to the rule described in the preceding sentence for entities which are not described in such sentence, including rules for related persons with respect to which the taxpayer has reason to believe will sell fuel to an unrelated person in a manner described in subsection (a)(4).”

(g) TREATMENT OF SUSTAINABLE AVIATION FUEL.—

(1) COORDINATION OF CREDITS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(a)(3) is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “SPECIAL” and inserting “ADJUSTED”, and

(ii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) COORDINATION OF CREDITS.—In the case of a transportation fuel which is sustainable aviation fuel which is sold before October 1, 2025, the amount of the credit determined under paragraph (1) with respect to any gallon of such fuel shall be reduced by an amount equal to the amount of the sustainable aviation fuel credit allowable under section 6426(k)(1).”

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to fuel sold after December 31, 2024.

(2) ELIMINATION OF SPECIAL RATE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(a)(3), as amended by paragraph (1), is amended by—

- (i) striking subparagraph (A), and
- (ii) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (A).

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 45Z(c)(1) is amended by striking “, the \$1.00 amount in subsection (a)(2)(B), the 35 cent amount in subsection (a)(3)(A)(i), and the \$1.75 amount in subsection (a)(3)(A)(ii)” and inserting “and the \$1.00 amount in subsection (a)(2)(B)”.

(C) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to fuel produced after December 31, 2025.

(h) SUSTAINABLE AVIATION FUEL CREDIT.—Section 6426(k) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) TERMINATION.—This subsection shall not apply to any sale or use for any period after September 30, 2025.”

(i) REGISTRATION OF PRODUCERS OF FUEL ELIGIBLE FOR CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 13704(b)(5) of Public Law 117-169 is amended by striking “after ‘section 6426(k)(3),’” and inserting “after ‘section 40B,’”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to transportation fuel produced after December 31, 2024.

(j) EXTENSION AND MODIFICATION OF SMALL AGRI-BIODIESEL PRODUCER CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 40A is amended—

(A) in subsection (b)(4)—

(i) in subparagraph (A), by striking “10 cents” and inserting “20 cents”,

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “in a manner which complies with the requirements under section 45Z(f)(1)(A)(iii)” after “produced by an eligible small agri-biodiesel producer”, and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) COORDINATION WITH CLEAN FUEL PRODUCTION CREDIT.—The credit determined under this paragraph with respect to any gallon of fuel shall be in addition to any credit determined under section 45Z with respect to such gallon of fuel.”, and

(B) in subsection (g), by inserting “(or, in the case of the small agri-biodiesel producer credit, any sale or use after December 31, 2026)” after “December 31, 2024”.

(2) TRANSFER OF CREDIT.—Section 6418(f)(1)(A) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xi) So much of the biodiesel fuels credit determined under section 40A which consists of the small agri-biodiesel producer credit determined under subsection (b)(4) of such section.”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to fuel sold or used after June 30, 2025.

(k) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45Z(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).

“(B) OTHER PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date which is 2 years after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70522. RESTRICTIONS ON CARBON OXIDE SEQUESTRATION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Q(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(10) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is—

“(A) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(B) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), determined without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”.

(b) PARITY FOR DIFFERENT USES AND UTILIZATIONS OF QUALIFIED CARBON OXIDE.—Section 45Q is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (2)(B)(ii), by adding “and” at the end,

(B) in paragraph (3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B)(i) disposed of by the taxpayer in secure geological storage and not used by the taxpayer as described in clause (ii) or (iii),

“(ii) used by the taxpayer as a tertiary injectant in a qualified enhanced oil or natural gas recovery project and disposed of by the taxpayer in secure geological storage, or

“(iii) utilized by the taxpayer in a manner described in subsection (f)(5).”.

(C) by striking paragraph (4),

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B) or (C), the applicable dollar amount shall be an amount equal to—

“(i) for any taxable year beginning in a calendar year after 2024 and before 2027, \$17, and

“(ii) for any taxable year beginning in a calendar year after 2026, an amount equal to the product of \$17 and the inflation adjustment factor for such calendar year determined under section 43(b)(3)(B) for such calendar year, determined by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘1990’.”.

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking “shall be applied” and all that follows through the period and inserting “shall be applied by substituting ‘\$36’ for ‘\$17’ each place it appears.”.

(B) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “paragraphs (3)(A) and (4)(A)” and inserting “paragraph (3)(A)”, and

(C) in paragraph (3), by striking “the dollar amounts applicable under paragraph (3) or (4)” and inserting “the dollar amount applicable under paragraph (3)”.

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5)(B)(i), by striking “(4)(B)(ii)” and inserting “(3)(B)(iii)”, and

(B) in paragraph (9), by striking “paragraphs (3) and (4) of subsection (a)” and inserting “subsection (a)(3)”, and

(4) in subsection (h)(3)(A)(ii), by striking “paragraph (3)(A) or (4)(A) of subsection (a)” and inserting “subsection (a)(3)(A)”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 6417(d)(3)(C)(i)(II)(bb) is amended by striking “paragraph (3)(A) or (4)(A) of section 45Q(a)” and inserting “section 45Q(a)(3)(A)”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) PARITY FOR DIFFERENT USES AND UTILIZATIONS OF QUALIFIED CARBON OXIDE.—The

amendments made subsections (b) and (c) shall apply to facilities or equipment placed in service after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70523. INTANGIBLE DRILLING AND DEVELOPMENT COSTS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT FOR PURPOSES OF COMPUTING ADJUSTED FINANCIAL STATEMENT INCOME.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 56A(c)(13) is amended—

(1) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) reduced by—

“(i) depreciation deductions allowed under section 167 with respect to property to which section 168 applies to the extent of the amount allowed as deductions in computing taxable income for the year, and

“(ii) any deduction allowed for expenses under section 263(c) (including any deduction for such expenses under section 59(e) or 291(b)(2)) with respect to property described therein to the extent of the amount allowed as deductions in computing taxable income for the year, and”.

(2) by striking subparagraph (B)(i) and inserting the following:

“(i) to disregard any amount of—

“(I) depreciation expense that is taken into account on the taxpayer’s applicable financial statement with respect to such property, and

“(II) depletion expense that is taken into account on the taxpayer’s applicable financial statement with respect to the intangible drilling and development costs of such property, and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70524. INCOME FROM HYDROGEN STORAGE, CARBON CAPTURE, ADVANCED NUCLEAR, HYDROPOWER, AND GEOTHERMAL ENERGY ADDED TO QUALIFYING INCOME OF CERTAIN PUBLICLY TRADED PARTNERSHIPS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 7704(d)(1)(E) is amended—

(1) by striking “income and gains derived from the exploration” and inserting the following: “income and gains derived from—

“(i) the exploration”.

(2) by inserting “or” before “industrial source”, and

(3) by striking “or the transportation or storage” and all that follows and inserting the following:

“(ii) the transportation or storage of—

“(I) any fuel described in subsection (b), (c), (d), (e), or (k) of section 6426, or any alcohol fuel defined in section 6426(b)(4)(A) or any biodiesel fuel as defined in section 40A(d)(1) or sustainable aviation fuel as defined in section 40B(d)(1), or

“(II) liquified hydrogen or compressed hydrogen,

“(iii) in the case of a qualified facility (as defined in section 45Q(d), without regard to any date by which construction of the facility or equipment is required to begin) not less than 50 percent of the total carbon oxide production of which is qualified carbon oxide (as defined in section 45Q(c))—

“(I) the generation, availability for such generation, or storage of electric power at such facility, or

“(II) the capture of carbon dioxide by such facility,

“(iv) the production of electricity from any advanced nuclear facility (as defined in section 45J(d)(2)),

“(v) the production of electricity or thermal energy exclusively using a qualified energy resource described in subparagraph (D) or (H) of section 45(c)(1), or

“(vi) the operation of energy property described in clause (iii) or (vii) of section

48(a)(3)(A) (determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70525. ALLOW FOR PAYMENTS TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS WHO DYE FUEL.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 65, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6435. DYED FUEL.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—If a person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that such person meets the requirements of subsection (b) with respect to diesel fuel or kerosene, then the Secretary shall pay to such person an amount (without interest) equal to the tax described in subsection (b)(2)(A) with respect to such diesel fuel or kerosene.

“(b) REQUIREMENTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—A person meets the requirements of this subsection with respect to diesel fuel or kerosene if such person removes from a terminal eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene.

“(2) ELIGIBLE INDELIBLY DYED DIESEL FUEL OR KEROSENE DEFINED.—The term ‘eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene’ means diesel fuel or kerosene—

“(A) with respect to which a tax under section 4081 was previously paid (and not credited or refunded), and

“(B) which is exempt from taxation under section 4082(a).

“(c) CROSS REFERENCE.—For civil penalty for excessive claims under this section, see section 6675.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 6206 is amended—

(A) by striking “or 6427” each place it appears and inserting “6427, or 6435”, and

(B) by striking “6420 and 6421” and inserting “6420, 6421, and 6435”.

(2) Section 6430 is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) which are removed as eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene under section 6435.”.

(3) Section 6675 is amended—

(A) in subsection (a), by striking “or 6427 (relating to fuels not used for taxable purposes)” and inserting “6427 (relating to fuels not used for taxable purposes), or 6435 (relating to eligible indelibly dyed fuel)”, and

(B) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “6421, or 6427,” and inserting “6421, 6427, or 6435.”.

(4) The table of sections for subchapter B of chapter 65, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6435. Dyed fuel.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to eligible indelibly dyed diesel fuel or kerosene removed on or after the date that is 180 days after the date of the enactment of this section.

Subchapter C—Other Reforms

SEC. 70531. MODIFICATIONS TO DE MINIMIS ENTRY PRIVILEGE FOR COMMERCIAL SHIPMENTS.

(a) CIVIL PENALTY.—

(1) ADDITIONAL PENALTY IMPOSED.—Section 321 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (19 U.S.C. 1321) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(c) Any person who enters, introduces, facilitates, or attempts to introduce an article into the United States using the privilege of this section, the importation of which vio-

lates any other provision of United States customs law, shall be assessed, in addition to any other penalty permitted by law, a civil penalty of up to \$5,000 for the first violation and up to \$10,000 for each subsequent violation.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall take effect 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) REPEAL OF COMMERCIAL SHIPMENT EXCEPTION.—

(1) REPEAL.—Section 321(a)(2) of such Act (19 U.S.C. 1321(a)(2)) is amended by striking “of this Act, or” and all that follows through “subdivision (2); and” and inserting “of this Act; and”.

(2) CONFORMING REPEAL.—Subsection (c) of such section 321, as added by subsection (a) of this section, is repealed.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on July 1, 2027.

CHAPTER 6—ENHANCING DEDUCTION AND INCOME TAX CREDIT GUARDRAILS, AND OTHER REFORMS

SEC. 70601. MODIFICATION AND EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON EXCESS BUSINESS LOSSES OF NONCORPORATE TAXPAYERS.

(a) RULE MADE PERMANENT.—Section 461(l)(1) is amended by striking “and before January 1, 2029,” each place it appears.

(b) ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR CALCULATION OF EXCESS BUSINESS LOSS.—Section 461(l)(3)(C) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “December 31, 2018” and inserting “December 31, 2025”, and

(2) in clause (ii), by striking “2017” and inserting “2024”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) RULE MADE PERMANENT.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

(2) ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR CALCULATION OF EXCESS BUSINESS LOSS.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70602. TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FROM PARTNERSHIPS TO PARTNERS FOR PROPERTY OR SERVICES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 707(a)(2) is amended by striking “Under regulations prescribed” and inserting “Except as provided”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to services performed, and property transferred, after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section, or the amendments made by this section, shall be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper treatment under section 707(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to payments from a partnership to a partner for services performed, or property transferred, on or before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70603. EXCESSIVE EMPLOYEE REMUNERATION FROM CONTROLLED GROUP MEMBERS AND ALLOCATION OF DEDUCTION.

(a) APPLICATION OF AGGREGATION RULES.—Section 162(m) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) REMUNERATION FROM CONTROLLED GROUP MEMBERS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any publicly held corporation which is a member of a controlled group—

“(i) paragraph (1) shall be applied by substituting ‘specified covered employee’ for ‘covered employee’, and

“(ii) if any person which is a member of such controlled group (other than such pub-

licly held corporation) provides applicable employee remuneration to an individual who is a specified covered employee of such controlled group and the aggregate amount described in subparagraph (B)(ii) with respect to such specified covered employee exceeds \$1,000,000—

“(I) paragraph (1) shall apply to such person with respect to such remuneration, and

“(II) paragraph (1) shall apply to such publicly held corporation and to each such related person by substituting ‘the allocable limitation amount’ for ‘\$1,000,000’.

“(B) ALLOCABLE LIMITATION AMOUNT.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘allocable limitation amount’ means, with respect to any member of the controlled group referred to in subparagraph (A) with respect to any specified covered employee of such controlled group, the amount which bears the same ratio to \$1,000,000 as—

“(i) the amount of applicable employee remuneration provided by such member with respect to such specified covered employee, bears to

“(ii) the aggregate amount of applicable employee remuneration provided by all such members with respect to such specified covered employee.

“(C) SPECIFIED COVERED EMPLOYEE.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified covered employee’ means, with respect to any controlled group—

“(i) any employee described in subparagraph (A), (B), or (D) of paragraph (3), with respect to the publicly held corporation which is a member of such controlled group, and

“(ii) any employee who would be described in subparagraph (C) of paragraph (3) if such subparagraph were applied by taking into account the employees of all members of the controlled group.

“(D) CONTROLLED GROUP.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘controlled group’ means any group treated as a single employer under subsection (b), (c), (m), or (o) of section 414.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70604. THIRD PARTY LITIGATION FUNDING REFORM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50C—LITIGATION FINANCING

“Sec. 5000F-1. Tax imposed.

“Sec. 5000F-2. Definitions.

“Sec. 5000F-3. Special rules.

“SEC. 5000F-1. TAX IMPOSED.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A tax is hereby imposed for each taxable year in an amount equal to 31.8 percent of any qualified litigation proceeds received by a covered party.

“(b) APPLICATION OF TAX FOR PASS-THROUGH ENTITIES.—In the case of a covered party that is a partnership, S corporation, or other pass-through entity, the tax imposed under subsection (a) shall be applied at the entity level.

“SEC. 5000F-2. DEFINITIONS.

“In this chapter—

“(1) CIVIL ACTION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘civil action’ means any civil action, administrative proceeding, claim, or cause of action.

“(B) MULTIPLE ACTIONS.—The term ‘civil action’ may, unless otherwise indicated, include more than 1 civil action.

“(2) COVERED PARTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘covered party’ means, with respect to any civil action, any third party (including an individual, corporation, partnership, or sovereign wealth fund) to such action which—

“(i) receives funds pursuant to a litigation financing agreement, and

“(ii) is not an attorney representing a party to such civil action.

“(B) INCLUSION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Subparagraph (A) shall apply to any third party without regard to whether such party is created or organized in the United States or under the law of the United States or of any State.

“(3) LITIGATION FINANCING AGREEMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ means, with respect to any civil action, a written agreement—

“(i) whereby a third party agrees to provide funds to one of the named parties or any law firm affiliated with such civil action, and

“(ii) which creates a direct or collateralized interest in the proceeds of such action (by settlement, verdict, judgment or otherwise) which—

“(I) is based, in whole or in part, on a funding-based obligation to—

“(aa) such civil action,

“(bb) the appearing counsel,

“(cc) any contractual co-counsel, or

“(dd) the law firm of such counsel or co-counsel, and

“(II) is executed with—

“(aa) any attorney representing a party to such civil action,

“(bb) any co-counsel in such civil action with a contingent fee interest in the representation of such party,

“(cc) any third party that has a collateral-based interest in the contingency fees of the counsel or co-counsel firm which is related, in whole or part, to the fees derived from representing such party, or

“(dd) any named party in such civil action.

“(B) SUBSTANTIALLY SIMILAR AGREEMENTS.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ shall include any contract (including any option, forward contract, futures contract, short position, swap, or similar contract) or other agreement which, as determined by the Secretary, is substantially similar to an agreement described in subparagraph (A).

“(C) EXCEPTIONS.—The term ‘litigation financing agreement’ shall not include any agreement—

“(i) under which the total amount of funds described in subparagraph (A)(i) with respect to an individual civil action is less than \$10,000, or

“(ii) in which the third party described in subparagraph (A)—

“(I) has a right to receive proceeds which are derived from, or pursuant to, such agreement that are limited to—

“(aa) repayment of the principal of a loan,

“(bb) repayment of the principal of a loan plus any interest on such loan, provided that the rate of interest does not exceed the greater of—

“(AA) 7 percent, or

“(BB) a rate equal to twice the average annual yield on 30-year United States Treasury securities (as determined for the year preceding the date on which such agreement was executed), or

“(cc) reimbursement of attorney’s fees, or

“(II) bears a relationship described in section 267(b) to the named party receiving the payment described in subparagraph (A)(i).

“(4) QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified litigation proceeds’ means, with respect to any taxable year, an amount equal to the realized gains, net income, or other profit received by a covered party during such taxable year which is derived from, or pursuant to, any litigation financing agreement.

“(B) ANTI-NETTING.—Any gains, income, or profit described in subparagraph (A) shall

not be reduced or offset by any ordinary or capital loss in the taxable year.

“(C) PROHIBITION ON EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN AMOUNTS.—In determining the amount of realized gain under subparagraph (A), amounts described in section 104(a)(2) and 892(a)(1) shall not be excluded.

“SEC. 5000F-3. SPECIAL RULES.

“(a) WITHHOLDING OF TAX ON LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—Any applicable person having the control, receipt, or custody of any proceeds from a civil action (by settlement, judgment, or otherwise) with respect to which such person had entered into a litigation financing agreement shall deduct and withhold from such proceeds a tax equal to 15.9 percent of the qualified litigation proceeds which are required to be paid to a third party pursuant to such agreement.

“(b) APPLICABLE PERSON.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable person’ means any person which—

“(1) is a named party in a civil action or a law firm affiliated with such civil action, and

“(2) has entered into a litigation financing agreement with respect to such civil action.

“(c) APPLICATION OF WITHHOLDING PROVISIONS.—

“(1) LIABILITY FOR WITHHELD TAX.—Every person required to deduct and withhold any tax under this chapter is hereby made liable for such tax and is hereby indemnified against the claims and demands of any person for the amount of any payments made in accordance with the provisions of this chapter.

“(2) WITHHELD TAX AS CREDIT TO RECIPIENT OF QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—Qualified litigation proceeds on which any tax is required to be withheld at the source under this chapter shall be included in the return of the recipient of such proceeds, but any amount of tax so withheld shall be credited against the amount of tax as computed in such return.

“(3) TAX PAID BY RECIPIENT OF QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.—If—

“(A) any person, in violation of the provisions of this chapter, fails to deduct and withhold any tax under this chapter, and

“(B) thereafter the tax against which such tax may be credited is paid,

the tax so required to be deducted and withheld shall not be collected from such person, but this paragraph shall in no case relieve such person from liability for interest or any penalties or additions to the tax otherwise applicable in respect of such failure to deduct and withhold.

“(4) REFUNDS AND CREDITS WITH RESPECT TO WITHHELD TAX.—Where there has been an overpayment of tax under this chapter, any refund or credit made under chapter 65 shall be made to the withholding agent unless the amount of such tax was actually withheld by the withholding agent.”

(b) EXCLUSION FROM DEFINITION OF CAPITAL ASSET.—Section 1221(a) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking “or” at the end,

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”, and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(9) any financial arrangement created by, or any proceeds derived from, a litigation financing agreement (as defined under section 5000F-2).”

(c) REMOVAL FROM GROSS INCOME.—Part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after section 139L the following new section:

“SEC. 139M. QUALIFIED LITIGATION PROCEEDS.

“Gross income shall not include any qualified litigation proceeds (as defined in section 5000F-2).”

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 7701(a)(16) is amended by inserting “5000F-3(c)(1),” before “1441”.

(2) The table of chapters for subtitle D, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50B the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50C—LITIGATION FINANCING”.

(3) The table of sections for part III of subchapter B of chapter 1, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 139L the following new item:

“Sec. 139M. Qualified litigation proceeds.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70605. EXCISE TAX ON CERTAIN REMITTANCE TRANSFERS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 36 is amended by inserting after subchapter B the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter C—Remittance Transfers

“Sec. 4475. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 4475. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There is hereby imposed on any remittance transfer a tax equal to 1 percent of the amount of such transfer.

“(b) PAYMENT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The tax imposed by this section with respect to any remittance transfer shall be paid by the sender with respect to such transfer.

“(2) COLLECTION OF TAX.—The remittance transfer provider with respect to any remittance transfer shall collect the amount of the tax imposed under subsection (a) with respect to such transfer from the sender and remit such tax quarterly to the Secretary at such time and in such manner as provided by the Secretary.

“(3) SECONDARY LIABILITY.—Where any tax imposed by subsection (a) is not paid at the time the transfer is made, then to the extent that such tax is not collected, such tax shall be paid by the remittance transfer provider.

“(c) TAX LIMITED TO CASH AND SIMILAR INSTRUMENTS.—The tax imposed under subsection (a) shall apply only to any remittance transfer for which the sender provides cash, a money order, a cashier’s check, or any other similar physical instrument (as determined by the Secretary) to the remittance transfer provider.

“(d) NONAPPLICATION TO CERTAIN NONCASH REMITTANCE TRANSFERS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to any remittance transfer for which the funds being transferred are—

“(1) withdrawn from an account held in or by a financial institution—

“(A) which is described in subparagraphs (A) through (H) of section 5312(a)(2) of title 31, United States Code, and

“(B) that is subject to the requirements under subchapter II of chapter 53 of such title, or

“(2) funded with a debit card or a credit card which is issued in the United States.

“(e) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The terms ‘remittance transfer’, ‘remittance transfer provider’, and ‘sender’ shall each have the respective meanings given such terms by section 919(g) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-1(g)).

“(2) CREDIT CARD.—The term ‘credit card’ has the same meaning given such term under section 920(c)(3) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-2(c)(3)).

“(3) DEBIT CARD.—The term ‘debit card’ has the same meaning given such term under section 920(c)(2) of the Electronic Fund Transfer Act (15 U.S.C. 1693o-2(c)(2)), without regard to subparagraph (B) of such section.

“(f) APPLICATION OF ANTI-CONDUIT RULES.—For purposes of section 7701(l), with respect to any multiple-party arrangements involving the sender, a remittance transfer shall be treated as a financing transaction.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 36 is amended by inserting after the item relating to subchapter B the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER C—REMITTANCE TRANSFERS”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to transfers made after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70606. ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO COVID-RELATED EMPLOYEE RETENTION CREDITS.

(a) ASSESSABLE PENALTY FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Any COVID-ERTC promoter which provides aid, assistance, or advice with respect to any COVID-ERTC document and which fails to comply with due diligence requirements imposed by the Secretary with respect to determining eligibility for, or the amount of, any credit or advance payment of a credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall pay a penalty of \$1,000 for each such failure.

(2) DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS.—The due diligence requirements referred to in paragraph (1) shall be similar to the due diligence requirements imposed under section 6695(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(3) RESTRICTION TO DOCUMENTS USED IN CONNECTION WITH RETURNS OR CLAIMS FOR REFUND.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to any COVID-ERTC document unless such document constitutes, or relates to, a return or claim for refund.

(4) TREATMENT AS ASSESSABLE PENALTY, ETC.—For purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the penalty imposed under paragraph (1) shall be treated as a penalty which is imposed under section 6695(g) of such Code and assessed under section 6201 of such Code.

(5) SECRETARY.—For purposes of this subsection, the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary’s delegate.

(b) COVID-ERTC PROMOTER.—For purposes of this section—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The term “COVID-ERTC promoter” means, with respect to any COVID-ERTC document, any person which provides aid, assistance, or advice with respect to such document if—

(A) such person charges or receives a fee for such aid, assistance, or advice which is based on the amount of the refund or credit with respect to such document and, with respect to such person’s taxable year in which such person provided such assistance or the preceding taxable year, the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents exceeds 20 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, or

(B) with respect to such person’s taxable year in which such person provided such assistance or the preceding taxable year—

(i) the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents exceeds 50 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, or

(ii) both—

(I) such aggregate gross receipts exceed 20 percent of the gross receipts of such person for such taxable year, and

(II) the aggregate of the gross receipts of such person for aid, assistance, and advice with respect to all COVID-ERTC documents (determined after application of paragraph (3)) exceeds \$500,000.

(2) EXCEPTION FOR CERTIFIED PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS.—The term

“COVID-ERTC promoter” shall not include a certified professional employer organization (as defined in section 7705 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).

(3) AGGREGATION RULE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), all persons treated as a single employer under subsection (a) or (b) of section 52 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or subsection (m) or (o) of section 414 of such Code, shall be treated as 1 person.

(4) SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.—In the case of any taxable year of less than 12 months, a person shall be treated as a COVID-ERTC promoter if such person is described in paragraph (1) either with respect to such taxable year or by treating any reference to such taxable year as a reference to the calendar year in which such taxable year begins.

(c) COVID-ERTC DOCUMENT.—For purposes of this section, the term “COVID-ERTC document” means any return, affidavit, claim, or other document related to any credit or advance payment of a credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, including any document related to eligibility for, or the calculation or determination of any amount directly related to, any such credit or advance payment.

(d) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Notwithstanding section 6511 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, no credit under section 3134 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be allowed, and no refund with respect to any such credit shall be made, after the date of the enactment of this Act, unless a claim for such credit or refund was filed by the taxpayer on or before January 31, 2024.

(e) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—Section 3134(l) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 6501, the limitation on the time period for the assessment of any amount attributable to a credit claimed under this section shall not expire before the date that is 6 years after the latest of—

“(A) the date on which the original return which includes the calendar quarter with respect to which such credit is determined is filed,

“(B) the date on which such return is treated as filed under section 6501(b)(2), or

“(C) the date on which the claim for credit or refund with respect to such credit is made.

“(2) DEDUCTION FOR WAGES TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DETERMINING IMPROPERLY CLAIMED CREDIT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 6511, in the case of an assessment attributable to a credit claimed under this section, the limitation on the time period for credit or refund of any amount attributable to a deduction for improperly claimed ERTC wages shall not expire before the time period for such assessment expires under paragraph (1).

“(B) IMPROPERLY CLAIMED ERTC WAGES.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘improperly claimed ERTC wages’ means, with respect to an assessment attributable to a credit claimed under this section, the wages with respect to which a deduction would not have been allowed if the portion of the credit to which such assessment relates had been properly claimed.”.

(f) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—Section 6676(a) is amended by striking “income tax” and inserting “income or employment tax”.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The provisions of this section shall apply to aid, assistance, and advice provided after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Subsection (d) shall apply to credits and re-

funds allowed or made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(3) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—The amendment made by subsection (e) shall apply to assessments made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(4) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—The amendment made by subsection (f) shall apply to claims for credit or refund after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(h) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary (as defined in subsection (a)(5)) shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section (and the amendments made by this section).

SEC. 70607. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT FOR AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY AND LIFETIME LEARNING CREDITS.

(a) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER OF TAXPAYER REQUIRED.—Section 25A(g)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER REQUIREMENT.—No credit shall be allowed under subsection (a) to an individual unless the individual includes on the return of tax for the taxable year—

“(i) such individual’s social security number, and

“(ii) in the case of a credit with respect to the qualified tuition and related expenses of an individual other than the taxpayer or the taxpayer’s spouse, the name and social security number of such individual.

“(B) INSTITUTION.—No American Opportunity Tax Credit shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer includes the employer identification number of any institution to which the taxpayer paid qualified tuition and related expenses taken into account under this section on the return of tax for the taxable year.

“(C) SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER DEFINED.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘social security number’ shall have the meaning given such term in section 24(h)(7).”.

(b) OMISSION TREATED AS MATHEMATICAL OR CLERICAL ERROR.—Section 6213(g)(2)(J) is amended by striking “TIN” and inserting “social security number or employer identification number”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 70608. TASK FORCE ON THE REPLACEMENT OF DIRECT FILE.

Out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, there is hereby appropriated for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2026, \$15,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2026, for necessary expenses of the Department of the Treasury to deliver to Congress, within 90 days following the date of the enactment of this Act, a report on—

(1) the cost of enhancing and establishing public-private partnerships which provide for free tax filing for up to 70 percent of all taxpayers calculated by adjusted gross income, and to replace any direct e-file programs run by the Internal Revenue Service;

(2) taxpayer opinions and preferences regarding a taxpayer-funded, government-run service or a free service provided by the private sector;

(3) assessment of the feasibility of a new approach, how to make the options consistent and simple for taxpayers across all participating providers, and how to provide features to address taxpayer needs; and

(4) the cost (including options for differential coverage based on taxpayer adjusted gross income and return complexity) of developing and running a free direct e-file tax return system, including costs to build and administer each release.

Subtitle B—Health
CHAPTER 1—MEDICAID

Subchapter A—Reducing Fraud and
Improving Enrollment Processes

**SEC. 71101. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION
OF RULE RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY
AND ENROLLMENT IN MEDICARE
SAVINGS PROGRAMS.**

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on September 21, 2023, and titled “Streamlining Medicaid; Medicare Savings Program Eligibility Determination and Enrollment” (88 Fed. Reg. 65230) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) Section 406.21(c).
- (2) Section 435.4.
- (3) Section 435.601.
- (4) Section 435.909.
- (5) Section 435.911.
- (6) Section 435.952.

**SEC. 71102. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION
OF RULE RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY
AND ENROLLMENT FOR MEDICAID,
CHIP, AND THE BASIC HEALTH PRO-
GRAM.**

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on April 2, 2024, and titled “Medicaid Program; Streamlining the Medicaid, Children’s Health Insurance Program, and Basic Health Program Application, Eligibility Determination, Enrollment, and Renewal Processes” (89 Fed. Reg. 22780) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) PART 431.—
- (A) Section 431.10(c)(1)(i)(A)(2).
- (B) Section 431.10(c)(1)(i)(A)(3).
- (C) Section 431.213(d).
- (2) PART 435.—
- (A) Section 435.222.
- (B) Section 435.223.
- (C) Section 435.407.
- (D) Section 435.601.
- (E) Section 435.608.
- (F) Section 435.831(g).
- (G) Section 435.907.
- (H) Section 435.911(c).
- (I) Section 435.912.
- (J) Section 435.916.
- (K) Section 435.919.
- (L) Section 435.940.
- (M) Section 435.952.
- (N) Section 435.1200.
- (3) PART 436.—
- (A) Section 436.608.
- (B) Section 436.831(g).
- (4) PART 447.—Section 447.56(a)(1)(v).
- (5) PART 457.—
- (A) Section 457.65(d).
- (B) Section 457.340(d).
- (C) Section 457.340(f).
- (D) Section 457.344.
- (E) Section 457.348.
- (F) Section 457.350.
- (G) Section 457.480.
- (H) Section 457.570.
- (I) Section 457.805(b).
- (J) Section 457.810(a).
- (K) Section 457.960.
- (L) Section 457.1140(d)(4).
- (M) Section 457.1170.
- (N) Section 457.1180.

**SEC. 71103. REDUCING DUPLICATE ENROLLMENT
UNDER THE MEDICAID AND CHIP
PROGRAMS.**

(a) MEDICAID.—
(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—
(i) in paragraph (86), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in paragraph (87), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

(iii) by inserting after paragraph (87) the following new paragraph:

“(88) provide—

“(A) beginning not later than January 1, 2027, in the case of 1 of the 50 States and the District of Columbia, for a process to regularly obtain address information for individuals enrolled under such plan (or a waiver of such plan) in accordance with subsection (vv); and

“(B) beginning not later than October 1, 2029—

“(i) for the State to submit to the system established by the Secretary under subsection (uu), with respect to an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under such plan, not less frequently than once each month and during each determination or redetermination of the eligibility of such individual for medical assistance under such plan (or waiver of such plan)—

“(I) the social security number of such individual, if such individual has a social security number and is required to provide such number to enroll under such plan (or waiver); and

“(II) such other information with respect to such individual as determined necessary by the Secretary for purposes of preventing individuals from simultaneously being enrolled under State plans (or waivers of such plans) of multiple States;

“(ii) for the use of such system to prevent such simultaneous enrollment; and

“(iii) in the case that such system indicates that an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under such plan (or waiver of such plan) is enrolled under a State plan (or waiver of such a plan) of another State, for the taking of appropriate action (as determined by the Secretary) to identify whether such an individual resides in the State and disenroll an individual from the State plan of such State if such individual does not reside in such State (unless such individual meets such an exception as the Secretary may specify).”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(uu) PREVENTION OF ENROLLMENT UNDER MULTIPLE STATE PLANS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than October 1, 2029, the Secretary shall establish a system to be utilized by the Secretary and States to prevent an individual from being simultaneously enrolled under the State plans (or waivers of such plans) of multiple States. Such system shall—

“(A) provide for the receipt of information submitted by a State under subsection (a)(88)(B)(i); and

“(B) not less than once each month, transmit information to a State (or allow the Secretary to transmit information to a State) regarding whether an individual enrolled or seeking to enroll under the State plan of such State (or waiver of such plan) is enrolled under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) of another State.

“(2) STANDARDS.—The Secretary shall establish such standards as determined necessary by the Secretary to limit and protect information submitted under such system and ensure the privacy of such information, consistent with subsection (a)(7).

“(3) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—There are appropriated to the Secretary, out of

amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, in addition to amounts otherwise available—

“(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$10,000,000 for purposes of establishing the system and standards required under this subsection, to remain available until expended; and

“(B) for fiscal year 2029, \$20,000,000 for purposes of maintaining such system, to remain available until expended.

“(vv) PROCESS TO OBTAIN ENROLLEE ADDRESS INFORMATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(88)(A), a process to regularly obtain address information for individuals enrolled under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) shall obtain address information from reliable data sources described in paragraph (2) and take such actions as the Secretary shall specify with respect to any changes to such address based on such information.

“(2) RELIABLE DATA SOURCES DESCRIBED.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the reliable data sources described in this paragraph are the following:

“(A) Mail returned to the State by the United States Postal Service with a forwarding address.

“(B) The National Change of Address Database maintained by the United States Postal Service.

“(C) A managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B)) or prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)) that has a contract under the State plan if the address information is provided to such entity or plan directly from, or verified by such entity or plan directly with, such individual.

“(D) Other data sources as identified by the State and approved by the Secretary.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) PARIS.—Section 1903(r)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(r)(3)) is amended—

(i) by striking “In order” and inserting “(A) In order”; and

(ii) by striking “through the Public” and inserting “through—

“(i) the Public”; and

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and

“(ii) beginning October 1, 2029, the system established by the Secretary under section 1902(uu).”; and

(iv) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) Beginning October 1, 2029, the Secretary may determine that a State is not required to have in operation an eligibility determination system which provides for data matching (for purposes of address verification under section 1902(vv)) through the system described in subparagraph (A)(i) to meet the requirements of this paragraph.”.

(B) MANAGED CARE.—Section 1932 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u–2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(j) TRANSMISSION OF ADDRESS INFORMATION.—Beginning January 1, 2027, each contract under a State plan with a managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B)) or with a prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)), shall provide that such entity or plan shall promptly transmit to the State any address information for an individual enrolled with such entity or plan that is provided to such entity or plan directly from, or verified by such entity or plan directly with, such individual.”.

(b) CHIP.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 2107(e)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (H) through (U) as subparagraphs (I) through (V), respectively; and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (G) the following new subparagraph:

“(H) Section 1902(a)(88) (relating to address information for enrollees and prevention of simultaneous enrollments).”

(2) MANAGED CARE.—Section 2103(f)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397cc(f)(3)) is amended by striking “and (e)” and inserting “(e), and (j)”.

SEC. 71104. ENSURING DECEASED INDIVIDUALS DO NOT REMAIN ENROLLED.

Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a), as amended by section 71103, is further amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (87), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(B) in paragraph (88), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (88) the following new paragraph:

“(89) provide that the State shall comply with the eligibility verification requirements under subsection (ww), except that this paragraph shall apply only in the case of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.”; and

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

“(ww) VERIFICATION OF CERTAIN ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection (a)(89), the eligibility verification requirements, beginning January 1, 2028, are as follows:

“(A) QUARTERLY SCREENING TO VERIFY ENROLLEE STATUS.—The State shall, not less frequently than quarterly, review the Death Master File (as such term is defined in section 203(d) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013) or a successor system that provides such information needed to determine whether any individuals enrolled for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) are deceased.

“(B) DISENROLLMENT UNDER STATE PLAN.—If the State determines, based on information obtained from the Death Master File, that an individual enrolled for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) is deceased, the State shall—

“(i) treat such information as factual information confirming the death of a beneficiary;

“(ii) disenroll such individual from the State plan (or waiver of such plan) in accordance with subsection (a)(3); and

“(iii) discontinue any payments for medical assistance under this title made on behalf of such individual (other than payments for any items or services furnished to such individual prior to the death of such individual).

“(C) REINSTATEMENT OF COVERAGE IN THE EVENT OF ERROR.—If a State determines that an individual was misidentified as deceased based on information obtained from the Death Master File and was erroneously disenrolled from medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) based on such misidentification, the State shall immediately re-enroll such individual under the State plan (or waiver of such plan), retroactive to the date of such disenrollment.

“(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing under this subsection shall be construed to preclude the ability of a State to use other electronic data sources to timely identify potentially deceased beneficiaries, so long as the State is also in compliance with the requirements of this subsection (and all other requirements under this title relating to

Medicaid eligibility determination and re-determination).”

SEC. 71105. ENSURING DECEASED PROVIDERS DO NOT REMAIN ENROLLED.

Section 1902(kk)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(kk)(1)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The State” and inserting: “(A) IN GENERAL.—The State”; and

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

“(B) PROVIDER SCREENING AGAINST DEATH MASTER FILE.—Beginning January 1, 2028, as part of the enrollment (or reenrollment or revalidation of enrollment) of a provider or supplier under this title, and not less frequently than quarterly during the period that such provider or supplier is so enrolled, the State conducts a check of the Death Master File (as such term is defined in section 203(d) of the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013) to determine whether such provider or supplier is deceased.”

SEC. 71106. PAYMENT REDUCTION RELATED TO CERTAIN ERRONEOUS EXCESS PAYMENTS UNDER MEDICAID.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1903(u)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(u)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by inserting “for any audits conducted by the Secretary, or, at the option of the Secretary, audits conducted by the State” after “exceeds 0.03”; and

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “The Secretary” and inserting “(i) Subject to clause (ii), the Secretary”; and

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

“(ii) The amount waived under clause (i) for a fiscal year may not exceed an amount equal to the erroneous excess payments for medical assistance described in subparagraph (D)(i)(II) made for such fiscal year.”

(3) in subparagraph (C), by striking “he” in each place it appears and inserting “the Secretary” in each such place; and

(4) in subparagraph (D)(i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subclause (II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or payments where insufficient information is available to confirm eligibility, and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) payments (other than payments described in subclause (I)) for items and services furnished to an individual who is not eligible for medical assistance under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) with respect to such items and services, or payments where insufficient information is available to confirm eligibility.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply beginning with respect to fiscal year 2030.

SEC. 71107. ELIGIBILITY REDETERMINATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902(e)(14) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(e)(14)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(L) FREQUENCY OF ELIGIBILITY REDETERMINATIONS FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), with respect to redeterminations of eligibility for medical assistance under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) scheduled on or after the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026, a State shall make such a redetermination once every 6 months for the following individuals:

“(I) Individuals enrolled under subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(II) Individuals described in such subsection who are otherwise enrolled under a waiver of such plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential cov-

erage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) to all individuals described in subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(ii) EXEMPTION.—The requirements described in clause (i) shall not apply to any individual described in subsection (xx)(9)(A)(ii)(II).

“(iii) STATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.”

(b) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services, shall issue guidance relating to the implementation of the amendments made by this section.

SEC. 71108. REVISING HOME EQUITY LIMIT FOR DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY FOR LONG-TERM CARE SERVICES UNDER THE MEDICAID PROGRAM.

(a) REVISING HOME EQUITY LIMIT.—Section 1917(f)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396p(f)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “A State” and inserting “(i) A State”; and

(B) in clause (i), as inserted by subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “\$500,000” and inserting “the amount specified in subparagraph (A)”; and

(ii) by inserting “, in the case of an individual’s home that is located on a lot that is zoned for agricultural use,” after “apply subparagraph (A)”; and

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

“(ii) A State may elect, without regard to the requirements of section 1902(a)(1) (relating to statewideness) and section 1902(a)(10)(B) (relating to comparability), to apply subparagraph (A), in the case of an individual’s home that is not described in clause (i), by substituting for the amount specified in such subparagraph, an amount that exceeds such amount, but does not exceed \$1,000,000.”; and

(2) in subparagraph (C)—

(A) by inserting “(other than the amount specified in subparagraph (B)(ii) (relating to certain non-agricultural homes))” after “specified in this paragraph”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new sentence: “In the case that application of the preceding sentence would result in a dollar amount (other than the amount specified in subparagraph (B)(i) (relating to certain agricultural homes)) exceeding \$1,000,000, such amount shall be deemed to be equal to \$1,000,000.”

(b) CLARIFICATION.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a) is amended—

(1) in subsection (r)(2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) This paragraph shall not be construed as permitting a State to determine the eligibility of an individual for medical assistance with respect to nursing facility services or other long-term care services without application of the limit under section 1917(f)(1).”; and

(2) in subsection (e)(14)(D)(iv)—

(A) by striking “Subparagraphs” and inserting

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraphs”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(II) APPLICATION OF HOME EQUITY INTEREST LIMIT.—Section 1917(f) shall apply for purposes of determining the eligibility of an individual for medical assistance with respect to nursing facility services or other long-term care services.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply beginning on January 1, 2028.

SEC. 71109. ALIEN MEDICAID ELIGIBILITY.

(a) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(v) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(v)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “and (4)” and inserting “, (4), and (5)”; and

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

“(5) Notwithstanding the preceding paragraphs of this subsection, beginning on October 1, 2026, except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (4), in no event shall payment be made to a State under this section for medical assistance furnished to an individual unless such individual is—

“(A) a resident of 1 of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, or a territory of the United States; and

“(B) either—

“(i) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(ii) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding, among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country;

“(iii) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(iv) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.”

(b) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, as amended by section 71103(b), is further amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (R) through (V) as paragraphs (S) through (W), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (Q) the following:

“(R) Section 1903(v)(5) (relating to payments for medical assistance furnished to aliens), except in relation to payments for services provided under section 2105(a)(1)(D)(ii).”

SEC. 71110. EXPANSION FMAP FOR CERTAIN STATES PROVIDING PAYMENTS FOR HEALTH CARE FURNISHED TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (y)—

(A) in paragraph (1)(E), by inserting “(or, for calendar quarters beginning on or after October 1, 2027, in the case such State is a specified State with respect to such calendar quarter, 80 percent)” after “thereafter”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIFIED STATE.—The term ‘specified State’ means, with respect to a quarter, a State that—

“(i) provides any form of financial assistance from a State general fund during such quarter, in whole or in part, whether or not made under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) under this title or under another program established by the State, to or on behalf of an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not a child or pregnant woman who is lawfully residing in the United States and eligible for medical assistance pursuant to section 1903(v)(4) or for child health assistance or pregnancy-related assistance pursuant to section 2107(e)(1)(Q), for the purchasing of health insurance coverage (as defined in sec-

tion 2791(b)(1) of the Public Health Service Act) for an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not such a child or pregnant woman; or

“(ii) provides any form of comprehensive health benefits coverage, except such coverage required by Federal law, during such quarter, whether or not under a State plan (or waiver of such plan) under this title or under another program established by the State, and regardless of the source of funding for such coverage, to an alien who is not a qualified alien and is not such a child or pregnant woman.

“(D) IMMIGRATION TERMS.—

“(i) ALIEN.—The term ‘alien’ has the meaning given such term in section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

“(ii) QUALIFIED ALIEN.—The term ‘qualified alien’ has the meaning given such term in section 431 of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, except that the references to ‘(in the opinion of the agency providing such benefits)’ in subsection (c) of such section 431 shall be treated as references to ‘(in the opinion of the State in which such comprehensive health benefits coverage or such financial assistance is provided, as applicable)’;” and

(2) in subsection (z)(2)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “for such year” and inserting “for such quarter”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)(i)—

(i) in the matter preceding subclause (I), by striking “for a year” and inserting “for a calendar quarter in a year”; and

(ii) in subclause (II), by striking “for the year” and inserting “for the quarter for the State”.

SEC. 71111. EXPANSION FMAP FOR EMERGENCY MEDICAID.

Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(kk) FMAP FOR TREATMENT OF AN EMERGENCY MEDICAL CONDITION.—Notwithstanding subsection (y) and (z), beginning on October 1, 2026, the Federal medical assistance percentage for payments for care and services described in paragraph (2) of subsection 1903(v) furnished to an alien described in paragraph (1) of such subsection shall not exceed the Federal medical assistance percentage determined under subsection (b) for such State.”

Subchapter B—Preventing Wasteful Spending

SEC. 71112. MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF RULE RELATING TO STAFFING STANDARDS FOR LONG-TERM CARE FACILITIES UNDER THE MEDICARE AND MEDICAID PROGRAMS.

The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall not, during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this section and ending September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services on May 10, 2024, and titled “Medicare and Medicaid Programs; Minimum Staffing Standards for Long-Term Care Facilities and Medicaid Institutional Payment Transparency Reporting” (89 Fed. Reg. 40876) and shall not implement, administer, or enforce the amendments made to the following sections of part 483 of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations:

- (1) Section 483.5.
- (2) Section 483.35.

SEC. 71113. REDUCING STATE MEDICAID COSTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902(a)(34) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(34)) is amended to read as follows:

“(34) provide that in the case of any individual who has been determined to be eligi-

ble for medical assistance under the plan and—

“(A) is enrolled under paragraph (10)(A)(i)(VIII), such assistance will be made available to the individual for care and services included under the plan and furnished in or after the month before the month in which the individual made application (or application was made on the individual’s behalf in the case of a deceased individual) for such assistance if such individual was (or upon application would have been) eligible for such assistance at the time such care and services were furnished; or

“(B) is not described in subparagraph (A), such assistance will be made available to the individual for care and services included under the plan and furnished in or after the second month before the month in which the individual made application (or application was made on the individual’s behalf in the case of a deceased individual) for such assistance if such individual was (or upon application would have been) eligible for such assistance at the time such care and services were furnished.”

(b) DEFINITION OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE.—Section 1905(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(a)) is amended by striking “in or after the third month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance” and inserting “, with respect to an individual described in section 1902(a)(34)(A), in or after the month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance, and with respect to an individual described in section 1902(a)(34)(B), in or after the second month before the month in which the recipient makes application for assistance”.

(c) CHIP.—Section 2102(b)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397bb(b)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) in clause (iv), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in clause (v), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

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

“(vi) shall, in the case that the State elects to provide child health or pregnancy-related assistance to an individual for any period prior to the month in which the individual made application for such assistance (or application was made on behalf of the individual), provide that such assistance is not made available to such individual for items and services included under the State child health plan (or waiver of such plan) that are furnished before the second month preceding the month in which such individual made application (or application was made on behalf of such individual) for assistance.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to medical assistance, child health assistance, and pregnancy-related assistance with respect to individuals whose eligibility for such medical assistance, child health assistance, or pregnancy-related assistance is based on an application made on or after the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 71114. PROHIBITING FEDERAL MEDICAID AND CHIP FUNDING FOR CERTAIN ITEMS AND SERVICES.

(a) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(i) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(i)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (26), by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in paragraph (27), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”;

(3) by inserting after paragraph (27) the following new paragraph:

“(28) with respect to any amount expended for specified gender transition procedures (as defined in section 1905(11)) furnished to an individual enrolled in a State plan (or waiver of such plan).”; and

(4) in the flush left matter at the end, by striking “and (18),” and inserting “(18), and (28)”.

(b) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1)(O) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)(O)), as redesignated by section 71103(b)(1)(A), is amended by striking “and (17)” and inserting “(17), and (28)”.

(c) SPECIFIED GENDER TRANSITION PROCEDURES DEFINED.—Section 1905 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(1) SPECIFIED GENDER TRANSITION PROCEDURES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 1903(i)(28), except as provided in paragraph (2), the term ‘specified gender transition procedure’ means, with respect to an individual, any of the following when performed for the purpose of intentionally changing the body of such individual (including by disrupting the body’s development, inhibiting its natural functions, or modifying its appearance) to no longer correspond to the individual’s sex:

“(A) Performing any surgery, including—

- “(i) castration;
- “(ii) sterilization;
- “(iii) orchiectomy;
- “(iv) scrotoplasty;
- “(v) vasectomy;
- “(vi) tubal ligation;
- “(vii) hysterectomy;
- “(viii) oophorectomy;
- “(ix) ovariectomy;
- “(x) metoidioplasty;
- “(xi) clitoroplasty;
- “(xii) reconstruction of the fixed part of the urethra with or without a metoidioplasty or a phalloplasty;
- “(xiii) penectomy;
- “(xiv) phalloplasty;
- “(xv) vaginoplasty;
- “(xvi) vaginectomy;
- “(xvii) vulvoplasty;
- “(xviii) reduction thyrochondroplasty;
- “(xix) chondrolaryngoplasty;
- “(xx) mastectomy; and
- “(xxi) any plastic, cosmetic, or aesthetic surgery that feminizes or masculinizes the facial or other body features of an individual.

“(B) Any placement of chest implants to create feminine breasts or any placement of erection or testicular prostheses.

“(C) Any placement of fat or artificial implants in the gluteal region.

“(D) Administering, prescribing, or dispensing to an individual medications, including—

- “(i) gonadotropin-releasing hormone (GnRH) analogues or other puberty-blocking drugs to stop or delay normal puberty; and
- “(ii) testosterone, estrogen, or other androgens to an individual at doses that are supraphysiologic than would normally be produced endogenously in a healthy individual of the same age and sex.

“(2) EXCEPTION.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the following when furnished to an individual by a health care provider if the individual is a minor with the consent of such individual’s parent or legal guardian:

“(A) Puberty suppression or blocking prescription drugs for the purpose of normalizing puberty for an individual experiencing precocious puberty.

“(B) Medically necessary procedures or treatments to correct for—

- “(i) a medically verifiable disorder of sex development, including—
 - “(I) 46,XX chromosomes with virilization;
 - “(II) 46,XY chromosomes with undervirilization; and
 - “(III) both ovarian and testicular tissue;
- “(ii) sex chromosome structure, sex steroid hormone production, or sex hormone action,

if determined to be abnormal by a physician through genetic or biochemical testing;

“(iii) infection, disease, injury, or disorder caused or exacerbated by a previous procedure described in paragraph (1), or a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness that would, as certified by a physician, place the individual in danger of death or impairment of a major bodily function unless the procedure is performed, not including procedures performed for the alleviation of mental distress; or

“(iv) procedures to restore or reconstruct the body of the individual in order to correspond to the individual’s sex after one or more previous procedures described in paragraph (1), which may include the removal of a pseudo phallus or breast augmentation.

“(3) SEX.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘sex’ means either male or female, as biologically determined and defined in paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively.

“(4) FEMALE.—For purposes of paragraph (3), the term ‘female’ means an individual who naturally has, had, will have, or would have, but for a developmental or genetic anomaly or historical accident, the reproductive system that at some point produces, transports, and utilizes eggs for fertilization.

“(5) MALE.—For purposes of paragraph (3), the term ‘male’ means an individual who naturally has, had, will have, or would have, but for a developmental or genetic anomaly or historical accident, the reproductive system that at some point produces, transports, and utilizes sperm for fertilization.”.

SEC. 71115. FEDERAL PAYMENTS TO PROHIBITED ENTITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—No Federal funds that are considered direct spending and provided to carry out a State plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act or a waiver of such a plan shall be used to make payments to a prohibited entity for items and services furnished during the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, including any payments made directly to the prohibited entity or under a contract or other arrangement between a State and a covered organization.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) PROHIBITED ENTITY.—The term “prohibited entity” means an entity, including its affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, and clinics—

(A) that, as of the first day of the first quarter beginning after the date of enactment of this Act—

(i) is an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt from tax under section 501(a) of such Code;

(ii) is an essential community provider described in section 156.235 of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this Act), that is primarily engaged in family planning services, reproductive health, and related medical care; and

(iii) provides for abortions, other than an abortion—

(I) if the pregnancy is the result of an act of rape or incest; or

(II) in the case where a woman suffers from a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness, including a life-endangering physical condition caused by or arising from the pregnancy itself, that would, as certified by a physician, place the woman in danger of death unless an abortion is performed; and

(B) for which the total amount of Federal and State expenditures under the Medicaid program under title XIX of the Social Security Act for medical assistance furnished in fiscal year 2023 made directly, or by a covered organization, to the entity or to any affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, or clinics of the entity, or made to the entity or to any affiliates, subsidiaries, successors, or clinics

of the entity as part of a nationwide health care provider network, exceeded \$800,000.

(2) DIRECT SPENDING.—The term “direct spending” has the meaning given that term under section 250(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 900(c)).

(3) COVERED ORGANIZATION.—The term “covered organization” means a managed care entity (as defined in section 1932(a)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396u-2(a)(1)(B))) or a prepaid inpatient health plan or prepaid ambulatory health plan (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(m)(9)(D))).

(4) STATE.—The term “State” has the meaning given such term in section 1101 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1301).

Subchapter C—Stopping Abusive Financing Practices

SEC. 71116. SUNSETTING INCREASED FMAP INCENTIVE.

Section 1905(ii)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d(ii)(3)) is amended—

(1) by striking “which has not” and inserting the following: “which—

“(A) has not”;

(2) in subparagraph (A), as so inserted, by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) begins to expend amounts for all such individuals prior to January 1, 2026.”.

SEC. 71117. PROVIDER TAXES.

(a) CHANGE IN THRESHOLD FOR HOLD HARMLESS PROVISION OF BROAD-BASED HEALTH CARE RELATED TAXES.—Section 1903(w)(4) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)(4)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)(ii), by inserting “, and for fiscal years beginning on or after October 1, 2026, the applicable percent determined under subparagraph (D) shall be substituted for ‘6 percent’ each place it appears” after “each place it appears”; and

(2) by inserting after subparagraph (C)(ii), the following new subparagraph:

“(D)(i) For purposes of subparagraph (C)(ii), the applicable percent determined under this subparagraph is—

“(I) in the case of a non-expansion State and a class of health care items or services described in section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025)—

“(aa) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the non-expansion State has enacted a tax and imposes such tax on such class and the Secretary determines that the tax is within the hold harmless threshold as of that date, the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined; and

“(bb) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the non-expansion State has not enacted or does not impose a tax with respect to such class, 0 percent; and

“(II) in the case of an expansion State and a class of health care items or services described in section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025), subject to clause (iv)—

“(aa) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the expansion State has enacted a tax and imposes such tax on such class and the Secretary determines that the tax is within the hold harmless threshold as of that date, the lower of—

“(AA) the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined; and

“(BB) the applicable percent specified in clause (ii) for the fiscal year; and

“(bb) if, on the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the expansion State has not enacted or does not impose a tax with respect to such class, 0 percent.

“(ii) For purposes of clause (i)(II)(aa)(BB), the applicable percent is—

- “(I) for fiscal year 2028, 5.5 percent;
- “(II) for fiscal year 2029, 5 percent;
- “(III) for fiscal year 2030, 4.5 percent;
- “(IV) for fiscal year 2031, 4 percent; and
- “(V) for fiscal year 2032 and each subsequent fiscal year, 3.5 percent.

“(iii) For purposes of clause (i):

“(I) EXPANSION STATE.—The term ‘expansion State’ means a State that, beginning on January 1, 2014, or on any date thereafter, elects to provide medical assistance to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) under the State plan under this title or under a waiver of such plan.

“(II) NON-EXPANSION STATE.—The term ‘non-expansion State’ means a State that is not an expansion State.

“(iv) In the case of a tax of an expansion State in effect on the date of enactment of this clause, that applies to a class of health care items or services that is described in paragraph (3) or (4) of section 433.56(a) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on May 1, 2025), and for which, on such date of enactment, is within the hold harmless threshold (as determined by the Secretary), the applicable percent of net patient revenue attributable to such class that has been so determined shall apply for a fiscal year instead of the applicable percent specified in clause (ii) for the fiscal year.”

(b) NON-APPLICATION TO TERRITORIES.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply with respect to a State that is 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(c) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71118. STATE DIRECTED PAYMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), the Secretary of Health and Human Services (in this section referred to as the Secretary) shall revise section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) such that, with respect to a payment described in such section made for a service furnished during a rating period beginning on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, the total payment rate for such service is limited to—

(1) in the case of a State that provides coverage to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII)) that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) of such State under title XIX of such Act, 100 percent of the specified total published Medicare payment rate (or, in the absence of a specified total published Medicare payment rate, the payment rate under a Medicaid State plan (or under a waiver of such plan)); or

(2) in the case of a State other than a State described in paragraph (1), 110 percent of the specified total published Medicare payment rate (or, in the absence of a specified total published Medicare payment rate, the payment rate under a Medicaid State plan (or under a waiver of such plan)).

(b) GRANDFATHERING CERTAIN PAYMENTS.—In the case of a payment described in section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) for which written prior approval (or a good faith effort

to receive such approval, as determined by the Secretary) was made before May 1, 2025, or a payment described in such section for a rural hospital (as defined in subsection (d)(2)) for which written prior approval (or a good faith effort to receive such approval, as determined by the Secretary) was made by the date of enactment of this Act, for the rating period occurring within 180 days of the date of the enactment of this Act, beginning with the rating period on or after January 1, 2028, the total amount of such payment shall be reduced by 10 percentage points each year until the total payment rate for such service is equal to the rate for such service specified in subsection (a).

(c) TREATMENT OF EXPANSION STATES.—The revisions described in subsection (a) shall provide that, with respect to a State that begins providing the coverage described in paragraph (1) of such subsection on or after the date of the enactment of this Act, the limitation described in such paragraph shall apply to such State with respect to a payment described in section 438.6(c)(2)(iii) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation) for a service furnished during a rating period beginning on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

(d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) RATING PERIOD.—The term “rating period” has the meaning given such term in section 438.2 of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(2) RURAL HOSPITAL.—The term “rural hospital” means the following:

(A) A subsection (d) hospital (as defined in paragraph (1)(B) of section 1886(d)) that—

(i) is located in a rural area (as defined in paragraph (2)(D) of such section);

(ii) is treated as being located in a rural area pursuant to paragraph (8)(E) of such section; or

(iii) is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

(B) A critical access hospital (as defined in section 1861(mmm)(1)).

(C) A sole community hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(D)(iii)).

(D) A Medicare-dependent, small rural hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(G)(iv)).

(E) A low-volume hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(12)(C)).

(F) A rural emergency hospital (as defined in section 1861(kkk)(2)).

(3) STATE.—The term “State” means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(4) TOTAL PUBLISHED MEDICARE PAYMENT RATE.—The term “total published Medicare payment rate” means amounts calculated as payment for specific services including the service furnished that have been developed under part A or part B of title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.).

(5) WRITTEN PRIOR APPROVAL.—The term “written prior approval” has the meaning given such term in section 438.6(c)(2)(i) of title 42, Code of Federal Regulations (or a successor regulation).

(e) FUNDING.—There are appropriated out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated \$7,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 through 2033 for purposes of carrying out this section, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71119. REQUIREMENTS REGARDING WAIVER OF UNIFORM TAX REQUIREMENT FOR MEDICAID PROVIDER TAX.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1903(w) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(w)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3)(E), by inserting after clause (ii)(II) the following new clause:

“(iii) For purposes of clause (ii)(I), a tax is not considered to be generally redistributive if any of the following conditions apply:

“(I) Within a permissible class, the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group (as defined in paragraph (7)(J)) explicitly defined by its relatively lower volume or percentage of Medicaid taxable units (as defined in paragraph (7)(H)) is lower than the tax rate imposed on any other taxpayer or tax rate group explicitly defined by its relatively higher volume or percentage of Medicaid taxable units.

“(II) Within a permissible class, the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group (as so defined) based upon its Medicaid taxable units (as so defined) is higher than the tax rate imposed on any taxpayer or tax rate group based upon its non-Medicaid taxable unit (as defined in paragraph (7)(I)).

“(III) The tax excludes or imposes a lower tax rate on a taxpayer or tax rate group (as so defined) based on or defined by any description that results in the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II) for a taxpayer or tax rate group. Characteristics that may indicate such type of exclusion include the use of terminology to establish a tax rate group—

“(aa) based on payments or expenditures made under the program under this title without mentioning the term ‘Medicaid’ (or any similar term) to accomplish the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II); or

“(bb) that closely approximates a taxpayer or tax rate group under the program under this title, to the same effect as described in subclause (I) or (II).”;

(2) in paragraph (7), by adding at the end the following new subparagraphs:

“(H) The term ‘Medicaid taxable unit’ means a unit that is being taxed within a health care related tax that is applicable to the program under this title. Such term includes a unit that is used as the basis for—

“(i) payment under the program under this title (such as Medicaid bed days);

“(ii) Medicaid revenue;

“(iii) costs associated with the program under this title (such as Medicaid charges, claims, or expenditures); and

“(iv) other units associated with the program under this title, as determined by the Secretary.

“(I) The term ‘non-Medicaid taxable unit’ means a unit that is being taxed within a health care related tax that is not applicable to the program under this title. Such term includes a unit that is used as the basis for—

“(i) payment by non-Medicaid payers (such as non-Medicaid bed days);

“(ii) non-Medicaid revenue;

“(iii) costs that are not associated with the program under this title (such as non-Medicaid charges, non-Medicaid claims, or non-Medicaid expenditures); and

“(iv) other units not associated with the program under this title, as determined by the Secretary.

“(J) The term ‘tax rate group’ means a group of entities contained within a permissible class of a health care related tax that are taxed at the same rate.”

(b) NON-APPLICATION TO TERRITORIES.—The amendments made by this section shall only apply with respect to a State that is 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, subject to any applicable transition period determined appropriate by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, not to exceed 3 fiscal years.

SEC. 71120. REQUIRING BUDGET NEUTRALITY FOR MEDICAID DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS UNDER SECTION 1115.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315) is amended by

adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) REQUIREMENT OF BUDGET NEUTRALITY FOR MEDICAID DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Beginning January 1 2027, the Secretary may not approve an application for (or renewal or amendment of) an experimental, pilot, or demonstration project undertaken under subsection (a) to promote the objectives of title XIX in a State (in this subsection referred to as a ‘Medicaid demonstration project’) unless the Chief Actuary for the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services certifies that such project, based on expenditures for the State program in the preceding fiscal year or, in the case of a renewal, the duration of the preceding waiver, is not expected to result in an increase in the amount of Federal expenditures compared to the amount that such expenditures would otherwise be in the absence of such project. For purposes of this subsection, expenditures for the coverage of populations and services that the State could have otherwise provided through its Medicaid State plan or other authority under title XIX, including expenditures that could be made under such authority but for the provision of such services at a different site of service than authorized under such State plan or other authority, shall be considered expenditures in the absence of such a project.

“(2) TREATMENT OF SAVINGS.—In the event that expenditures with respect to a State under a Medicaid demonstration project are, during an approval period for such project, less than the amount of such expenditures that would have otherwise been made in the absence of such project, the Secretary shall specify the methodology to be used with respect to the subsequent approval period for such project for purposes of taking the difference between such expenditures into account.”.

(b) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$5,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2026 and 2027, to remain available until expended.

Subchapter D—Increasing Personal Accountability

SEC. 71121. REQUIREMENT FOR STATES TO ESTABLISH MEDICAID COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1902 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a), as amended by sections 71103 and 71104, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(xx) COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENT FOR APPLICABLE INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (11), beginning not later than the first day of the first quarter that begins after December 31, 2026, or, at the option of the State under a waiver or demonstration project under section 1115 or the State plan, such earlier date as the State may specify, subject to the succeeding provisions of this subsection, a State shall provide, as a condition of eligibility for medical assistance for an applicable individual, that such individual is required to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (2)—

“(A) in the case of an applicable individual who has filed an application for medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, for 1 or more but not more than 3 (as specified by the State) consecutive months immediately preceding the month during which such individual applies for such medical assistance; and

“(B) in the case of an applicable individual enrolled and receiving medical assistance

under a State plan (or under a waiver of such plan) under this title, for 1 or more (as specified by the State) months, whether or not consecutive—

“(i) during the period between such individual’s most recent determination (or redetermination, as applicable) of eligibility and such individual’s next regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility (as verified by the State as part of such regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility); or

“(ii) in the case of a State that has elected under paragraph (4) to conduct more frequent verifications of compliance with the requirement to demonstrate community engagement, during the period between the most recent and next such verification with respect to such individual.

“(2) COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT COMPLIANCE DESCRIBED.—Subject to paragraph (3), an applicable individual demonstrates community engagement under this paragraph for a month if such individual meets 1 or more of the following conditions with respect to such month, as determined in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary through regulation:

“(A) The individual works not less than 80 hours.

“(B) The individual completes not less than 80 hours of community service.

“(C) The individual participates in a work program for not less than 80 hours.

“(D) The individual is enrolled in an educational program at least half-time.

“(E) The individual engages in any combination of the activities described in subparagraphs (A) through (D), for a total of not less than 80 hours.

“(F) The individual has a monthly income that is not less than the applicable minimum wage requirement under section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, multiplied by 80 hours.

“(G) The individual had an average monthly income over the preceding 6 months that is not less than the applicable minimum wage requirement under section 6 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 multiplied by 80 hours, and is a seasonal worker, as described in section 45R(d)(5)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 .

“(3) EXCEPTIONS.—

“(A) MANDATORY EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—The State shall deem an applicable individual to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (2) for a month, and may elect to not require an individual to verify information resulting in such deeming, if—

“(i) for part or all of such month, the individual—

“(I) was a specified excluded individual (as defined in paragraph (9)(A)(ii)); or

“(II) was—

“(aa) under the age of 19;

“(bb) entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII; or

“(cc) described in any of subparagraphs (I) through (VII) of subsection (a)(10)(A)(i); or

“(ii) at any point during the 3-month period ending on the first day of such month, the individual was an inmate of a public institution.

“(B) OPTIONAL EXCEPTION FOR SHORT-TERM HARDSHIP EVENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The State plan (or waiver of such plan) may provide, in the case of an applicable individual who experiences a short-term hardship event during a month, that the State shall, under procedures established by the State (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary), in the case of a short-term hardship event described in clause (ii)(II) and, upon the request of such individual, a short-term hardship event described in subclause (I) or (III) of clause

(ii), deem such individual to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (2) for such month.

“(ii) SHORT-TERM HARDSHIP EVENT DEFINED.—For purposes of this subparagraph, an applicable individual experiences a short-term hardship event during a month if, for part or all of such month—

“(I) such individual receives inpatient hospital services, nursing facility services, services in an intermediate care facility for individuals with intellectual disabilities, inpatient psychiatric hospital services, or such other services of similar acuity (including outpatient care relating to other services specified in this subclause) as the Secretary determines appropriate;

“(II) such individual resides in a county (or equivalent unit of local government)—

“(aa) in which there exists an emergency or disaster declared by the President pursuant to the National Emergencies Act or the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act; or

“(bb) that, subject to a request from the State to the Secretary, made in such form, at such time, and containing such information as the Secretary may require, has an unemployment rate that is at or above the lesser of—

“(AA) 8 percent; or

“(BB) 1.5 times the national unemployment rate; or

“(III) such individual or their dependent must travel outside of their community for an extended period of time to receive medical services necessary to treat a serious or complex medical condition (as described in paragraph (9)(A)(ii)(V)(ee)) that are not available within their community of residence.

“(4) OPTION TO CONDUCT MORE FREQUENT COMPLIANCE VERIFICATIONS.—With respect to an applicable individual enrolled and receiving medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, the State shall verify (in accordance with procedures specified by the Secretary) that each such individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1) during each such individual’s regularly scheduled redetermination of eligibility, except that a State may provide for such verifications more frequently.

“(5) EX PARTE VERIFICATIONS.—For purposes of verifying that an applicable individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1), or determining such individual to be deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3), or that an individual is a specified excluded individual under paragraph (9)(A)(ii), the State shall, in accordance with standards established by the Secretary, establish processes and use reliable information available to the State (such as payroll data or payments or encounter data under this title for individuals and data on payments to such individuals for the provision of services covered under this title) without requiring, where possible, the applicable individual to submit additional information.

“(6) PROCEDURE IN THE CASE OF NONCOMPLIANCE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If a State is unable to verify that an applicable individual has met the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1) (including, if applicable, by verifying that such individual was deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3)) the State shall (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary)—

“(i) provide such individual with the notice of noncompliance described in subparagraph (B);

“(ii)(I) provide such individual with a period of 30 calendar days, beginning on the date on which such notice of noncompliance is received by the individual, to—

“(aa) make a satisfactory showing to the State of compliance with such requirement (including, if applicable, by showing that such individual was or should be deemed to have demonstrated community engagement under paragraph (3)); or

“(bb) make a satisfactory showing to the State that such requirement does not apply to such individual on the basis that such individual does not meet the definition of applicable individual under paragraph (9)(A); and

“(II) if such individual is enrolled under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title, continue to provide such individual with medical assistance during such 30-calendar-day period; and

“(iii) if no such satisfactory showing is made and the individual is not a specified excluded individual described in paragraph (9)(A)(ii), deny such individual’s application for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) or, as applicable, disenroll such individual from the plan (or waiver of such plan) not later than the end of the month following the month in which such 30-calendar-day period ends, provided that—

“(I) the State first determines whether, with respect to the individual, there is any other basis for eligibility for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) or for another insurance affordability program; and

“(II) the individual is provided written notice and granted an opportunity for a fair hearing in accordance with subsection (a)(3).

“(B) NOTICE.—The notice of noncompliance provided to an applicable individual under subparagraph (A)(i) shall include information (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary) on—

“(i) how such individual may make a satisfactory showing of compliance with such requirement (as described in subparagraph (A)(ii)) or make a satisfactory showing that such requirement does not apply to such individual on the basis that such individual does not meet the definition of applicable individual under paragraph (9)(A); and

“(ii) how such individual may reapply for medical assistance under the State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title in the case that such individuals’ application is denied or, as applicable, in the case that such individual is disenrolled from the plan (or waiver).

“(7) TREATMENT OF NONCOMPLIANT INDIVIDUALS IN RELATION TO CERTAIN OTHER PROVISIONS.—

“(A) CERTAIN FMAP INCREASES.—A State shall not be treated as not providing medical assistance to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII), or as not expending amounts for all such individuals under the State plan (or waiver of such plan), solely because such an individual is determined ineligible for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver) on the basis of a failure to meet the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1).

“(B) OTHER PROVISIONS.—For purposes of section 36B(c)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, an individual shall be deemed to be eligible for minimum essential coverage described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A)(ii) of such Code for a month if such individual would have been eligible for medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under this title but for a failure to meet the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under paragraph (1).

“(8) OUTREACH.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In accordance with standards specified by the Secretary, beginning not later than the date that precedes December 31, 2026 (or, if the State elects under paragraph (1) to specify an earlier date, such earlier date) by the number of months specified by the State under paragraph (1)(A) plus 3 months, and periodically thereafter, the State shall notify applicable individuals enrolled under a State plan (or waiver) under this title of the requirement to demonstrate community engagement under this subsection. Such notice shall include information on—

“(i) how to comply with such requirement, including an explanation of the exceptions to such requirement under paragraph (3) and the definition of the term ‘applicable individual’ under paragraph (9)(A);

“(ii) the consequences of noncompliance with such requirement; and

“(iii) how to report to the State any change in the individual’s status that could result in—

“(I) the applicability of an exception under paragraph (3) (or the end of the applicability of such an exception); or

“(II) the individual qualifying as a specified excluded individual under paragraph (9)(A)(ii).

“(B) FORM OF OUTREACH NOTICE.—A notice required under subparagraph (A) shall be delivered—

“(i) by regular mail (or, if elected by the individual, in an electronic format); and

“(ii) in 1 or more additional forms, which may include telephone, text message, an internet website, other commonly available electronic means, and such other forms as the Secretary determines appropriate.

“(9) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(A) APPLICABLE INDIVIDUAL.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable individual’ means an individual (other than a specified excluded individual (as defined in clause (ii)))—

“(I) who is eligible to enroll (or is enrolled) under the State plan under subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII); or

“(II) who—

“(aa) is otherwise eligible to enroll (or is enrolled) under a waiver of such plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and as determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations); and

“(bb) has attained the age of 19 and is under 65 years of age, is not pregnant, is not entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII, and is not otherwise eligible to enroll under such plan.

“(ii) SPECIFIED EXCLUDED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘specified excluded individual’ means an individual, as determined by the State (in accordance with standards specified by the Secretary)—

“(I) who is described in subsection (a)(10)(A)(i)(IX);

“(II) who—

“(aa) is an Indian or an Urban Indian (as such terms are defined in paragraphs (13) and (28) of section 4 of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act);

“(bb) is a California Indian described in section 809(a) of such Act; or

“(cc) has otherwise been determined eligible as an Indian for the Indian Health Service under regulations promulgated by the Secretary;

“(III) who is the parent, guardian, caretaker relative, or family caregiver (as defined in section 2 of the RAISE Family Caregivers Act) of a dependent child 13 years of age and under or a disabled individual;

“(IV) who is a veteran with a disability rated as total under section 1155 of title 38, United States Code;

“(V) who is medically frail or otherwise has special medical needs (as defined by the Secretary), including an individual—

“(aa) who is blind or disabled (as defined in section 1614);

“(bb) with a substance use disorder;

“(cc) with a disabling mental disorder;

“(dd) with a physical, intellectual or developmental disability that significantly impairs their ability to perform 1 or more activities of daily living; or

“(ee) with a serious or complex medical condition;

“(VI) who—

“(aa) is in compliance with any requirements imposed by the State pursuant to section 407; or

“(bb) is a member of a household that receives supplemental nutrition assistance program benefits under the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 and is not exempt from a work requirement under such Act;

“(VII) who is participating in a drug addiction or alcoholic treatment and rehabilitation program (as defined in section 3(h) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008);

“(VIII) who is an inmate of a public institution; or

“(IX) who is pregnant or entitled to postpartum medical assistance under paragraph (5) or (16) of subsection (e).

“(B) EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM.—The term ‘educational program’ includes—

“(i) an institution of higher education (as defined in section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965); and

“(ii) a program of career and technical education (as defined in section 3 of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act of 2006).

“(C) STATE.—The term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.

“(D) WORK PROGRAM.—The term ‘work program’ has the meaning given such term in section 6(o)(1) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008.

“(10) PROHIBITING WAIVER OF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT REQUIREMENTS.—Notwithstanding section 1115(a), the provisions of this subsection may not be waived.

“(11) SPECIAL IMPLEMENTATION RULE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (C), the Secretary may exempt a State from compliance with the requirements of this subsection if—

“(i) the State submits to the Secretary a request for such exemption, made in such form and at such time as the Secretary may require, and including the information specified in subparagraph (B); and

“(ii) the Secretary determines that based on such request, the State is demonstrating a good faith effort to comply with the requirements of this subsection.

“(B) GOOD FAITH EFFORT DETERMINATION.—In determining whether a State is demonstrating a good faith effort for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the Secretary shall consider—

“(i) any actions taken by the State toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection;

“(ii) any significant barriers to or challenges in meeting such requirements, including related to funding, design, development, procurement, or installation of necessary systems or resources;

“(iii) the State’s detailed plan and timeline for achieving full compliance with such requirements, including any milestones of such plan (as defined by the Secretary); and

“(iv) any other criteria determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(C) DURATION OF EXEMPTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An exemption granted under subparagraph (A) shall expire not later than December 31, 2028, and may not be renewed beyond such date.

“(ii) EARLY TERMINATION.—The Secretary may terminate an exemption granted under subparagraph (A) prior to the expiration date of such exemption if the Secretary determined that the State has—

“(I) failed to comply with the reporting requirements described in subparagraph (D); or

“(II) based on the information provided pursuant to subparagraph (D), failed to make continued good faith efforts toward compliance with the requirements of this subsection.

“(D) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—A State granted an exemption under subparagraph (A) shall submit to the Secretary—

“(i) quarterly progress reports on the State’s status in achieving the milestones toward full compliance described in subparagraph (B)(iii); and

“(ii) information on specific risks or newly identified barriers or challenges to full compliance, including the State’s plan to mitigate such risks, barriers, or challenges.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII)) is amended by striking “subject to subsection (k)” and inserting “subject to subsections (k) and (xx)”.

(c) PROHIBITING CONFLICTS OF INTEREST.—A State shall not use a Medicaid managed care entity or other specified entity (as such terms are defined in section 1903(m)(9)(D)), or other contractor to determine beneficiary compliance under such section unless the contractor has no direct or indirect financial relationship with any Medicaid managed care entity or other specified entity that is responsible for providing or arranging for coverage of medical assistance for individuals enrolled with the entity pursuant to a contract with such State.

(d) INTERIM FINAL RULEMAKING.—Not later than June 1, 2026, the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall promulgate an interim final rule for purposes of implementing the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section. Any action taken to implement the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section shall not be subject to the provisions of section 553 of title 5, United States Code.

(e) DEVELOPMENT OF GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY GRANTS TO STATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In order for States to establish systems necessary to carry out the provisions of, and amendments made by, this section [or other sections of this chapter that pertain to conducting eligibility determinations or redeterminations], the Secretary of Health and Human Services shall—

(A) out of amounts appropriated under paragraph (3)(A), award to each State a grant equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2) for such State; and

(B) out of amounts appropriated under paragraph (3)(B), distribute an equal amount among such States.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), the amount specified in this paragraph is an amount that bears the same ratio to the amount appropriated under paragraph (3)(A) as the number of applicable individuals (as defined in section 1902(xx) of the Social Security Act, as added by subsection (a)) residing in such State bears to the total number of such individuals residing in all States, as of March 31, 2025.

(3) FUNDING.—There are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated—

(A) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 for purposes of awarding grants under paragraph (1)(A), to remain available until expended; and

(B) \$100,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 for purposes of award grants under paragraph (1)(B), to remain available until expended.

(4) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term “State” means 1 of the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

(f) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—For the purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, there are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, \$50,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended.

SEC. 71122. MODIFYING COST SHARING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN EXPANSION INDIVIDUALS UNDER THE MEDICAID PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1916 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396o) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “(other than, beginning October 1, 2028, specified individuals (as defined in subsection (k)(3)))” after “individuals”; and

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

“(k) SPECIAL RULES FOR CERTAIN EXPANSION INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) PREMIUMS.—Beginning October 1, 2028, the State plan shall provide that in the case of a specified individual (as defined in paragraph (3)) who is eligible under the plan, no enrollment fee, premium, or similar charge will be imposed under the plan.

“(2) REQUIRED IMPOSITION OF COST SHARING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B) and subsection (j), in the case of a specified individual, the State plan shall, beginning October 1, 2028, provide for the imposition of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges determined appropriate by the State (in an amount greater than \$0) with respect to certain care, items, or services furnished to such an individual, as determined by the State.

“(B) LIMITATIONS.—

“(i) EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN SERVICES.—In no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge be imposed under the State plan with respect to care, items, or services described in any of subparagraphs (B) through (J) of subsection (a)(2), or any primary care services, mental health care services, substance use disorder services, or services provided by a Federally qualified health center (as defined in 1905(1)(2)), certified community behavioral health clinic (as defined in section 1905(jj)(2)), or rural health clinic (as defined in 1905(1)(1)), furnished to a specified individual.

“(ii) ITEM AND SERVICE LIMITATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subclause (II), in no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge imposed under the State plan with respect to care or an item or service furnished to a specified individual exceed \$35.

“(II) SPECIAL RULES FOR PRESCRIPTION DRUGS.—In no case may a deduction, cost sharing, or similar charge imposed under the State plan with respect to a prescription drug furnished to a specified individual exceed the limit that would be applicable under paragraph (2)(A)(i) or (2)(B) of section 1916A(c) with respect to such drug and individual if such drug so furnished were subject to cost sharing under such section.

“(iii) MAXIMUM LIMIT ON COST SHARING.—The total aggregate amount of deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges imposed under the State plan for all individuals in the family may not exceed 5 percent of the family income of the family involved, as applied on a quarterly or monthly basis (as specified by the State).

“(C) CASES OF NONPAYMENT.—Notwithstanding subsection (e), a State may permit a provider participating under the State plan to require, as a condition for the provision of care, items, or services to a specified individual entitled to medical assistance under this title for such care, items, or services, the payment of any deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges authorized to be imposed with respect to such care, items, or services. Nothing in this subparagraph shall be construed as preventing a provider from reducing or waiving the application of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges on a case-by-case basis.

“(3) SPECIFIED INDIVIDUAL DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘specified individual’ means an individual who has a family income (as determined in accordance with section 1902(e)(14)) that exceeds the poverty line (as defined in section 2110(c)(5)) applicable to a family of the size involved and—

“(A) is enrolled under section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII); or

“(B) is described in such subsection and otherwise enrolled under a waiver of the State plan that provides coverage that is equivalent to minimum essential coverage (as described in section 5000A(f)(1)(A) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and determined in accordance with standards prescribed by the Secretary in regulations) to all individuals described in section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)(VIII).

“(4) STATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘State’ means 1 of the 50 States or the District of Columbia.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) REQUIRED APPLICATION.—Section 1902(a)(14) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(14)) is amended by inserting “and provide for imposition of such deductions, cost sharing, or similar charges for care, items, or services furnished to specified individuals (as defined in paragraph (3) of section 1916(k)) in accordance with paragraph (2) of such section” after “section 1916”.

(2) NONAPPLICABILITY OF ALTERNATIVE COST SHARING.—Section 1916A(a)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396o-1(a)(1)) is amended, in the second sentence, by striking “or (j)” and inserting “(j), or (k)”.

Subchapter E—Expanding Access to Care
SEC. 71123. MAKING CERTAIN ADJUSTMENTS TO COVERAGE OF HOME OR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES UNDER MEDICAID.

(a) EXPANDING HCBS COVERAGE UNDER SECTION 1915(C) WAIVERS.—Section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by inserting “paragraph (11) or” before “subsection (h)(2)”; and

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

“(11) EXPANDING COVERAGE FOR HOME OR COMMUNITY-BASED SERVICES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning July 1, 2028, notwithstanding paragraph (1), the Secretary may approve a waiver that is standalone from any other waiver approved under this subsection to include as medical assistance under the State plan of such State payment for part or all of the cost of home or community-based services (other than room and board (as described in paragraph (1))) approved by the Secretary which are provided pursuant to a written plan of care to individuals described in subparagraph (B)(iii). A waiver approved under this paragraph shall be for an initial term of 3 years and, upon the request of the State, shall be extended for additional 5-year periods unless the Secretary determines that for the previous waiver period the requirements specified

under this subsection (excluding those excepted under subparagraph (B)) have not been met.

“(B) STATE REQUIREMENTS.—In addition to the requirements specified under this subsection (except for the requirements described in subparagraphs (C) and (D) of paragraph (2) and any other requirement specified under this subsection that the Secretary determines to be inapplicable in the context of a waiver that does not require individuals to have a determination described in paragraph (1)), a State shall meet the following requirements as a condition of waiver approval:

“(i) As of the date that such State requests a waiver under this subsection to provide home or community-based services to individuals described in clause (iii), all other waivers (if any) granted under this subsection to such State meet the requirements of this subsection.

“(ii) The State demonstrates to the Secretary that approval of a waiver under this subsection with respect to individuals described in clause (iii) will not result in a material increase of the average amount of time that individuals with respect to whom a determination described in paragraph (1) has been made will need to wait to receive home or community-based services under any other waiver granted under this subsection, as determined by the Secretary.

“(iii) The State establishes needs-based criteria, subject to the approval of the Secretary, regarding who will be eligible for home or community-based services under a waiver approved under this paragraph without requiring such individual to have a determination described in paragraph (1), and specifies the home or community-based services such individuals so eligible will receive.

“(iv) The State establishes needs-based criteria for determining whether an individual described in clause (iii) requires the level of care provided in a hospital, nursing facility, or an intermediate care facility for individuals with developmental disabilities under the State plan or under any waiver of such plan that are more stringent than the needs-based criteria established under clause (iii) for determining eligibility for home or community-based services.

“(v) The State attests that the State’s average per capita expenditure for medical assistance under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) provided with respect to such individuals enrolled in a waiver under this paragraph will not exceed the State’s average per capita expenditure for medical assistance for individuals receiving institutional care under the State plan (or waiver of such plan) for the duration that the waiver under this paragraph is in effect.

“(vi) The State provides to the Secretary data (in such form and manner as the Secretary may specify) regarding the number of individuals described in clause (iii) with respect to a State seeking approval of a waiver under this subsection, to whom the State will make such services available under such waiver.

“(vii) The State agrees to provide to the Secretary, not less frequently than annually, data for purposes of paragraph (2)(E) (in such form and manner as the Secretary may specify) regarding, with respect to each preceding year in which a waiver under this subsection to provide home or community-based services to individuals described in clause (iii) was in effect—

“(I) the cost (as such term is defined by the Secretary) of such services furnished to individuals described in clause (iii), broken down by type of service;

“(II) with respect to each type of home or community-based service provided under the

waiver, the length of time that such individuals have received such service;

“(III) a comparison between the data described in subclause (I) and any comparable data available with respect to individuals with respect to whom a determination described in paragraph (1) has been made and with respect to individuals receiving institutional care under this title; and

“(IV) the number of individuals who have received home or community-based services under the waiver during the preceding year.

“(C) LIMITATION ON PAYMENTS.—No payments made to carry out this paragraph shall be used to make payments to a third party on behalf of an individual practitioner for benefits such as health insurance, skills training, and other benefits customary for employees, in the case of a class of practitioners for which the program established under this title is the primary source of revenue.”

(b) IMPLEMENTATION FUNDING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated, out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Secretary of Health and Human Services—

(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$50,000,000 for purposes of carrying out the provisions of, and the amendments made by, this section, to remain available until expended; and

(B) for fiscal year 2027, \$100,000,000 for purposes of making payments to States, subject to paragraph (2), to support State systems to deliver home or community-based services under section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) (as amended by this section), to remain available until expended.

(2) PAYMENTS BASED ON STATE HCBS ELIGIBLE POPULATION.—Payments to States from amounts made available by paragraph (1)(B) shall be made, with respect to a State, on the basis of the proportion of the population of the State that is eligible for home or community-based services under section 1915(c) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396n(c)) (as amended by this section), as compared to all States.

SEC. 71124. DETERMINATION OF FMAP FOR HIGH-POVERTY STATES.

Section 1905(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396d) is amended in the first sentence—

(1) by striking “and (6)” and inserting “(6)”; and

(2) by inserting before the period the following: “, and (7) only for purposes of payments for medical assistance under this title (excluding any such payments that are based on the enhanced FMAP described in section 2105(b)), in the case of a State for which the Secretary issues under the authority of section 673(2) of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 a separate poverty guideline for any calendar year occurring during or after the date of enactment of this clause that is higher than the poverty guideline issued by the Secretary for such calendar year that is applicable to the majority of States, the regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined for such a State under this subsection (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the 1st fiscal year quarter that begins after such date of enactment, and for each fiscal year quarter beginning thereafter, shall be increased (after such determination but prior to any other increase which may be applicable and in no case to exceed 100 percent) by, in the case of the State with the highest separate poverty guideline for the calendar year, 25 percent of the average regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the fiscal year for States which did not have a separate poverty guideline issued for them for such calendar year, and in the case of the State with the

second highest separate poverty guideline for the calendar year, 15 percent of the average regular Federal medical assistance percentage determined (without regard to any adjustments to such percentage) for the fiscal year for States which did not have a separate poverty guideline issued for them for such calendar year”.

CHAPTER 2—MEDICARE

Subchapter A—Strengthening Eligibility Requirements

SEC. 71201. LIMITING MEDICARE COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

Title XVIII of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 1899C. LIMITING MEDICARE COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), an individual may be entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title only if the individual is—

“(1) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(2) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act;

“(3) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(4) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

“(b) APPLICATION TO INDIVIDUALS CURRENTLY ENTITLED TO OR ENROLLED FOR BENEFITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual who is entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title as of the date of the enactment of this section, subsection (a) shall apply beginning on the date that is 18 months after such date of enactment.

“(2) REVIEW BY COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SECURITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this section, the Commissioner of Social Security shall complete a review of individuals entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under this title as of such date of enactment for purposes of identifying individuals not described in any of paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (a).

“(B) NOTICE.—The Commissioner of Social Security shall notify each individual identified under the review conducted under subparagraph (A) that such individual’s entitlement to, or enrollment for, benefits under this title will be terminated as of the date that is 18 months after the date of the enactment of this section. Such notification shall be made as soon as practicable after such identification and in a manner designed to ensure such individual’s comprehension of such notification.”

Subchapter B—Improving Services for Seniors

SEC. 71202. TEMPORARY PAYMENT INCREASE UNDER THE MEDICARE PHYSICIAN FEE SCHEDULE TO ACCOUNT FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1848(t)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(t)(1)) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and 2024” and inserting “2024, and 2026”;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(3) in subparagraph (E), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(4) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) such services furnished on or after January 1, 2026, and before January 1, 2027, by 2.5 percent.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1848(c)(2)(B)(iv)(V) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(c)(2)(B)(iv)(V)) is amended by striking “or 2024” and inserting “2024, or 2026”.

SEC. 71203. EXPANDING AND CLARIFYING THE EXCLUSION FOR ORPHAN DRUGS UNDER THE DRUG PRICE NEGOTIATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1192(e) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “and (3)” and inserting “through (4)”;

(2) in paragraph (3)(A)—

(A) by striking “only one rare disease or condition” and inserting “one or more rare diseases or conditions”; and

(B) by striking “such disease or condition” and inserting “one or more such rare diseases or conditions (as such term is defined in section 526(a)(2) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act)”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(4) TREATMENT OF FORMER ORPHAN DRUGS.—In the case of a drug or biological product that, as of the date of the approval or licensure of such drug or biological product, is a drug or biological product described in paragraph (3)(A), paragraph (1)(A)(ii) or (1)(B)(ii) (as applicable) shall apply as if the reference to ‘the date of such approval’ or ‘the date of such licensure’, respectively, were instead a reference to ‘the first day after the date of such approval for which such drug is not a drug described in paragraph (3)(A)’ or ‘the first day after the date of such licensure for which such biological product is not a biological product described in paragraph (3)(A)’, respectively.”.

(b) APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to initial price applicability years (as defined in section 1191(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f(b))) beginning on or after January 1, 2028.

SEC. 71204. APPLICATION OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT TO NON-LABOR RELATED PORTION FOR HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT DEPARTMENT SERVICES FURNISHED IN ALASKA AND HAWAII.

Section 1833(t) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l(t)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(23) APPLICATION OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT TO NON-LABOR RELATED PORTION FOR HOSPITAL OUTPATIENT DEPARTMENT SERVICES FURNISHED IN ALASKA AND HAWAII.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—With respect to OPD services furnished on or after January 1, 2027, the Secretary shall provide for adjustments to the payment amounts under this subsection for such services in the same manner that is provided under section 1886(d)(5)(H) with respect to the application of the cost-of-living adjustment to the non-labor related portion of such payment amounts to take into account the unique circumstances of hospitals located in Alaska or Hawaii. Such adjustment shall not apply to payment amounts for a separately payable drug, biological, or medical device.

“(B) APPLICATION WITHOUT REGARD TO BUDGET NEUTRALITY.—Adjustments to payment amounts made under this paragraph—

“(i) shall not be considered an adjustment under paragraph (2)(E); and

“(ii) shall not be implemented in a budget neutral manner.”.

CHAPTER 3—HEALTH TAX

Subchapter A—Improving Eligibility Criteria
SEC. 71301. PERMITTING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(e)(1) is amended by inserting “or, in the case of aliens who are lawfully present, are not eligible aliens” after “individuals who are not lawfully present”.

(b) ELIGIBLE ALIENS.—Section 36B(e)(2) is amended—

(1) by striking “For purposes of this section, an individual” and inserting “For purposes of this section—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—An individual”, and

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

“(B) ELIGIBLE ALIENS.—An individual who is an alien and lawfully present shall be treated as an eligible alien if such individual is, and is reasonably expected to be for the entire period of enrollment for which the credit under this section is being claimed—

“(i) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.),

“(ii) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(iii) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1612(b)(2)(G)).”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) VERIFICATION OF INFORMATION.—Section 1411 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18081) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)—

(i) in paragraph (1), by striking “and section 36B(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986”; and

(ii) in paragraph (2)—

(I) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(II) in subparagraph (B), by adding “and” at the end; and

(III) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) in the case such individual is an alien lawfully present in the United States, whether such individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code);”.

(B) in subsection (b)(3), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) IMMIGRATION STATUS.—In the case the individual’s eligibility is based on an attestation of the enrollee’s immigration status, an attestation that such individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of 36B(e)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).”; and

(C) in subsection (c)(2)(B)(ii), by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(III) In the case of an individual described in clause (i)(I) with respect to whom a premium tax credit under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is being claimed, the attestation that the individual is an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code).”.

(2) ADVANCE DETERMINATIONS.—Section 1412(d) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18082(d)) is amended by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, or credits under section 36B of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 for aliens who are not eligible aliens (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2) of such Code).”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply with respect to plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2027.

(d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The heading for section 36B(e) is amended by inserting “AND NOT ELIGIBLE ALIENS”

after “INDIVIDUALS NOT LAWFULLY PRESENT”.

(2) The heading for section 36B(e)(2) is amended by inserting “; ELIGIBLE ALIENS” after “LAWFULLY PRESENT”.

(e) REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN MINIMUM ESSENTIAL COVERAGE.—Section 500A(d)(3) is amended by striking “an alien lawfully present in the United States” and inserting “an eligible alien (within the meaning of section 36B(e)(2))”.

(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section (other than the amendments made by subsection (c)) shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SEC. 71302. DISALLOWING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT DURING PERIODS OF MEDICAID INELIGIBILITY DUE TO ALIEN STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c)(1) is amended by striking subparagraph (B).

(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter B—Preventing Waste, Fraud, and Abuse

SEC. 71303. REQUIRING VERIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR PREMIUM TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(5) EXCHANGE ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘coverage month’ shall not include, with respect to any individual covered by a qualified health plan enrolled in through an Exchange, any month beginning before the Exchange verifies, using applicable enrollment information that shall be provided or verified by the applicant, such individual’s eligibility—

“(i) to enroll in the plan through the Exchange, and

“(ii) for any advance payment under section 1412 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of the credit allowed under this section.

“(B) APPLICABLE ENROLLMENT INFORMATION.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), applicable enrollment information shall include affirmation of at least the following information (to the extent relevant in determining eligibility described in subparagraph (A)):

“(i) Household income and family size.

“(ii) Whether the individual is an eligible alien.

“(iii) Any health coverage status or eligibility for coverage.

“(iv) Place of residence.

“(v) Such other information as may be determined by the Secretary (in consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services) as necessary to the verification prescribed under subparagraph (A).

“(C) VERIFICATION OF PAST MONTHS.—In the case of a month that begins before verification prescribed by subparagraph (A), such month shall be treated as a coverage month if, and only if, the Exchange verifies for such month (using applicable enrollment information that shall be provided or verified by the applicant) such individual’s eligibility to have so enrolled and for any such advance payment.

“(D) EXCHANGE PARTICIPATION; COORDINATION WITH OTHER PROCEDURES FOR DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY.—An individual shall not, solely by reason of failing to meet the requirements of this paragraph with respect to a month, be treated for such month as ineligible to enroll in a qualified health plan through an Exchange.

“(E) WAIVER FOR CERTAIN SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIODS.—The Secretary may waive the application of subparagraph (A) in the case of an individual who enrolls in a qualified health plan through an Exchange for 1 or more months of the taxable year during a special enrollment period provided by the Exchange on the basis of a change in the family size of the individual.

“(F) INFORMATION AND RELIANCE ON THIRD-PARTY SOURCES.—An Exchange shall be permitted to use any data available to the Exchange and any reliable third-party sources in collecting information for verification by the applicant.

“(G) EXCHANGE COMPLIANCE WITH FILING REQUIREMENTS.—The term ‘coverage month’ shall not include, with respect to any individual covered by a qualified health plan enrolled in through an Exchange, any month for which the Exchange does not meet the requirements of section 155.305(f)(4)(iii) of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (as published in the Federal Register on June 25, 2025 (90 FR 27074), applied as though it applied to all plan years after 2025), with respect to the individual.”.

(b) PRE-ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION PROCESS REQUIRED.—Section 36B(c)(3)(A) is amended—

(1) by striking “HEALTH PLAN.—The term” and inserting “HEALTH PLAN.—”

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term”, and

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

“(ii) PRE-ENROLLMENT VERIFICATION PROCESS REQUIRED.—Such term shall not include any plan enrolled in through an Exchange, unless such Exchange provides a process for pre-enrollment verification through which any applicant may, beginning not later than August 1, verify with the Exchange the applicant’s household income and eligibility for enrollment in such plan for plan years beginning in the subsequent year.”.

(c) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2027.

SEC. 71304. DISALLOWING PREMIUM TAX CREDIT IN CASE OF CERTAIN COVERAGE ENROLLED IN DURING SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIOD.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(c)(3)(A), as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXCEPTION IN CASE OF CERTAIN SPECIAL ENROLLMENT PERIODS.—Such term shall not include any plan enrolled in during a special enrollment period provided for by an Exchange—

“(I) on the basis of the relationship of the individual’s expected household income to such a percentage of the poverty line (or such other amount) as is prescribed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services for purposes of such period, and

“(II) not in connection with the occurrence of an event or change in circumstances specified by the Secretary of Health and Human Services for such purposes.”.

(b) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Health and Human Services may each prescribe such rules and other guidance as may be nec-

essary or appropriate to carry out the amendments made by this section.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to plan years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 71305. ELIMINATING LIMITATION ON RECAPTURE OF ADVANCE PAYMENT OF PREMIUM TAX CREDIT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(f)(2) is amended by striking subparagraph (B).

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 36B(f)(2) is amended by striking “ADVANCE PAYMENTS.—” and all that follows through “If the advance payments” and inserting the following: “ADVANCE PAYMENTS.—If the advance payments”.

(2) Section 35(g)(12)(B)(ii) is amended by striking “then section 36B(f)(2)(B) shall be applied by substituting the amount determined under clause (i) for the amount determined under section 36B(f)(2)(A)” and inserting “then the amount determined under clause (i) shall be substituted for the amount determined under section 36B(f)(2)”.

(c) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TREATED AS APPLICABLE TAXPAYERS.—Paragraph (1) of section 36B(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TREATED AS APPLICABLE TAXPAYERS.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, if an individual—

“(i) is determined by an Exchange at the time of enrollment in a qualified health plan through such Exchange to have a projected annual household income for the taxable year which equals or exceeds 100 percent of an amount equal to the poverty line for a family of the size involved, and

“(ii) receives an advance payment of the credit under this section for 1 or more months during such taxable year under section 1412 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act,

such individual shall not fail to be treated as an applicable taxpayer for such taxable year solely because the actual household income of the individual for the taxable year is less than 100 percent of an amount equal to the poverty line for a family of the size involved, unless the Secretary determines that the individual provided incorrect information to the Exchange with intentional or reckless disregard for the facts.”.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

Subchapter C—Enhancing Choice for Patients

SEC. 71306. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF SAFE HARBOR FOR ABSENCE OF DEDUCTIBLE FOR TELEHEALTH SERVICES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (E) of section 223(c)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(E) SAFE HARBOR FOR ABSENCE OF DEDUCTIBLE FOR TELEHEALTH.—A plan shall not fail to be treated as a high deductible health plan by reason of failing to have a deductible for telehealth and other remote care services.”.

(b) CERTAIN COVERAGE DISREGARDED.—Clause (ii) of section 223(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “(in the case of months or plan years to which paragraph (2)(E) applies)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to plan years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SEC. 71307. ALLOWANCE OF BRONZE AND CATASTROPHIC PLANS IN CONNECTION WITH HEALTH SAVINGS ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(H) BRONZE AND CATASTROPHIC PLANS TREATED AS HIGH DEDUCTIBLE HEALTH

PLANS.—The term ‘high deductible health plan’ shall include any plan which is—

“(i) available as individual coverage through an Exchange established under section 1311 or 1321 of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, and

“(ii) described in subsection (d)(1)(A) or (e) of section 1302 of such Act.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. 71308. TREATMENT OF DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) TREATMENT OF DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—A direct primary care service arrangement shall not be treated as a health plan for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii).

“(ii) DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENT.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘direct primary care service arrangement’ means, with respect to any individual, an arrangement under which such individual is provided medical care (as defined in section 213(d)) consisting solely of primary care services provided by primary care practitioners (as defined in section 1833(x)(2)(A) of the Social Security Act, determined without regard to clause (ii) thereof), if the sole compensation for such care is a fixed periodic fee.

“(II) LIMITATION.—With respect to any individual for any month, such term shall not include any arrangement if the aggregate fees for all direct primary care service arrangements (determined without regard to this subclause) with respect to such individual for such month exceed \$150 (twice such dollar amount in the case of an individual with any direct primary care service arrangement (as so determined) that covers more than one individual).

“(iii) CERTAIN SERVICES SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED FROM TREATMENT AS PRIMARY CARE SERVICES.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘primary care services’ shall not include—

“(I) procedures that require the use of general anesthesia,

“(II) prescription drugs (other than vaccines), and

“(III) laboratory services not typically administered in an ambulatory primary care setting.

The Secretary, after consultation with the Secretary of Health and Human Services, shall issue regulations or other guidance regarding the application of this clause.”.

(b) DIRECT PRIMARY CARE SERVICE ARRANGEMENT FEES TREATED AS MEDICAL EXPENSES.—Section 223(d)(2)(C) is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (iii), by striking the period at the end of clause (iv) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(v) any direct primary care service arrangement.”.

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 223(g)(1) is amended—

(1) by striking “in subsections (b)(2) and (c)(2)(A)” and inserting “in subsections (b)(2), (c)(2)(A), and in the case of taxable years beginning after 2026, (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II)”,

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking “clause (ii)” in clause (i) and inserting “clauses (ii) and (iii)”, by striking “and” at the end of clause (i), by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) in the case of the dollar amount in subsection (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II), ‘calendar year 2025’., and

(3) by inserting “, (c)(1)(E)(ii)(II),” after “(b)(2)” in the last sentence.

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

CHAPTER 4—PROTECTING RURAL HOSPITALS AND PROVIDERS

SEC. 71401. RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2105 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397ee) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.—

“(I) APPROPRIATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—There are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (in this subsection referred to as the ‘Administrator’), to provide allotments to States for purposes of carrying out the activities described in paragraph (6)—

“(i) \$10,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2028;

“(ii) \$10,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2029;

“(iii) \$2,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2030;

“(iv) \$2,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2031; and

“(v) \$1,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2032.

“(B) UNEXPENDED OR UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Any amounts appropriated under subparagraph (A) that are unexpended or unobligated as of October 1, 2034, shall be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

“(ii) REDISTRIBUTION OF UNEXPENDED OR UNOBLIGATED FUNDS.—In carrying out subparagraph (A), the Administrator shall, not later than March 31, 2030, and annually thereafter through March 31, 2034—

“(I) determine the amount of funds, if any, that are available under such subparagraph for a previous fiscal year, are unexpended or unobligated with respect to such fiscal year, and will not be available to a State in the current fiscal year, pursuant to clause (iii); and

“(II) if the Administrator determines that any such funds from a previous fiscal year remain, redistribute such funds in the current fiscal year to States that have an application approved under this subsection for such fiscal year in accordance with an allotment methodology specified by the Administrator.

“(iii) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Amounts allotted to a State under this subsection for a year shall be available for expenditure by the State through the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such amounts are allotted.

“(II) AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS REDISTRIBUTED.—Amounts redistributed to a State under clause (ii) with respect to a fiscal year shall be available for expenditure by the State through the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year in which such amounts are redistributed (except in the case of amounts redistributed in fiscal year 2034 which shall only be available for expenditure through September 30, 2034).

“(iv) MISUSE OF FUNDS.—If the Administrator determines that a State is not using amounts allotted or redistributed to the State under this subsection in a manner consistent with the description provided by the State in its application approved under paragraph (2), the Administrator may withhold payments to, or reduce payments to, or recover previous payments from, the State under this subsection as the Administrator deems appropriate, and any amounts so withheld, or that remain after any such reduction, or so recovered, shall be returned to the Treasury of the United States.

“(2) APPLICATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—To be eligible for an allotment under this subsection, a State shall submit to the Administrator during an application submission period to be specified by the Administrator (but that ends not later than April 1, 2027) an application in such form and manner as the Administrator may specify, that includes—

“(i) a detailed rural health transformation plan, developed in consultation with the State Office of Rural Health—

“(I) to improve access to hospitals, other health care providers, and health care items and services furnished to rural residents of the State;

“(II) to improve health care outcomes of rural residents of the State;

“(III) to prioritize the use of new and emerging technologies that emphasize prevention and chronic disease management;

“(IV) to initiate, foster, and strengthen local and regional strategic partnerships between rural hospitals and other health care providers in order to promote measurable quality improvement, increase financial stability, maximize economies of scale, and share best practices in care delivery;

“(V) to enhance economic opportunity for, and the supply of, health care clinicians through enhanced recruitment and training;

“(VI) to prioritize data and technology driven solutions that help rural hospitals and other rural health care providers furnish high-quality health care services as close to a patient’s home as is possible;

“(VII) that outlines strategies to manage long-term financial solvency and operating models of rural hospitals in the State; and

“(VIII) that identifies specific causes driving the accelerating rate of stand-alone rural hospitals becoming at risk of closure, conversion, or service reduction;

“(ii) a certification that none of the amounts provided under this subsection shall be used by the State for an expenditure that is attributable to an intergovernmental transfer, certified public expenditure, or any other expenditure to finance the non-Federal share of expenditures required under any provision of law, including under the State plan established under this title, the State plan established under title XIX, or under a waiver of such plans; and

“(iii) such other information as the Administrator may require.

“(B) DEADLINE FOR APPROVAL.—Not later than September 30, 2027, the Administrator shall approve or deny all applications submitted for an allotment under this subsection.

“(C) ONE-TIME APPLICATION.—If an application of a State for an allotment under this subsection is approved by the Administrator, the State shall be eligible for an allotment under this subsection for each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, except as provided in paragraph (1)(B)(iv).

“(D) ELIGIBILITY.—Only the 50 States shall be eligible for an allotment under this subsection and all references in this subsection to a State shall be treated as only referring to the 50 States.

“(3) ALLOTMENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—For each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, the Administrator shall determine under subparagraph (B) the amount of the allotment for such fiscal year for each State with an approved application under this subsection.

“(B) AMOUNT DETERMINED.—From the amounts appropriated under paragraph (1)(A) for each of fiscal years 2028 through 2032, the Administrator shall allot—

“(i) 50 percent of the amounts appropriated for each such fiscal year equally among all States with an approved application under this subsection; and

“(ii) 50 percent of the amounts appropriated for each such fiscal year among all such States in an amount to be determined by the Administrator in accordance with subparagraph (C).

“(C) CONSIDERATIONS.—In determining the amount to be allotted to a State under subparagraph (B)(ii) for a fiscal year, the Administrator shall consider the following:

“(i) The percentage of the State population that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(ii) The proportion of rural health facilities (as defined in subparagraph (D)) in the State relative to the number of rural health facilities nationwide.

“(iii) The situation of hospitals in the State, as described in section 1902(a)(13)(A)(iv).

“(iv) Any other factors that the Administrator determines appropriate.

“(D) RURAL HEALTH FACILITY DEFINED.—For the purposes of subparagraph (C)(ii), the term ‘rural health facility’ means the following:

“(i) A subsection (d) hospital (as defined in paragraph (1)(B) of section 1886(d)) that—

“(I) is located in a rural area (as defined in paragraph (2)(D) of such section);

“(II) is treated as being located in a rural area pursuant to paragraph (8)(E) of such section; or

“(III) is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(ii) A critical access hospital (as defined in section 1861(mm)(1)).

“(iii) A sole community hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(D)(iii)).

“(iv) A Medicare-dependent, small rural hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(5)(G)(iv)).

“(v) A low-volume hospital (as defined in section 1886(d)(12)(C)).

“(vi) A rural emergency hospital (as defined in section 1861(kkk)(2)).

“(vii) A rural health clinic (as defined in section 1861(aa)(2)).

“(viii) A Federally qualified health center (as defined in section 1861(aa)(4)).

“(ix) A community mental health center (as defined in section 1861(ff)(3)(B)).

“(x) A health center that is receiving a grant under section 330 of the Public Health Service Act.

“(xi) An opioid treatment program (as defined in section 1861(jjj)(2)) that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(xii) A certified community behavioral health clinic (as defined in section 1905(jj)(2)) that is located in a rural census tract of a metropolitan statistical area (as determined under the most recent modification of the Goldsmith Modification, originally published in the Federal Register on February 27, 1992 (57 Fed. Reg. 6725)).

“(4) NO MATCHING PAYMENT.—A State approved for an allotment under this subsection for a fiscal year shall not be required to provide any matching funds as a condition for receiving payments from the allotment.

“(5) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The Administrator shall specify such terms and conditions for allotments to States provided under this subsection as the Administrator deems appropriate, including the following:

“(A) Each State shall submit to the Administrator (at a time, and in a form and manner, specified by the Administrator)—

“(i) a plan for the State to use its allotment to carry out 3 or more of the activities described in paragraph (6); and

“(ii) annual reports on the use of allotments, including such additional information as the Administrator determines appropriate.

“(B) Not more than 10 percent of the amount allotted to a State for a fiscal year may be used by the State for administrative expenses.

“(C) In the event that a State uses amounts from an allotment to provide payments to health care providers in accordance with subparagraph (B) or (J) of paragraph (6), the State shall ensure that such amounts are not used to reimburse any expense or loss that—

“(i) has been reimbursed from any other source; or

“(ii) any other source is obligated to reimburse.

“(6) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts allotted to a State under this subsection shall be used for 3 or more of the following health-related activities:

“(A) Promoting evidence-based, measurable interventions to improve prevention and chronic disease management.

“(B) Providing payments to health care providers, as defined by the Administrator, for the provision of health care items or services, as specified by the Administrator.

“(C) Promoting consumer-facing, technology-driven solutions for the prevention and management of chronic diseases.

“(D) Providing training and technical assistance for the development and adoption of technology-enabled solutions that improve care delivery in rural hospitals, including remote monitoring, robotics, artificial intelligence, and other advanced technologies.

“(E) Recruiting and retaining clinical workforce talent to rural areas, with commitments to serve rural communities for a minimum of 5 years.

“(F) Providing technical assistance, software, and hardware for significant information technology advances designed to improve efficiency, enhance cybersecurity capability development, and improve patient health outcomes.

“(G) Assisting rural communities to right size their health care delivery systems by identifying needed preventative, ambulatory, pre-hospital, emergency, acute inpatient care, outpatient care, and post-acute care service lines.

“(H) Supporting access to opioid use disorder treatment services (as defined in section 1861(jj)(1)), other substance use disorder treatment services, and mental health services.

“(I) Developing projects that support innovative models of care that include value-based care arrangements and alternative payment models, as appropriate.

“(J) Additional uses designed to promote sustainable access to high quality rural health care services, as determined by the Administrator.

“(7) EXEMPTIONS.—Paragraphs (2), (3), (5), (6), (8), (10), (11), and (12) of subsection (c) do not apply to payments under this subsection.

“(8) REVIEW.—There shall be no administrative or judicial review under section 1116 or otherwise of amounts allotted or redistributed to States under this subsection, payments to States withheld or reduced under this subsection, or previous payments recovered from States under this subsection.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Title XXI of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397aa) is amended—

(1) in section 2101—

(A) in subsection (a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “The purpose” and inserting “Except with respect to the rural health transformation program established in section 2105(h), the purpose”; and

(B) in subsection (b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “subsection (a) or (g) of” before “section 2105”;

(2) in section 2105(c)(1), by striking “and may not include” and inserting “or to carry out the rural health transformation program established in subsection (h) and, except in the case of amounts made available under subsection (h), may not include”; and

(3) in section 2106(a)(1), by inserting “subsection (a) or (g) of” before “section 2105”.

(c) IMPLEMENTATION.—The Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services shall implement this section, including the amendments made by this section, by program instruction or other forms of program guidance.

TITLE VIII—COMMITTEE ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, LABOR, AND PENSIONS

Subtitle A—Exemption of Certain Assets

SEC. 80001. EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ASSETS.

(a) EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ASSETS.—Section 480(f)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087vv(f)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking “net value of the” and inserting the following: “net value of—

“(A) the”;

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) a family farm on which the family resides;

“(C) a small business with not more than 100 full-time or full-time equivalent employees (or any part of such a small business) that is owned and controlled by the family; or

“(D) a commercial fishing business and related expenses, including fishing vessels and permits owned and controlled by the family.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year, as determined under the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001 et seq.).

Subtitle B—Loan Limits

SEC. 81001. ESTABLISHMENT OF LOAN LIMITS FOR GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS AND PARENT BORROWERS; TERMINATION OF GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL PLUS LOANS.

Section 455(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in the paragraph heading, by inserting “AND FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS” after “LOANS”;

(B) by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting the following:

“(A) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO MAKE INTEREST SUBSIDIZED LOANS TO GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS.—Subject to subparagraph (B), and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B—

“(i) for any period of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 2012, a graduate or professional student shall not be eligible to receive a Federal Direct Stafford loan under this part; and

“(ii) for any period of instruction beginning on July 1, 2012, and ending on June 30, 2026, the maximum annual amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans such a student may borrow in any academic year (as defined in section 481(a)(2)) or its equivalent shall be the maximum annual amount

for such student determined under section 428H, plus an amount equal to the amount of Federal Direct Stafford loans the student would have received in the absence of this subparagraph.”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO MAKE FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS TO GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDENTS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, for any period of instruction beginning on or after July 1, 2026, a graduate or professional student shall not be eligible to receive a Federal Direct PLUS Loan under this part.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL ANNUAL AND AGGREGATE LIMITS FOR FEDERAL DIRECT UNSUBSIDIZED STAFFORD LOANS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) ANNUAL LIMITS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—Subject to paragraphs (7)(A) and (8), beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum annual amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans—

“(i) a graduate student, who is not a professional student, may borrow in any academic year or its equivalent shall be \$20,500; and

“(ii) a professional student may borrow in any academic year or its equivalent shall be \$50,000.

“(B) AGGREGATE LIMITS.—Subject to paragraphs (6), (7)(A), and (8), beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum aggregate amount of Federal Direct Unsubsidized Stafford loans, in addition to the amount borrowed for undergraduate education, that—

“(i) a graduate student—

“(I) who is not (and has not been) a professional student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i) shall be \$100,000; or

“(II) who is (or has been) a professional student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i) shall be an amount equal to—

“(aa) \$200,000; minus

“(bb) the amount such student borrowed for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii); and

“(ii) a professional student—

“(I) who is not (and has not been) a graduate student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii) shall be \$200,000; or

“(II) who is (or has been) a graduate student, may borrow for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(ii) shall be an amount equal to—

“(aa) \$200,000; minus

“(bb) the amount such student borrowed for programs of study described in subparagraph (C)(i).

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—

“(i) GRADUATE STUDENT.—The term ‘graduate student’ means a student enrolled in a program of study that awards a graduate credential (other than a professional degree) upon completion of the program.

“(ii) PROFESSIONAL STUDENT.—In this paragraph, the term ‘professional student’ means a student enrolled in a program of study that awards a professional degree, as defined under section 668.2 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), upon completion of the program.

“(5) PARENT BORROWER ANNUAL AND AGGREGATE LIMITS FOR FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS BEGINNING JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) ANNUAL LIMITS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, for each dependent student, the total maximum annual amount of Federal Direct PLUS loans

that may be borrowed on behalf of that dependent student by all parents of that dependent student shall be \$20,000.

“(B) AGGREGATE LIMITS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, for each dependent student, the total maximum aggregate amount of Federal Direct PLUS loans that may be borrowed on behalf of that dependent student by all parents of that dependent student shall be \$65,000, without regard to any amounts repaid, forgiven, canceled, or otherwise discharged on any such loan.

“(6) LIFETIME MAXIMUM AGGREGATE AMOUNT FOR ALL STUDENTS.—Subject to paragraph (8) and notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, the maximum aggregate amount of loans made, insured, or guaranteed under this title that a student may borrow (other than a Federal Direct PLUS loan, or loan under section 428B, made to the student as a parent borrower on behalf of a dependent student) shall be \$257,500, without regard to any amounts repaid, forgiven, canceled, or otherwise discharged on any such loan.

“(7) ADDITIONAL RULES REGARDING ANNUAL LOAN LIMITS.—

“(A) LESS THAN FULL-TIME ENROLLMENT.—Notwithstanding any provision of this part or part B, in any case in which a student is enrolled in a program of study of an institution of higher education on less than a full-time basis during any academic year, the amount of a loan that student may borrow for an academic year or its equivalent shall be reduced in direct proportion to the degree to which that student is not so enrolled on a full-time basis, rounded to the nearest whole percentage point, as provided in a schedule of reductions published by the Secretary computed for purposes of this subparagraph.

“(B) INSTITUTIONALLY DETERMINED LIMITS.—Notwithstanding the annual loan limits established under this section and, for undergraduate students, under this part and part B, beginning on July 1, 2026, an institution of higher education (at the discretion of a financial aid administrator at the institution) may limit the total amount of loans made under this part for a program of study for an academic year that a student may borrow, and that a parent may borrow on behalf of such student, as long as any such limit is applied consistently to all students enrolled in such program of study.

“(8) INTERIM EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN STUDENTS.—

“(A) APPLICATION OF PRIOR LIMITS.—Paragraphs (3)(C), (4), (5), and (6) shall not apply, and paragraph (3)(A)(ii) shall apply as such paragraph was in effect for periods of instruction ending before June 30, 2026, during the expected time to credential described in subparagraph (B), with respect to an individual who, as of June 30, 2026—

“(i) is enrolled in a program of study at an institution of higher education; and

“(ii) has received a loan (or on whose behalf a loan was made) under this part for such program of study.

“(B) EXPECTED TIME TO CREDENTIAL.—For purposes of this paragraph, the expected time to credential of an individual shall be equal to the lesser of—

“(i) three academic years; or

“(ii) the period determined by calculating the difference between—

“(I) the program length for the program of study in which the individual is enrolled; and

“(II) the period of such program of study that such individual has completed as of the date of the determination under this subparagraph.

“(C) DEFINITION OF PROGRAM LENGTH.—In this paragraph, the term ‘program length’ means the minimum amount of time in

weeks, months, or years that is specified in the catalog, marketing materials, or other official publications of an institution of higher education for a full-time student to complete the requirements for a specific program of study.”.

Subtitle C—Loan Repayment

SEC. 82001. LOAN REPAYMENT.

(a) TRANSITION TO INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT PLANS.—

(1) SELECTION.—The Secretary of Education shall take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that before July 1, 2028, each borrower who has one or more loans that are in a repayment status in accordance with, or an administrative forbearance associated with, an income contingent repayment plan authorized under section 455(e) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (referred to in this subsection as “covered income contingent loans”) selects one of the following income-based repayment plans that is otherwise applicable, and for which that borrower is otherwise eligible, for the repayment of the covered income contingent loans of the borrower:

(A) The Repayment Assistance Plan under section 455(q) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(B) The income-based repayment plan under section 493C of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(C) Any other repayment plan as authorized under section 455(d)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

(2) COMMENCEMENT OF NEW REPAYMENT PLAN.—Beginning on July 1, 2028, a borrower described in paragraph (1) shall begin repaying the covered income contingent loans of the borrower in accordance with the repayment plan selected under paragraph (1) before such date.

(3) FAILURE TO SELECT.—In the case of a borrower described in paragraph (1) who fails to select a repayment plan in accordance with such paragraph, the Secretary of Education shall—

(A) enroll the covered income contingent loans of such borrower in—

(i) the Repayment Assistance Plan under section 455(q) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 with respect to loans that are eligible for the Repayment Assistance Plan under such subsection; or

(ii) the income-based repayment plan under section 493C of such Act, with respect to loans that are not eligible for the Repayment Assistance Plan; and

(B) require the borrower to begin repaying covered income contingent loans according to the plans under subparagraph (A) on July 1, 2028.

(b) REPAYMENT PLANS.—Section 455(d) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(d)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by inserting “before July 1, 2026, who has not received a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026,” after “made under this part”;

(B) in subparagraph (D)—

(i) by inserting “before June 30, 2028,” before “an income contingent repayment plan”; and

(ii) by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(C) in subparagraph (E)—

(i) by striking “that enables borrowers who have a partial financial hardship to make a lower monthly payment”; and

(ii) by striking “a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on such Federal Direct PLUS Loan or a loan under section 428B made on behalf of a dependent

student” and inserting “an excepted Consolidation Loan (as defined in section 493C(a)(2))”; and

(iii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(F) beginning on July 1, 2026, the income-based Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q), provided that—

“(i) such Plan shall not be available for the repayment of excepted loans (as defined in paragraph (7)(E)); and

“(ii) the borrower is required to pay each outstanding loan of the borrower made under this part under such Repayment Assistance Plan, except that a borrower of an excepted loan (as defined in paragraph (7)(E)) may repay the excepted loan separately from other loans under this part obtained by the borrower.”;

(2) in paragraph (5), by amending subparagraph (B) to read as follows:

“(B) repay the loan pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under subsection (q) or section 493C, as applicable.”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(6) TERMINATION AND LIMITATION OF REPAYMENT AUTHORITY.—

“(A) SUNSET OF REPAYMENT PLANS AVAILABLE BEFORE JULY 1, 2026.—Paragraphs (1) through (4) of this subsection shall only apply to loans made under this part before July 1, 2026.

“(B) PROHIBITIONS.—The Secretary may not, for any loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026—

“(i) authorize a borrower of such a loan to repay such loan pursuant to a repayment plan that is not described in paragraph (7)(A); or

“(ii) carry out or modify a repayment plan that is not described in such paragraph.

“(7) REPAYMENT PLANS FOR LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—

“(A) DESIGN AND SELECTION.—Beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall offer a borrower of a loan made under this part on or after such date (including such a borrower who also has a loan made under this part before such date) two plans for repayment of the borrower’s loans under this part, including principal and interest on such loans. The borrower shall be entitled to accelerate, without penalty, repayment on such loans. The borrower may choose—

“(i) a standard repayment plan—

“(I) with a fixed monthly repayment amount paid over a fixed period of time equal to the applicable period determined under subclause (II); and

“(II) with the applicable period of time for repayment determined based on the total outstanding principal of all loans of the borrower made under this part before, on, or after July 1, 2026, at the time the borrower is entering repayment under such plan, as follows—

“(aa) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of less than \$25,000, a period of 10 years;

“(bb) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of not less than \$25,000 and less than \$50,000, a period of 15 years;

“(cc) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of not less than \$50,000 and less than \$100,000, a period of 20 years; and

“(dd) for a borrower with total outstanding principal of \$100,000 or more, a period of 25 years; or

“(ii) the income-based Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q).

“(B) SELECTION BY SECRETARY.—If a borrower of a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2026, does not select a repayment plan described in subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall provide the borrower with the standard repayment plan described in subparagraph (A)(i).

“(C) SELECTION APPLIES TO ALL OUTSTANDING LOANS.—A borrower is required to pay each outstanding loan of the borrower made under this part under the same selected repayment plan, except that a borrower who selects the Repayment Assistance Plan and also has an excepted loan that is not eligible for repayment under such Repayment Assistance Plan shall repay the excepted loan separately from other loans under this part obtained by the borrower.

“(D) CHANGES OF REPAYMENT PLAN.—A borrower may change the borrower’s selection of—

“(i) the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i), or the Secretary’s selection of such plan for the borrower under subparagraph (B), as the case may be, to the Repayment Assistance Plan under subparagraph (A)(ii) at any time; and

“(ii) the Repayment Assistance Plan under subparagraph (A)(ii) to the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i) at any time.

“(E) REPAYMENT FOR BORROWERS WITH EXCEPTED LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—

“(i) STANDARD REPAYMENT PLAN REQUIRED.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (D), beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall require a borrower who has received an excepted loan made on or after such date (including such a borrower who also has an excepted loan made before such date) to repay each excepted loan, including principal and interest on those excepted loans, under the standard repayment plan under subparagraph (A)(i). The borrower shall be entitled to accelerate, without penalty, repayment on such loans.

“(ii) EXCEPTED LOAN DEFINED.—For the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘excepted loan’ means a loan with an outstanding balance that is—

“(I) a Federal Direct PLUS Loan that is made on behalf of a dependent student; or

“(II) a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on—

“(aa) an excepted PLUS loan, as defined in section 493C(a)(1); or

“(bb) an excepted consolidation loan (as such term is defined in section 493C(a)(2)(A), notwithstanding subparagraph (B) of such section).”

(c) ELIMINATION OF AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT PLANS.—

(1) REPEAL.—Subsection (e) of section 455 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(e)) is repealed.

(2) FURTHER AMENDMENTS TO ELIMINATE INCOME CONTINGENT REPAYMENT.—

(A) Section 428 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078) is amended—

(i) in subsection (b)(1)(D), by striking “be subject to income contingent repayment in accordance with subsection (m)” and inserting “be subject to income-based repayment in accordance with subsection (m)”;

(ii) in subsection (m)—

(I) in the subsection heading, by striking “INCOME CONTINGENT AND”;

(II) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) AUTHORITY OF SECRETARY TO REQUIRE.—The Secretary may require borrowers who have defaulted on loans made under this part that are assigned to the Secretary under subsection (c)(8) to repay those loans pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C.”; and

(III) in the heading of paragraph (2), by striking “INCOME CONTINGENT OR”.

(B) Section 428C of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-3) is amended—

(i) in subsection (a)(3)(B)(i)(V)(aa), by striking “for the purposes of obtaining income contingent repayment or income-based

repayment” and inserting “for the purposes of qualifying for an income-based repayment plan under section 455(q) or section 493C, as applicable”;

(ii) in subsection (b)(5), by striking “be repaid either pursuant to income contingent repayment under part D of this title, pursuant to income-based repayment under section 493C, or pursuant to any other repayment provision under this section” and inserting “be repaid pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C or any other repayment provision under this section”; and

(iii) in subsection (c)—

(I) in paragraph (2)(A), by striking “or by the terms of repayment pursuant to income contingent repayment offered by the Secretary under subsection (b)(5)” and inserting “or by the terms of repayment pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C”; and

(II) in paragraph (3)(B), by striking “except as required by the terms of repayment pursuant to income contingent repayment offered by the Secretary under subsection (b)(5)” and inserting “except as required by the terms of repayment pursuant to an income-based repayment plan under section 493C”.

(C) Section 485(d)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1092(d)(1)) is amended by striking “income-contingent and”.

(D) Section 494(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098h(a)(2)) is amended—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by striking “INCOME-CONTINGENT AND INCOME-BASED” and inserting “INCOME-BASED”; and

(ii) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “income-contingent or”; and

(II) in clause (ii)(I), by striking “section 455(e)(8) or the equivalent procedures established under section 493C(c)(2)(B), as applicable” and inserting “section 493C(c)(2)”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on July 1, 2028.

(d) REPAYMENT ASSISTANCE PLAN.—Section 455 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(q) REPAYMENT ASSISTANCE PLAN.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, beginning on July 1, 2026, the Secretary shall carry out an income-based repayment plan (to be known as the ‘Repayment Assistance Plan’), that shall have the following terms and conditions:

“(A) The total monthly repayment amount owed by a borrower for all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan shall be equal to the applicable monthly payment of a borrower calculated under paragraph (4)(B), except that the borrower may not be precluded from repaying an amount that exceeds such amount for any month.

“(B) The Secretary shall apply the borrower’s applicable monthly payment under this paragraph first toward interest due on each such loan, next toward any fees due on each loan, and then toward the principal of each loan.

“(C) Any principal due and not paid under subparagraph (B) or paragraph (2)(B) shall be deferred.

“(D) A borrower who is not in a period of deferment or forbearance shall make an applicable monthly payment for each month until the earlier of—

“(i) the date on which the outstanding balance of principal and interest due on all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan is \$0; or

“(ii) the date on which the borrower has made 360 qualifying monthly payments.

“(E) The Secretary shall cancel any outstanding balance of principal and interest due on a loan made under this part to a borrower—

“(i) who, for any period of time, participated in the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection;

“(ii) whose most recent payment for such loan prior to the loan cancellation under this subparagraph was made under such Repayment Assistance Plan; and

“(iii) who has made 360 qualifying monthly payments on such loan.

“(F) For the purposes of this subsection, the term ‘qualifying monthly payment’ means any of the following:

“(i) An on-time applicable monthly payment under this subsection.

“(ii) An on-time monthly payment under the standard repayment plan under subsection (d)(7)(A)(i) of not less than the monthly payment required under such plan.

“(iii) A monthly payment under any repayment plan (excluding the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection) of not less than the monthly payment that would be required under a standard repayment plan under section 455(d)(1)(A) with a repayment period of 10 years.

“(iv) A monthly payment under section 493C of not less than the monthly payment required under such section, including a monthly payment equal to the minimum payment amount permitted under such section.

“(v) A monthly payment made before July 1, 2028, under an income contingent repayment plan carried out under section 455(d)(1)(D) (or under an alternative repayment plan in lieu of repayment under such an income contingent repayment plan, if placed in such an alternative repayment plan by the Secretary) of not less than the monthly payment required under such a plan, including a monthly payment equal to the minimum payment amount permitted under such a plan.

“(vi) A month when the borrower did not make a payment because the borrower was in deferment under subsection (f)(2)(B) or due to an economic hardship described in subsection (f)(2)(D).

“(vii) A month that ended before the date of enactment of this subsection when the borrower did not make a payment because the borrower was in a period of deferment or forbearance described in section 685.209(k)(4)(iv) of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on the date of enactment of this subsection).

“(G) The procedures established by the Secretary under section 493C(c) shall apply for annually determining the borrower’s eligibility for the Repayment Assistance Plan, including verification of a borrower’s annual income and the annual amount due on the total amount of loans eligible to be repaid under this subsection, and such other procedures as are necessary to effectively implement income-based repayment under this subsection. With respect to carrying out section 494(a)(2) for the Repayment Assistance Plan, an individual may elect to opt out of the disclosures required under section 494(a)(2)(A)(ii) in accordance with the procedures established under section 493C(c)(2).

“(2) BALANCE ASSISTANCE FOR DISTRESSED BORROWERS.—

“(A) INTEREST SUBSIDY.—With respect to a borrower of a loan made under this part, for each month for which such a borrower makes an on-time applicable monthly payment required under paragraph (1)(A) and such monthly payment is insufficient to pay the total amount of interest that accrues for the month on all loans of the borrower repaid

pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection, the amount of interest accrued and not paid for the month shall not be charged to the borrower.

“(B) MATCHING PRINCIPAL PAYMENT.—With respect to a borrower of a loan made under this part and not in a period of deferment or forbearance, for each month for which a borrower makes an on-time applicable monthly payment required under paragraph (1)(A) and such monthly payment reduces the total outstanding principal balance of all loans of the borrower repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan under this subsection by less than \$50, the Secretary shall reduce such total outstanding principal balance of the borrower by an amount that is equal to—

“(i) the amount that is the lesser of—

“(I) \$50; or

“(II) the total amount paid by the borrower for such month pursuant to paragraph (1)(A); minus

“(ii) the total amount paid by the borrower for such month pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) that is applied to such total outstanding principal balance.

“(3) ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS.—A borrower who chooses, or is required, to repay a loan under this subsection, and for whom adjusted gross income is unavailable or does not reasonably reflect the borrower’s current income, shall provide to the Secretary other documentation of income satisfactory to the Secretary, which documentation the Secretary may use to determine repayment under this subsection.

“(4) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(A) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—The term ‘adjusted gross income’, when used with respect to a borrower, means the adjusted gross income (as such term is defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the borrower (and the borrower’s spouse, as applicable) for the most recent taxable year, except that, in the case of a married borrower who files a separate Federal income tax return, the term does not include the adjusted gross income of the borrower’s spouse.

“(B) APPLICABLE MONTHLY PAYMENT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in clause (ii), (iii), or (vi), the term ‘applicable monthly payment’ means, when used with respect to a borrower, the amount equal to—

“(I) the applicable base payment of the borrower, divided by 12; minus

“(II) \$50 for each dependent of the borrower (which, in the case of a married borrower filing a separate Federal income tax return, shall include only each dependent that the borrower claims on that return).

“(ii) MINIMUM AMOUNT.—In the case of a borrower with an applicable monthly payment amount calculated under clause (i) that is less than \$10, the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be \$10.

“(iii) FINAL PAYMENT.—In the case of a borrower whose total outstanding balance of principal and interest on all of the loans of the borrower that are repaid pursuant to the Repayment Assistance Plan is less than the applicable monthly payment calculated pursuant to clause (i) or (ii), as applicable, then the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be the total outstanding balance of principal and interest on all such loans.

“(iv) BASE PAYMENT.—The amount of the applicable base payment for a borrower with an adjusted gross income of—

“(I) not more than \$10,000, is \$120;

“(II) more than \$10,000 and not more than \$20,000, is 1 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(III) more than \$20,000 and not more than \$30,000, is 2 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(IV) more than \$30,000 and not more than \$40,000, is 3 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(V) more than \$40,000 and not more than \$50,000, is 4 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VI) more than \$50,000 and not more than \$60,000, is 5 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VII) more than \$60,000 and not more than \$70,000, is 6 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(VIII) more than \$70,000 and not more than \$80,000, is 7 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(IX) more than \$80,000 and not more than \$90,000, is 8 percent of such adjusted gross income;

“(X) more than \$90,000 and not more than \$100,000, is 9 percent of such adjusted gross income; and

“(XI) more than \$100,000, is 10 percent of such adjusted gross income.

“(v) DEPENDENT.—For the purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘dependent’ means an individual who is a dependent under section 152 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

“(vi) SPECIAL RULE.—In the case of a borrower who is required by the Secretary to provide information to the Secretary to determine the applicable monthly payment of the borrower under this subparagraph, and who does not comply with such requirement, the applicable monthly payment of the borrower shall be—

“(I) the sum of the monthly payment amounts the borrower would have paid for each of the borrower’s loans made under this part under a standard repayment plan with a fixed monthly repayment amount, paid over a period of 10 years, based on the outstanding principal due on such loan when such loan entered repayment; and

“(II) determined pursuant to this clause until the date on which the borrower provides such information to the Secretary.”

(e) FEDERAL CONSOLIDATION LOANS.—Section 455(g) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(g)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) CONSOLIDATION LOANS MADE ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2026.—A Federal Direct Consolidation Loan offered to a borrower under this part on or after July 1, 2026, may only be repaid pursuant to a repayment plan described in clause (i) or (ii) of subsection (d)(7)(A) of this section, as applicable, and the repayment schedule of such a Consolidation Loan shall be determined in accordance with such repayment plan.”

(f) INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT.—

(1) AMENDMENTS.—

(A) EXCEPTED CONSOLIDATION LOAN DEFINED.—Section 493C(a)(2) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(a)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) EXCEPTED CONSOLIDATION LOAN.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘excepted consolidation loan’ means—

“(i) a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on an excepted PLUS loan; or

“(ii) a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan, if the proceeds of such loan were used to discharge the liability on a consolidation loan under section 428C, or a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan described in clause (i).

“(B) EXCLUSION.—The term ‘excepted consolidation loan’ does not include a Federal Direct Consolidation Loan described in subparagraph (A) that, on any date during the period beginning on the date of enactment of this subparagraph and ending on June 30, 2028, was being repaid—

“(i) pursuant to the Income Contingent Repayment (ICR) plan in accordance with section 685.209(b) of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on June 30, 2023); or

“(ii) pursuant to another income driven repayment plan.”

(B) TERMINATION OF PARTIAL FINANCIAL HARDSHIP ELIGIBILITY.—Section 493C(a)(3) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

“(3) APPLICABLE AMOUNT.—The term ‘applicable amount’ means 15 percent of the result obtained by calculating, on at least an annual basis, the amount by which—

“(A) the borrower’s, and the borrower’s spouse’s (if applicable), adjusted gross income; exceeds

“(B) 150 percent of the poverty line applicable to the borrower’s family size as determined under section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)).”

(C) TERMS OF INCOME-BASED REPAYMENT.—Section 493C(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(b)) is amended—

(i) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) a borrower of any loan made, insured, or guaranteed under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan), may elect to have the borrower’s aggregate monthly payment for all such loans not exceed the applicable amount divided by 12;”

(ii) by striking paragraph (6) and inserting the following:

“(6) if the monthly payment amount calculated under this section for all loans made to the borrower under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan) exceeds the monthly amount calculated under section 428(b)(9)(A)(i) or 455(d)(1)(A), based on a 10-year repayment period, when the borrower first made the election described in this subsection (referred to in this paragraph as the ‘standard monthly repayment amount’), or if the borrower no longer wishes to continue the election under this subsection, then—

“(A) the maximum monthly payment required to be paid for all loans made to the borrower under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan) shall be the standard monthly repayment amount; and

“(B) the amount of time the borrower is permitted to repay such loans may exceed 10 years;”

(iii) in paragraph (7)(B)(iv), by inserting “(as such section was in effect on the day before the date of the repeal of section 455(e))” after “section 455(d)(1)(D)”; and

(iv) in paragraph (8), by inserting “or the Repayment Assistance Program under section 455(q)” after “standard repayment plan”.

(D) ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATIONS.—Section 493C(c) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(c)) is amended to read as follows:

“(c) ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATIONS; AUTOMATIC RECERTIFICATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish procedures for annually determining, in accordance with paragraph (2), the borrower’s eligibility for income-based repayment, including the verification of a borrower’s annual income and the annual amount due on the total amount of loans made, insured, or guaranteed under part B or D (other than an excepted PLUS loan or excepted consolidation loan), and such other procedures as are necessary to effectively implement income-based repayment under this section. The Secretary shall consider, but is not limited to, the procedures established in accordance with section 455(e)(1) (as in effect on the day before the date of repeal of subsection (e) of section 455) or in connection with income sensitive repayment schedules under section 428(b)(9)(A)(iii) or 428C(b)(1)(E).

“(2) AUTOMATIC RECERTIFICATION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall establish and implement, with respect to any borrower enrolled in an income-based repayment program under this section or under section 455(q), procedures to—

“(i) use return information disclosed under section 6103(1)(13) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, pursuant to approval provided under section 494, to determine the repayment obligation of the borrower without further action by the borrower;

“(ii) allow the borrower (or the spouse of the borrower), at any time, to opt out of disclosure under such section 6103(1)(13) and instead provide such information as the Secretary may require to determine the repayment obligation of the borrower (or withdraw from the repayment plan under this section or under section 455(q), as the case may be); and

“(iii) provide the borrower with an opportunity to update the return information so disclosed before the determination of the repayment obligation of the borrower.

“(B) APPLICABILITY.—Subparagraph (A) shall apply to each borrower of a loan eligible to be repaid under this section or under section 455(q), who, on or after the date on which the Secretary establishes procedures under such subparagraph (A)—

“(i) selects, or is required to repay such loan pursuant to, an income-based repayment plan under this section or under section 455(q); or

“(ii) recertifies income or family size under such plan.”.

(E) SPECIAL TERMS FOR NEW BORROWERS ON AND AFTER JULY 1, 2014.—Section 493C(e) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1098e(e)) is amended—

(i) in the subsection heading, by inserting “AND BEFORE JULY 1, 2026” after “AFTER JULY 1, 2014”; and

(ii) by inserting “and before July 1, 2026” after “after July 1, 2014”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect on the date of enactment of this title, and shall apply with respect to any borrower who is in repayment before, on, or after the date of enactment of this title.

(g) FFEL ADJUSTMENT.—Section 428(b)(9)(A)(v) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078(b)(9)(A)(v)) is amended by striking “who has a partial financial hardship”.

SEC. 82002. DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE.

(a) SUNSET OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND UNEMPLOYMENT DEFERMENTS.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended—

(1) by striking the subsection heading and inserting the following: “DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE”;

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(B) in subparagraph (D), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(7) SUNSET OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP DEFERMENTS.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after July 1, 2027, shall not be eligible to defer such loan under subparagraph (B) or (D) of paragraph (2).”.

(b) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(8) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this

part on or after July 1, 2027, may only be eligible for a forbearance on such loan pursuant to section 428(c)(3)(B) that does not exceed 9 months during any 24-month period.”.

SEC. 82003. LOAN REHABILITATION.

(a) UPDATING LOAN REHABILITATION LIMITS.—

(1) FFEL AND DIRECT LOANS.—Section 428F(a)(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-6(a)(5)) is amended by striking “one time” and inserting “two times”.

(2) PERKINS LOANS.—Section 464(h)(1)(D) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087dd(h)(1)(D)) is amended by striking “once” and inserting “twice”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall take effect beginning on July 1, 2027, and shall apply with respect to any loan made, insured, or guaranteed under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070 et seq.).

(b) MINIMUM MONTHLY PAYMENT AMOUNT.—Section 428F(a)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1078-6(a)(1)(B)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“With respect to a borrower who has 1 or more loans made under part D on or after July 1, 2027 that are described in subparagraph (A), the total monthly payment of the borrower for all such loans shall not be less than \$10.”.

SEC. 82004. PUBLIC SERVICE LOAN FORGIVENESS.

Section 455(m)(1)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(m)(1)(A)) is amended—

(1) in clause (iii), by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in clause (iv), by striking “; and” and inserting “(as in effect on the day before the date of the repeal of subsection (e) of this section); or”; and

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

“(v) on-time payments under the Repayment Assistance Plan under subsection (q); and”.

SEC. 82005. STUDENT LOAN SERVICING.

Paragraph (1) of section 458(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087h(a)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) ADDITIONAL MANDATORY FUNDS FOR SERVICING.—There shall be available to the Secretary (in addition to any other amounts appropriated under any appropriations Act for administrative costs under this part and part B and out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated) \$1,000,000,000 to be obligated for administrative costs under this part and part B, including the costs of servicing the direct student loan programs under this part, which shall remain available until expended.”.

Subtitle D—Pell Grants**SEC. 83001. ELIGIBILITY.**

(a) FOREIGN INCOME AND FEDERAL PELL GRANT ELIGIBILITY.—

(1) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME DEFINED.—Section 401(a)(2)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(a)(2)(A)) is amended to read as follows:

“(A) the term ‘adjusted gross income’ means—

“(i) in the case of a dependent student, for the second tax year preceding the academic year—

“(I) the adjusted gross income (as defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the student’s parents; plus

“(II) for Federal Pell Grant determinations made for academic years beginning on or after July 1, 2026, the foreign income (as described in section 480(b)(5)) of the student’s parents; and

“(ii) in the case of an independent student, for the second tax year preceding the academic year—

“(I) the adjusted gross income (as defined in section 62 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) of the student (and the student’s spouse, if applicable); plus

“(II) for Federal Pell Grant determinations made for academic years beginning on or after July 1, 2026, the foreign income (as described in section 480(b)(5)) of the student (and the student’s spouse, if applicable);”.

(2) SUNSET.—Section 401(b)(1)(D) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(1)(D)) is amended—

(A) by striking “A student” and inserting “For each academic year beginning before July 1, 2026, a student”; and

(B) by inserting “; as in effect for such academic year,” after “section 479A(b)(1)(B)(v)”.

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 479A(b)(1)(B) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087tt(b)(1)(B)) is amended—

(i) by striking clause (v); and

(ii) by redesignating clauses (vi) and (vii) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subparagraph (A) shall take effect on July 1, 2026.

(b) FEDERAL PELL GRANT INELIGIBILITY DUE TO A HIGH STUDENT AID INDEX.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 401(b)(1) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(F) INELIGIBILITY OF STUDENTS WITH A HIGH STUDENT AID INDEX.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), a student shall not be eligible for a Federal Pell Grant under this subsection for an academic year in which the student has a student aid index that equals or exceeds twice the amount of the total maximum Federal Pell Grant for such academic year.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall take effect on July 1, 2026.

SEC. 83002. WORKFORCE PELL GRANTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 401 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(k) WORKFORCE PELL GRANT PROGRAM.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For the award year beginning on July 1, 2026, and each subsequent award year, the Secretary shall award grants (to be known as ‘Workforce Pell Grants’) to eligible students under paragraph (2) in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) ELIGIBLE STUDENTS.—To be eligible to receive a Workforce Pell Grant under this subsection for any period of enrollment, a student shall meet the eligibility requirements for a Federal Pell Grant under this section, except that the student—

“(A) shall be enrolled, or accepted for enrollment, in an eligible program under section 481(b)(3) (hereinafter referred to as an ‘eligible workforce program’); and

“(B) may not—

“(i) be enrolled, or accepted for enrollment, in a program of study that leads to a graduate credential; or

“(ii) have attained such a credential.

“(3) TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF AWARDS.—The Secretary shall award Workforce Pell Grants under this subsection in the same manner and with the same terms and conditions as the Secretary awards Federal Pell Grants under this section, except that—

“(A) each use of the term ‘eligible program’ (except in subsection (b)(9)(A)) shall be substituted by ‘eligible workforce program under section 481(b)(3)’;

“(B) the provisions of subsection (d)(2) shall not be applicable to eligible workforce programs; and

“(C) a student who is eligible for a grant equal to less than the amount of the minimum Federal Pell Grant because the eligible workforce program in which the student

is enrolled or accepted for enrollment is less than an academic year (in hours of instruction or weeks of duration) may still be eligible for a Workforce Pell Grant in an amount that is prorated based on the length of the program.

“(4) PREVENTION OF DOUBLE BENEFITS.—No eligible student described in paragraph (2) may concurrently receive a grant under both this subsection and—

- “(A) subsection (b); or
- “(B) subsection (c).

“(5) DURATION LIMIT.—Any period of study covered by a Workforce Pell Grant awarded under this subsection shall be included in determining a student's duration limit under subsection (d)(5).”.

(b) PROGRAM ELIGIBILITY FOR WORKFORCE PELL GRANTS.—Section 481(b) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1088(b)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively; and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3)(A) A program is an eligible program for purposes of the Workforce Pell Grant program under section 401(k) only if—

“(i) it is a program of at least 150 clock hours of instruction, but less than 600 clock hours of instruction, or an equivalent number of credit hours, offered by an eligible institution during a minimum of 8 weeks, but less than 15 weeks;

“(ii) it is not offered as a correspondence course, as defined in 600.2 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (as in effect on July 1, 2021);

“(iii) the Governor of a State, after consultation with the State board, determines that the program—

“(I) provides an education aligned with the requirements of high-skill, high-wage (as identified by the State pursuant to section 122 of the Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act (20 U.S.C. 2342)), or in-demand industry sectors or occupations;

“(II) meets the hiring requirements of potential employers in the sectors or occupations described in subclause (I);

“(III) either—

“(aa) leads to a recognized postsecondary credential that is stackable and portable across more than one employer; or

“(bb) with respect to students enrolled in the program—

“(AA) prepares such students for employment in an occupation for which there is only one recognized postsecondary credential; and

“(BB) provides such students with such a credential upon completion of such program; and

“(IV) prepares students to pursue 1 or more certificate or degree programs at 1 or more institutions of higher education (which may include the eligible institution providing the program), including by ensuring—

“(aa) that a student, upon completion of the program and enrollment in such a related certificate or degree program, will receive academic credit for the Workforce Pell program that will be accepted toward meeting such certificate or degree program requirements; and

“(bb) the acceptability of such credit toward meeting such certificate or degree program requirements; and

“(iv) after the Governor of such State makes the determination that the program meets the requirements under clause (iii), the Secretary determines that—

“(I) the program has been offered by the eligible institution for not less than 1 year prior to the date on which the Secretary makes a determination under this clause;

“(II) for each award year, the program has a verified completion rate of at least 70 per-

cent, within 150 percent of the normal time for completion;

“(III) for each award year, the program has a verified job placement rate of at least 70 percent, measured 180 days after completion; and

“(IV) for each award year, the total amount of the published tuition and fees of the program for such year is an amount that does not exceed the value-added earnings of students who received Federal financial aid under this title and who completed the program 3 years prior to the award year, as such earnings are determined by calculating the difference between—

“(aa) the median earnings of such students, as adjusted by the State and metropolitan area regional price parities of the Bureau of Economic Analysis based on the location of such program; and

“(bb) 150 percent of the poverty line applicable to a single individual as determined under section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)) for such year.

“(B) In this paragraph:

“(i) The term ‘eligible institution’ means an eligible institution for purposes of section 401.

“(ii) The term ‘Governor’ means the chief executive of a State.

“(iii) The terms ‘in-demand industry sector or occupation’, ‘recognized postsecondary credential’, and ‘State board’ have the meanings given such terms in section 3 of the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE; APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026–2027 and each succeeding award year.

SEC. 83003. PELL SHORTFALL.

Section 401(b)(7)(A)(iii) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(7)(A)(iii)) is amended by striking “\$2,170,000,000” and inserting “\$12,670,000,000”.

SEC. 83004. FEDERAL PELL GRANT EXCLUSION RELATING TO OTHER GRANT AID.

Section 401(d) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(6) EXCLUSION.—Beginning on July 1, 2026, and notwithstanding this subsection or subsection (b), a student shall not be eligible for a Federal Pell Grant under subsection (b) during any period for which the student receives grant aid from non-Federal sources, including States, institutions of higher education, or private sources, in an amount that equals or exceeds the student's cost of attendance for such period.”.

Subtitle E—Accountability

SEC. 84001. INELIGIBILITY BASED ON LOW EARNING OUTCOMES.

Section 454 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) provide assurances that, beginning July 1, 2026, the institution will comply with all requirements of subsection (c); and”;

(2) in subsection (b)(2), by striking “and (6)” and inserting “(6), and (7)”;

(3) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d); and

(4) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

“(c) INELIGIBILITY FOR CERTAIN PROGRAMS BASED ON LOW EARNING OUTCOMES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 481(b), an institution of higher education

subject to this subsection shall not use funds under this part for student enrollment in an educational program offered by the institution that is described in paragraph (2).

“(2) LOW-EARNING OUTCOME PROGRAMS DESCRIBED.—An educational program at an institution is described in this paragraph if the program awards an undergraduate degree, graduate or professional degree, or graduate certificate, for which the median earnings (as determined by the Secretary) of the programmatic cohort of students who received funds under this title for enrollment in such program, who completed such program during the academic year that is 4 years before the year of the determination, who are not enrolled in any institution of higher education, and who are working, are, for not less than 2 of the 3 years immediately preceding the date of the determination, less than the median earnings of a working adult described in paragraph (3) for the corresponding year.

“(3) CALCULATION OF MEDIAN EARNINGS.—

“(A) WORKING ADULT.—For purposes of applying paragraph (2) to an educational program at an institution, a working adult described in this paragraph is a working adult who, for the corresponding year—

“(i) is aged 25 to 34;

“(ii) is not enrolled in an institution of higher education; and

“(iii)(I) in the case of a determination made for an educational program that awards a baccalaureate or lesser degree, has only a high school diploma or its recognized equivalent; or

“(II) in the case of a determination made for a graduate or professional program, has only a baccalaureate degree.

“(B) SOURCE OF DATA.—For purposes of applying paragraph (2) to an educational program at an institution, the median earnings of a working adult, as described in subparagraph (A), shall be based on data from the Bureau of the Census—

“(i) with respect to an educational program that awards a baccalaureate or lesser degree—

“(I) for the State in which the institution is located; or

“(II) if fewer than 50 percent of the students enrolled in the institution reside in the State where the institution is located, for the entire United States; and

“(ii) with respect to an educational program that is a graduate or professional program—

“(I) for the lowest median earnings of—

“(aa) a working adult in the State in which the institution is located;

“(bb) a working adult in the same field of study (as determined by the Secretary, such as by using the 2-digit CIP code) in the State in which the institution is located; and

“(cc) a working adult in the same field of study (as so determined) in the entire United States; or

“(II) if fewer than 50 percent of the students enrolled in the institution reside in the State where the institution is located, for the lower median earnings of—

“(aa) a working adult in the entire United States; or

“(bb) a working adult in the same field of study (as so determined) in the entire United States.

“(4) SMALL PROGRAMMATIC COHORTS.—For any year for which the programmatic cohort described in paragraph (2) for an educational program of an institution is fewer than 30 individuals, the Secretary shall—

“(A) first, aggregate additional years of programmatic data in order to achieve a cohort of at least 30 individuals; and

“(B) second, in cases in which the cohort (including the individuals added under subparagraph (A)) is still fewer than 30 individuals, aggregate additional cohort years of programmatic data for educational programs of equivalent length in order to achieve a cohort of at least 30 individuals.

“(5) APPEALS PROCESS.—An educational program shall not lose eligibility under this subsection unless the institution has had the opportunity to appeal the programmatic median earnings of students working and not enrolled determination under paragraph (2), through a process established by the Secretary. During such appeal, the Secretary may permit the educational program to continue to participate in the program under this part.

“(6) NOTICE TO STUDENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If an educational program of an institution of higher education subject to this subsection does not meet the cohort median earning requirements, as described in paragraph (2), for one year during the applicable covered period but has not yet failed to meet such requirements for 2 years during such covered period, the institution shall promptly inform each student enrolled in the educational program of the eligible program’s low cohort median earnings and that the educational program is at risk of losing its eligibility for funds under this part.

“(B) COVERED PERIOD.—In this paragraph, the term ‘covered period’ means the period of the 3 years immediately preceding the date of a determination made under paragraph (2).

“(7) REGAINING PROGRAMMATIC ELIGIBILITY.—The Secretary shall establish a process by which an institution of higher education that has an educational program that has lost eligibility under this subsection may, after a period of not less than 2 years of such program’s ineligibility, apply to regain such eligibility, subject to the requirements established by the Secretary that further the purpose of this subsection.”

Subtitle F—Regulatory Relief

SEC. 85001. DELAY OF RULE RELATING TO BORROWER DEFENSE TO REPAYMENT.

(a) DELAY.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, for loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the provisions of subpart D of part 685 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (relating to borrower defense to repayment), as added or amended by the final regulations published by the Department of Education on November 1, 2022, and titled “Institutional Eligibility Under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as Amended; Student Assistance General Provisions; Federal Perkins Loan Program; Federal Family Education Loan Program; and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program” (87 Fed. Reg. 65904) shall not be in effect.

(b) EFFECT.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, with respect to loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, any regulations relating to borrower defense to repayment that took effect on July 1, 2020, are restored and revived as such regulations were in effect on such date.

SEC. 85002. DELAY OF RULE RELATING TO CLOSED SCHOOL DISCHARGES.

(a) DELAY.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, for loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the provisions of sections 674.33(g), 682.402(d), and 685.214 of title 34, Code of Federal Regulations (relating to closed school discharges), as added or amended by the final regulations published by the Department of Education on November 1, 2022, and titled “Institutional Eligibility Under the Higher Education Act of 1965, as Amended; Student Assistance General Provisions; Federal Perkins Loan Program; Federal Family Education Loan Program;

and William D. Ford Federal Direct Loan Program” (87 Fed. Reg. 65904), shall not be in effect.

(b) EFFECT.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, with respect to loans that first originate before July 1, 2035, the portions of the Code of Federal Regulations described in subsection (a) and amended by the final regulations described in subsection (a) shall be in effect as if the amendments made by such final regulations had not been made.

Subtitle G—Limitation on Authority

SEC. 86001. LIMITATION ON PROPOSING OR ISSUING REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.

Part G of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1088 et seq.) is amended by inserting after section 492 the following:

“SEC. 492A. LIMITATION ON PROPOSING OR ISSUING REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.

“(a) PROPOSED OR FINAL REGULATIONS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS.—Beginning on the date of enactment of this section, the Secretary may not issue a proposed regulation, final regulation, or executive action to implement this title if the Secretary determines that the regulation or executive action will increase the subsidy cost (as ‘cost’ is defined in section 502 of the Federal Credit Reform Act of 1990 (2 U.S.C. 661a)) of a loan program under this title by more than \$100,000,000.

“(b) RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—The requirements of subsection (a) shall not be construed to affect any other cost analysis required under any source of law for a regulation implementing this title.”

Subtitle H—Garden of Heroes

SEC. 87001. GARDEN OF HEROES.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the National Endowment for the Humanities for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available through fiscal year 2028, \$40,000,000 for the procurement of statues as described in Executive Order 13934 (85 Fed. Reg. 41165; relating to building and rebuilding monuments to American heroes), Executive Order 13978 (86 Fed. Reg. 6809; relating to building the National Garden of American Heroes), and Executive Order 14189 (90 Fed. Reg. 8849; relating to celebrating America’s birthday).

Subtitle I—Office of Refugee Resettlement

SEC. 88001. POTENTIAL SPONSOR VETTING FOR UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN APPROPRIATION.

(a) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Refugee Resettlement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$300,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for the purposes described in subsection (b).

(b) USE OF FUNDS.—The funds made available under subsection (a) may only be used for the Office of Refugee Resettlement to support costs associated with—

(1) background checks on potential sponsors, which shall include—

(A) the name of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(B) the social security number or tax payer identification number of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(C) the date of birth of the potential sponsor and of all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(D) the validated location of the residence at which the unaccompanied alien child will be placed;

(E) an in-person or virtual interview with, and suitability study concerning, the potential sponsor and all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household;

(F) contact information for the potential sponsor and for all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household; and

(G) the results of all background and criminal records checks for the potential sponsor and for all adult residents of the potential sponsor’s household, which shall include, at a minimum, an investigation of the public records sex offender registry, a public records background check, and a national criminal history check based on fingerprints;

(2) home studies of potential sponsors of unaccompanied alien children;

(3) determining whether an unaccompanied alien child poses a danger to self or others by conducting an examination of the unaccompanied alien child for gang-related tattoos and other gang-related markings and covering such tattoos or markings while the child is in the care of the Office of Refugee Resettlement;

(4) data systems improvement and sharing that supports the health, safety, and well being of unaccompanied alien children by determining the appropriateness of potential sponsors of unaccompanied alien children and of adults residing in the household of the potential sponsor and by assisting with the identification and investigation of child labor exploitation and child trafficking; and

(5) coordinating and communicating with State child welfare agencies regarding the placement of unaccompanied alien children in such States by the Office of Refugee Resettlement.

(c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) POTENTIAL SPONSOR.—The term “potential sponsor” means an individual or entity who applies for the custody of an unaccompanied alien child.

(2) UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILD.—The term “unaccompanied alien child” has the meaning given such term in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)).

TITLE IX—COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Subtitle A—Homeland Security Provisions

SEC. 90001. BORDER INFRASTRUCTURE AND WALL SYSTEM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$46,550,000,000 for necessary expenses relating to the following elements of the border infrastructure and wall system:

(1) Construction, installation, or improvement of new or replacement primary, waterborne, and secondary barriers.

(2) Access roads.

(3) Barrier system attributes, including cameras, lights, sensors, and other detection technology.

(4) Any work necessary to prepare the ground at or near the border to allow U.S. Customs and Border Protection to conduct its operations, including the construction and maintenance of the barrier system.

SEC. 90002. U.S. CUSTOMS AND BORDER PROTECTION PERSONNEL, FLEET VEHICLES, AND FACILITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the following:

(1) PERSONNEL.—\$4,100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to hire and train additional Border Patrol agents,

Office of Field Operations officers, Air and Marine agents, rehired annuitants, and U.S. Customs and Border Protection field support personnel.

(2) **RETENTION, HIRING, AND PERFORMANCE BONUSES.**—\$2,052,630,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to provide recruitment bonuses, performance awards, or annual retention bonuses to eligible Border Patrol agents, Office of Field Operations officers, and Air and Marine agents.

(3) **VEHICLES.**—\$855,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the repair of existing patrol units and the lease or acquisition of additional patrol units.

(4) **FACILITIES.**—\$5,000,000,000 for necessary expenses relating to lease, acquisition, construction, design, or improvement of facilities and checkpoints owned, leased, or operated by U.S. Customs and Border Protection.

(b) **RESTRICTION.**—None of the funds made available by subsection (a) may be used to recruit, hire, or train personnel for the duties of processing coordinators after October 31, 2028.

SEC. 90003. DETENTION CAPACITY.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated, there is appropriated to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$45,000,000,000, for single adult alien detention capacity and family residential center capacity.

(b) **DURATION AND STANDARDS.**—Aliens may be detained at family residential centers, as described in subsection (a), pending a decision, under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.), on whether the aliens are to be removed from the United States and, if such aliens are ordered removed from the United States, until such aliens are removed. The detention standards for the single adult detention capacity described in subsection (a) shall be set in the discretion of the Secretary of Homeland Security, consistent with applicable law.

(c) **DEFINITION OF FAMILY RESIDENTIAL CENTER.**—In this section, the term “family residential center” means a facility used by the Department of Homeland Security to detain family units of aliens (including alien children who are not unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)))) who are encountered or apprehended by the Department of Homeland Security, regardless whether the facility is licensed by the State or a political subdivision of the State in which the facility is located.

SEC. 90004. BORDER SECURITY, TECHNOLOGY, AND SCREENING.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Commissioner of U.S. Customs and Border Protection for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$6,168,000,000 for the following:

(1) Procurement and integration of new nonintrusive inspection equipment and associated civil works, including artificial intelligence, machine learning, and other innovative technologies, as well as other mission support, to combat the entry or exit of illicit narcotics at ports of entry and along the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(2) Air and Marine operations’ upgrading and procurement of new platforms for rapid air and marine response capabilities.

(3) Upgrades and procurement of border surveillance technologies along the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(4) Necessary expenses, including the deployment of technology, relating to the biometric entry and exit system under section

7208 of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (8 U.S.C. 1365b).

(5) Screening persons entering or exiting the United States.

(6) Initial screenings of unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))), consistent with the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (Public Law 110-457; 122 Stat. 5044).

(7) Enhancing border security by combating drug trafficking, including fentanyl and its precursor chemicals, at the southwest, northern, and maritime borders.

(8) Commemorating efforts and events related to border security.

(b) **RESTRICTIONS.**—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for the procurement or deployment of surveillance towers along the southwest border and northern border that have not been tested and accepted by U.S. Customs and Border Protection to deliver autonomous capabilities.

(c) **DEFINITION OF AUTONOMOUS.**—In this section, with respect to capabilities, the term “autonomous” means a system designed to apply artificial intelligence, machine learning, computer vision, or other algorithms to accurately detect, identify, classify, and track items of interest in real time such that the system can make operational adjustments without the active engagement of personnel or continuous human command or control.

SEC. 90005. STATE AND LOCAL ASSISTANCE.

(a) **STATE HOMELAND SECURITY GRANT PROGRAMS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to be administered under the State Homeland Security Grant Program authorized under section 2004 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 605), to enhance State, local, and Tribal security through grants, contracts, cooperative agreements, and other activities—

(A) \$500,000,000 for State and local capabilities to detect, identify, track, or monitor threats from unmanned aircraft systems (as such term is defined in section 44801 of title 49, United States Code), consistent with titles 18 and 49 of the United States Code;

(B) \$625,000,000 for security and other costs related to the 2026 FIFA World Cup;

(C) \$1,000,000,000 for security, planning, and other costs related to the 2028 Olympics; and

(D) \$450,000,000 for the Operation Stonegarden Grant Program.

(2) **TERMS AND CONDITIONS.**—None of the funds made available under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) shall be subject to the requirements of section 2004(e)(1) or section 2008(a)(12) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 605(e)(1), 609(a)(12)).

(b) **STATE BORDER SECURITY REINFORCEMENT FUND.**—

(1) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established, in the Department of Homeland Security, a fund to be known as the “State Border Security Reinforcement Fund.”

(2) **PURPOSES.**—The Secretary of Homeland Security shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the Fund for grants to eligible States and units of local government for any of the following purposes:

(A) Construction or installation of a border wall, border fencing or other barrier, or buoys along the southern border of the United States, which may include planning,

procurement of materials, and personnel costs related to such construction or installation.

(B) Any work necessary to prepare the ground at or near land borders to allow construction and maintenance of a border wall or other barrier fencing.

(C) Detection and interdiction of illicit substances and aliens who have unlawfully entered the United States and have committed a crime under Federal, State, or local law, and transfer or referral of such aliens to the Department of Homeland Security as provided by law.

(D) Relocation of aliens who are unlawfully present in the United States from small population centers to other domestic locations.

(3) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in paragraph (2), there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the Department of Homeland Security for the State Border Security Reinforcement Fund established by paragraph (1), \$10,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2034, for qualified expenses for such purposes.

(4) **ELIGIBILITY.**—The Secretary of Homeland Security may provide grants from the fund established by paragraph (1) to State agencies and units of local governments for expenditures made for completed, ongoing, or new activities, in accordance with law, that occurred on or after January 20, 2021.

(5) **APPLICATION.**—Each State desiring to apply for a grant under this subsection shall submit an application to the Secretary containing such information in support of the application as the Secretary may require. The Secretary shall require that each State include in its application the purposes for which the State seeks the funds and a description of how the State plans to allocate the funds. The Secretary shall begin to accept applications not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(6) **TERMS AND CONDITIONS.**—Nothing in this subsection shall authorize any State or local government to exercise immigration or border security authorities reserved exclusively to the Federal Government under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.) or the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 101 et seq.). The Federal Emergency Management Agency may use not more than 1 percent of the funds made available under this subsection for the purpose of administering grants provided for in this section.

SEC. 90006. PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE PROTECTION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$300,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the reimbursement of extraordinary law enforcement personnel costs for protection activities directly and demonstrably associated with any residence of the President designated pursuant to section 3 or 4 of the Presidential Protection Assistance Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-524; 18 U.S.C. 3056 note) to be secured by the United States Secret Service.

(b) **AVAILABILITY.**—Funds appropriated under this section shall be available only for costs that a State or local agency—

(1) incurred or incurs on or after July 1, 2024;

(2) demonstrates to the Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency as being—

(A) in excess of typical law enforcement operation costs;

(B) directly attributable to the provision of protection described in this section; and

(C) associated with a nongovernmental property designated pursuant to section 3 or 4 of the Presidential Protection Assistance Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-524; 18 U.S.C. 3056 note) to be secured by the United States Secret Service; and

(3) certifies to the Administrator as compensating protection activities requested by the United States Secret Service.

(c) TERMS AND CONDITIONS.—The Federal Emergency Management Agency may use not more than 3 percent of the funds made available under this section for the purpose of administering grants provided for in this section.

SEC. 90007. DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY APPROPRIATIONS FOR BORDER SUPPORT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for reimbursement of costs incurred in undertaking activities in support of the Department of Homeland Security's mission to safeguard the borders of the United States.

Subtitle B—Governmental Affairs Provisions

SEC. 90101. FEHB IMPROVEMENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This section may be cited as the “FEHB Protection Act of 2025”.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) DIRECTOR.—The term “Director” means the Director of the Office of Personnel Management.

(2) HEALTH BENEFITS PLAN; MEMBER OF FAMILY.—The terms “health benefits plan” and “member of family” have the meanings given those terms in section 8901 of title 5, United States Code.

(3) OPEN SEASON.—The term “open season” means an open season described in section 8903.01(f) of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation.

(4) PROGRAM.—The term “Program” means the health insurance programs carried out under chapter 89 of title 5, United States Code, including the program carried out under section 8903c of that title.

(5) QUALIFYING LIFE EVENT.—The term “qualifying life event” has the meaning given the term in section 892.101 of title 5, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation.

(c) VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall issue regulations and implement a process to verify—

(1) the veracity of any qualifying life event through which an enrollee in the Program seeks to add a member of family with respect to the enrollee to a health benefits plan under the Program; and

(2) that, when an enrollee in the Program seeks to add a member of family with respect to the enrollee to the health benefits plan of the enrollee under the Program, including during any open season, the individual so added is a qualifying member of family with respect to the enrollee.

(d) FRAUD RISK ASSESSMENT.—In any fraud risk assessment conducted with respect to the Program on or after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall include an assessment of individuals who are enrolled in, or covered under, a health benefits plan under the Program even though those individuals are not eligible to be so enrolled or covered.

(e) FAMILY MEMBER ELIGIBILITY VERIFICATION AUDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—During the 3-year period beginning on the date that is 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall carry out a comprehensive audit regarding members of family who are covered

under an enrollment in a health benefits plan under the Program.

(2) CONTENTS.—With respect to the audit carried out under paragraph (1), the Director shall review marriage certificates, birth certificates, and other appropriate documents that are necessary to determine eligibility to enroll in a health benefits plan under the Program.

(f) DISENROLLMENT OR REMOVAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director shall develop a process by which any individual enrolled in, or covered under, a health benefits plan under the Program who is not eligible to be so enrolled or covered shall be disenrolled or removed from enrollment in, or coverage under, that health benefits plan.

(g) EARNED BENEFITS AND HEALTH CARE ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES ASSOCIATED OVERSIGHT AND AUDIT FUNDING.—Section 8909 of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, except that the amounts required to be set aside under subsection (b)(2) shall not be subject to the limitations that may be specified annually by Congress”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3); and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

“(2) In fiscal year 2026, \$66,000,000, to be derived from all contributions, and to remain available until the end of fiscal year 2035, for the Director of the Office to carry out subsections (c) through (f) of the FEHB Protection Act of 2025.”

SEC. 90102. PANDEMIC RESPONSE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE.

(a) PANDEMIC RESPONSE ACCOUNTABILITY COMMITTEE FUNDING AVAILABILITY.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$88,000,000, to remain available until expended, for the Pandemic Response Accountability Committee to support oversight of the Coronavirus response and of funds provided in this Act or any other Act pertaining to the Coronavirus pandemic.

(b) CARES ACT.—Section 15010 of the CARES Act (Public Law 116-136; 134 Stat. 533) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(6)—

(A) in subparagraph (E), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (F), by striking “and” at the end and inserting “or”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(G) the Act titled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’; and”; and

(2) in subsection (k), by striking “2025” and inserting “2034”.

SEC. 90103. APPROPRIATION FOR THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Management and Budget for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for purposes of finding budget and accounting efficiencies in the executive branch.

TITLE X—COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
Subtitle A—Immigration and Law Enforcement Matters

PART I—IMMIGRATION FEES

SEC. 100001. APPLICABILITY OF THE IMMIGRATION LAWS.

(a) APPLICABILITY.—The fees under this subtitle shall apply to aliens in the circumstances described in this subtitle.

(b) TERMS.—The terms used under this subtitle shall have the meanings given such

terms in section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101).

(c) REFERENCES TO IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT.—Except as otherwise expressly provided, any reference in this subtitle to a section or other provision shall be considered to be to a section or other provision of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

SEC. 100002. ASYLUM FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security or the Attorney General, as applicable, shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section, by any alien who files an application for asylum under section 208 (8 U.S.C. 1158) at the time such application is filed.

(b) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$100; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary or the Attorney General, as applicable, may establish, by rule.

(c) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this section for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(d) DISPOSITION OF ASYLUM FEE PROCEEDS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees received from aliens filing applications with the Attorney General—

(A) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review; and

(B) may be retained and expended without further appropriation;

(2) 50 percent of fees received from aliens filing applications with the Secretary of Homeland Security—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended without further appropriation; and

(3) any amounts received in fees required under this section that were not credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review pursuant to paragraph (1) or to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to paragraph (2) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100003. EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION DOCUMENT FEES.

(a) ASYLUM APPLICANTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien who files an initial application for employment authorization under section 208(d)(2) (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(2)) at the time such initial employment authorization application is filed.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this section for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION DOCUMENT FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(ii) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(iii) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation, provided that not less than 50 percent is used to detect and prevent immigration benefit fraud; and

(B) any amounts collected pursuant to this subsection that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(b) PAROLEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien paroled into the United States for any initial application for employment authorization at the time such initial application is filed. Each initial employment authorization shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the alien's parole, whichever is shorter.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF PAROLEE EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATION FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(c) TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of

Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien who files an initial application for employment authorization under section 244(a)(1)(B) (8 U.S.C. 1254a(a)(1)(B)) at the time such initial application is filed. Each initial employment authorization shall be valid for a period of 1 year, or for the duration of the alien's temporary protected status, whichever is shorter.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—During fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$550; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(4) DISPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATION FEES COLLECTED FROM ALIENS GRANTED TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100004. IMMIGRATION PAROLE FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided under subsection (b), the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section and in addition to any other fee authorized by law, by any alien who is paroled into the United States.

(b) EXCEPTIONS.—An alien shall not be subject to the fee otherwise required under subsection (a) if the alien establishes, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Homeland Security, on an individual, case-by-case basis, that the alien is being paroled because—

(1)(A) the alien has a medical emergency; and

(B)(i) the alien cannot obtain necessary treatment in the foreign state in which the alien is residing; or

(ii) the medical emergency is life-threatening and there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(2)(A) the alien is the parent or legal guardian of an alien described in paragraph (1); and

(B) the alien described in paragraph (1) is a minor;

(3)(A) the alien is needed in the United States to donate an organ or other tissue for transplant; and

(B) there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(4)(A) the alien has a close family member in the United States whose death is imminent; and

(B) the alien could not arrive in the United States in time to see such family member alive if the alien were to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(5)(A) the alien is seeking to attend the funeral of a close family member; and

(B) the alien could not arrive in the United States in time to attend such funeral if the alien were to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process;

(6) the alien is an adopted child—

(A) who has an urgent medical condition;

(B) who is in the legal custody of the petitioner for a final adoption-related visa; and

(C) whose medical treatment is required before the expected award of a final adoption-related visa;

(7) the alien—

(A) is a lawful applicant for adjustment of status under section 245 (8 U.S.C. 1255); and

(B) is returning to the United States after temporary travel abroad;

(8) the alien—

(A) has been returned to a contiguous country pursuant to section 235(b)(2)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(2)(C)); and

(B) is being paroled into the United States to allow the alien to attend the alien's immigration hearing;

(9) the alien has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant (as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422; 8 U.S.C. 1522 note); or

(10) the Secretary of Homeland Security determines that a significant public benefit has resulted or will result from the parole of an alien—

(A) who has assisted or will assist the United States Government in a law enforcement matter;

(B) whose presence is required by the United States Government in furtherance of such law enforcement matter; and

(C)(i) who is inadmissible or does not satisfy the eligibility requirements for admission as a nonimmigrant; or

(ii) for which there is insufficient time for the alien to be admitted to the United States through the normal visa process.

(c) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$1,000; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(d) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(e) DISPOSITION OF FEES COLLECTED FROM ALIENS GRANTED PAROLE.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(f) NO FEE WAIVER.—Except as provided in subsection (b), fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100005. SPECIAL IMMIGRANT JUVENILE FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this section, by any alien, parent, or legal guardian of an alien applying for special immigrant juvenile status under section 101(a)(27)(J) (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(27)(J)).

(b) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(1) \$250; or

(2) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(c) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in paragraph (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(d) DISPOSITION OF SPECIAL IMMIGRANT JUVENILE FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 100006. TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS FEE.

Section 244(c)(1)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1254a(c)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The Attorney General” and inserting the following:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General”;

(2) in clause (i), as redesignated, by striking “\$50” and inserting “\$500, subject to the adjustments required under clause (ii)”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(ii) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the maximum amount of the fee authorized under clause (i) shall be equal to the sum of—

“(I) the maximum amount of the fee authorized under this subparagraph for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

“(II) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subclause (I) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

“(iii) DISPOSITION OF TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this subparagraph shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

“(iv) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subparagraph shall not be waived or reduced.”

SEC. 100007. VISA INTEGRITY FEE.

(a) VISA INTEGRITY FEE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in this subsection, by any alien issued a nonimmigrant visa at the time of such issuance.

(2) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$250; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(3) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All

Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(4) DISPOSITION OF VISA INTEGRITY FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section that are not reimbursed pursuant to subsection (b) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(5) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this subsection shall not be waived or reduced.

(b) FEE REIMBURSEMENT.—The Secretary of Homeland Security may provide a reimbursement to an alien of the fee required under subsection (a) for the issuance of a nonimmigrant visa after the expiration of such nonimmigrant visa's period of validity if such alien demonstrates that he or she—

(1) after admission to the United States pursuant to such nonimmigrant visa, complied with all conditions of such nonimmigrant visa, including the condition that an alien shall not accept unauthorized employment; and

(2)(A) has not sought to extend his or her period of admission during such period of validity and departed the United States not later than 5 days after the last day of such period; or

(B) during such period of validity, was granted an extension of such nonimmigrant status or an adjustment to the status of a lawful permanent resident.

SEC. 100008. FORM I-94 FEE.

(a) FEE AUTHORIZED.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien who submits an application for a Form I-94 Arrival/Departure Record.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$24; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FORM I-94 FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 20 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be deposited into the Land Border Inspection Fee Account in accordance with section 286(q)(2) (8 U.S.C. 1356(q)(2)); and

(B) shall be made available to U.S. Customs and Border Protection to retain and spend without further appropriation for the purpose of processing Form I-94; and

(2) any amounts not deposited into the Land Border Inspection Fee Account pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100009. ANNUAL ASYLUM FEE.

(a) FEE AUTHORIZED.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, for each calendar year that an alien's application for asylum remains pending, the Secretary of Homeland Security or the Attorney General, as applicable, shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by such alien.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$100; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded down to the nearest dollar.

(c) DISPOSITION OF ANNUAL ASYLUM FEES.—All of the fees collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100010. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR PAROLEES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), for any parolee who seeks a renewal or extension of employment authorization based on a grant of parole. The employment authorization for each alien paroled into the United States, or any renewal or extension of such parole, shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the alien's parole, whichever is shorter.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$275; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR PAROLEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100011. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL OR EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee of not less than \$275 by any alien who has applied for asylum for each renewal or extension of employment authorization based on such application.

(b) TERMINATION.—Each initial employment authorization, or renewal or extension of such authorization, shall terminate—

(1) immediately following the denial of an asylum application by an asylum officer, unless the case is referred to an immigration judge;

(2) on the date that is 30 days after the date on which an immigration judge denies an asylum application, unless the alien makes a timely appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals; or

(3) immediately following the denial by the Board of Immigration Appeals of an appeal of a denial of an asylum application.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ASYLUM APPLICANTS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100012. FEE RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR ALIENS GRANTED TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien at the time such alien seeks a renewal or extension of employment authorization based on a grant of temporary protected status. Any employment authorization for an alien granted temporary protected status, or any renewal or extension of such employment authorization, shall be valid for a period of 1 year or for the duration of the designation of temporary protected status, whichever is shorter.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$275; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each sub-

sequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF FEES RELATING TO RENEWAL AND EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION FOR TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICANTS.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services;

(B) shall be deposited into the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100013. FEES RELATING TO APPLICATIONS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS.

(a) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION TO ADJUST STATUS TO THAT OF A LAWFUL PERMANENT RESIDENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien who files an application with an immigration court to adjust the alien's status to that of a lawful permanent resident, or whose application to adjust his or her status to that of a lawful permanent resident is adjudicated in immigration court. Such fee shall be paid at the time such application is filed or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(b) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR WAIVER OF GROUNDS OF INADMISSIBILITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for a waiver of a ground of inadmissibility, or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,050; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF WAIVER OF GROUND OF ADMISSIBILITY APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(c) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION FOR TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for temporary protected status, or before such application is adjudicated by the immigration court.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(1) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(2) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (1) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the

date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICATION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL OF A DECISION OF AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), the Attorney General shall require, in addition to any other fees authorized by law, the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an appeal from a decision of an immigration judge.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) EXCEPTION.—The fee required under paragraph (1) shall not apply to the appeal of a bond decision.

(4) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING IMMIGRATION JUDGE DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL FROM A DECISION OF AN OFFICER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an appeal of a decision of an officer of the Department of Homeland Security.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY OFFICER DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(f) FEE FOR FILING AN APPEAL FROM A DECISION OF AN ADJUDICATING OFFICIAL IN A PRACTITIONER DISCIPLINARY CASE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any practitioner at the time such practitioner files an appeal from a decision of an adjudicating official in a practitioner disciplinary case.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,325; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR APPEALING DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY OFFICER DECISIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(g) FEE FOR FILING A MOTION TO REOPEN OR A MOTION TO RECONSIDER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (3), in addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files a motion to reopen or motion to reconsider a decision of an immigration judge or the Board of Immigration Appeals.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$900; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) EXCEPTIONS.—The fee required under paragraph (1) shall not apply to—

(A) a motion to reopen a removal order entered in absentia if such motion is filed in accordance with section 240(b)(5)(C)(ii) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)(ii)); or

(B) a motion to reopen a deportation order entered in absentia if such motion is filed in accordance with section 242B(c)(3)(B) prior to April 1, 1997.

(4) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING CERTAIN MOTIONS.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(h) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for suspension of deportation.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$600; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All

Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(i) FEE FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL FOR CERTAIN PERMANENT RESIDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court an application for cancellation of removal for an alien who is a lawful permanent resident.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$600; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(j) FEE FOR FILING AN APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL AND ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS FOR CERTAIN NONPERMANENT RESIDENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fees authorized by law, the Attorney General shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in paragraph (2), by any alien who is not a lawful permanent resident at the time such alien files an application with an immigration court for cancellation of removal and adjustment of status for any alien.

(2) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(A) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be the greater of—

(i) \$1,500; or

(ii) such amount as the Attorney General may establish, by rule.

(B) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this paragraph shall be equal to the sum of—

(i) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(ii) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in clause (i) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(3) DISPOSITION OF FEES FOR FILING APPLICATION FOR CANCELLATION OF REMOVAL.—During each fiscal year—

(A) not more than 25 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this subsection—

(i) shall be derived by transfer from the Immigration Examinations Fee Account established under section 286(m) (8 U.S.C. 1356(m)); and

(ii) shall be credited to the Executive Office for Immigration Review to retain and spend without further appropriation; and

(B) any amounts not derived by transfer and credited pursuant to subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(k) LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.—No fees collected pursuant to this section may be expended by the Executive Office for Immigration Review for the Legal Orientation Program, or for any successor program.

SEC. 100014. ELECTRONIC SYSTEM FOR TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION FEE.

Section 217(h)(3)(B) (8 U.S.C. 1187(h)(3)(B)) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by inserting “of not less than \$10” after “an amount”; and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(III) not less than \$13 per travel authorization.”;

(2) in clause (iii), by striking “October 31, 2028” and inserting “October 31, 2034”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) SUBSEQUENT ADJUSTMENT.—During fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in clause (i)(II) for a fiscal year shall be equal to the sum of—

“(I) the amount of the fee required under this subparagraph during the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

“(II) the product of the amount referred to in subclause (I) multiplied by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year.”.

SEC. 100015. ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, in the amount specified in subsection (b), by any alien subject to the Electronic Visa Update System at the time of such alien’s enrollment in such system.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this subsection shall be the greater of—

(A) \$30; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this subsection shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection during the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$0.25.

(c) DISPOSITION OF ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM FEES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 286 (8 U.S.C. 1356) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(w) CBP ELECTRONIC VISA UPDATE SYSTEM ACCOUNT.—

“(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established in the general fund of the Treasury a separate account, which shall be known as the ‘CBP Electronic Visa Update System Account’ (referred to in this subsection as the ‘Account’).

“(2) DEPOSITS.—There shall be deposited into the Account an amount equal to the difference between—

“(A) all of the fees received pursuant to section 100015 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress); and

“(B) an amount equal to \$5 multiplied by the number of payments collected pursuant to such section.

“(3) APPROPRIATION.—Amounts deposited in the Account—

“(A) are hereby appropriated to make payments and offset program costs in accordance with section 100015 of the Act entitled ‘An Act to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14’ (119th Congress), without further appropriation; and

“(B) shall remain available until expended for any U.S. Customs and Border Protection costs associated with administering the CBP Electronic Visa Update System.”.

(2) REMAINING FEES.—Of the fees collected pursuant to this section, an amount equal to \$5 multiplied by the number of payments collected pursuant to this section shall be deposited to the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100016. FEE FOR ALIENS ORDERED REMOVED IN ABSENTIA.

(a) IN GENERAL.—As partial reimbursement for the cost of arresting an alien described in this section, the Secretary of Homeland Security, except as provided in subsection (c), shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b) on any alien who—

(1) is ordered removed in absentia pursuant to section 240(b)(5) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)); and

(2) is subsequently arrested by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$5,000; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) EXCEPTION.—The fee described in this section shall not apply to any alien who was ordered removed in absentia if such order was rescinded pursuant to section 240(b)(5)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)).

(d) DISPOSITION OF REMOVAL IN ABSENTIA FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

(B) shall be deposited into the Detention and Removal Office Fee Account; and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(e) NO FEE WAIVER.—Fees required to be paid under this section shall not be waived or reduced.

SEC. 100017. INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any other fee authorized by law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall require the payment of a fee, equal to the amount specified in subsection (b), by any inadmissible alien at the time such alien is apprehended between ports of entry.

(b) AMOUNT SPECIFIED.—

(1) INITIAL AMOUNT.—For fiscal year 2025, the amount specified in this section shall be the greater of—

(A) \$5,000; or

(B) such amount as the Secretary of Homeland Security may establish, by rule.

(2) ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS FOR INFLATION.—During fiscal year 2026, and during each subsequent fiscal year, the amount specified in this section shall be equal to the sum of—

(A) the amount of the fee required under this subsection for the most recently concluded fiscal year; and

(B) the product resulting from the multiplication of the amount referred to in subparagraph (A) by the percentage (if any) by which the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the month of July preceding the date on which such adjustment takes effect exceeds the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers for the same month of the preceding calendar year, rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$10.

(c) DISPOSITION OF INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEES.—During each fiscal year—

(1) 50 percent of the fees collected pursuant to this section—

(A) shall be credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;

(B) shall be deposited into the Detention and Removal Office Fee Account; and

(C) may be retained and expended by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement without further appropriation; and

(2) any amounts collected pursuant to this section that are not credited to U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) DISPOSITION OF INADMISSIBLE ALIEN APPREHENSION FEES.—All of the fees collected

pursuant to this section shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury.

SEC. 100018. AMENDMENT TO AUTHORITY TO APPLY FOR ASYLUM.

Section 208(d)(3) (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(3)) is amended—

(1) in the first sentence, by striking “may” and inserting “shall”;

(2) by striking “Such fees shall not exceed” and all that follows and inserting the following: “Nothing in this paragraph may be construed to limit the authority of the Attorney General to set additional adjudication and naturalization fees in accordance with section 286(m).”.

PART II—IMMIGRATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT FUNDING

SEC. 100051. APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$2,055,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) IMMIGRATION AND ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—Hiring and training of additional U.S. Customs and Border Protection agents, and the necessary support staff, to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(2) DEPARTURES AND REMOVALS.—Funding for transportation costs and related costs associated with the departure or removal of aliens.

(3) PERSONNEL ASSIGNMENTS.—Funding for the assignment of Department of Homeland Security employees and State officers to carry out immigration enforcement activities pursuant to sections 103(a) and 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1103(a) and 1357(g)).

(4) BACKGROUND CHECKS.—Hiring additional staff and investing the necessary resources to enhance screening and vetting of all aliens seeking entry into United States, consistent with section 212 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1182), or intending to remain in the United States, consistent with section 237 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1227).

(5) PROTECTING ALIEN CHILDREN FROM EXPLOITATION.—In instances of aliens and alien children entering the United States without a valid visa, funding is provided for the purposes of—

(A) collecting fingerprints, in accordance with section 262 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1302) and subsections (a)(3) and (b) of section 235 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1225); and

(B) collecting DNA, in accordance with sections 235(d) and 287(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(d) and 1357(b)).

(6) TRANSPORTING AND RETURN OF ALIENS FROM CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY.—Transporting and facilitating the return, pursuant to section 235(b)(2)(C) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(2)(C)), of aliens arriving from contiguous territory.

(7) STATE AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION.—Funding for State and local participation in homeland security efforts for purposes of—

(A) ending the presence of criminal gangs and criminal organizations throughout the United States;

(B) addressing crime and public safety threats;

(C) combating human smuggling and trafficking networks throughout the United States;

(D) supporting immigration enforcement activities; and

(E) providing reimbursement for State and local participation in such efforts.

(8) REMOVAL OF SPECIFIED UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Funding removal operations for specified unaccompanied alien children.

(B) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts made available under this paragraph shall only be used for permitting a specified unaccompanied alien child to withdraw the application for admission of the child pursuant to section 235(a)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(a)(4)).

(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

(i) SPECIFIED UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILD.—The term “specified unaccompanied alien child” means an unaccompanied alien child (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who the Secretary of Homeland Security determines on a case-by-case basis—

(I) has been found by an immigration officer at a land border or port of entry of the United States and is inadmissible under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.);

(II) has not been a victim of severe forms of trafficking in persons, and there is no credible evidence that such child is at risk of being trafficked upon return of the child to the child’s country of nationality or country of last habitual residence; and

(III) does not have a fear of returning to the child’s country of nationality or country of last habitual residence owing to a credible fear of persecution.

(ii) SEVERE FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS.—The term “severe forms of trafficking in persons” has the meaning given such term in section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

(9) EXPEDITED REMOVAL OF CRIMINAL ALIENS.—Funding for the expedited removal of criminal aliens, in accordance with the provisions of section 235(b)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(b)(1)).

(10) REMOVAL OF CERTAIN CRIMINAL ALIENS WITHOUT FURTHER HEARINGS.—Funding for the removal of certain criminal aliens without further hearings, in accordance with the provisions of section 235(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1225(c)).

(11) CRIMINAL AND GANG CHECKS FOR UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN.—Funding for criminal and gang checks of unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who are 12 years of age and older, including the examination of such unaccompanied alien children for gang-related tattoos and other gang-related markings.

(12) INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY.—Information technology investments to support immigration purposes, including improvements to fee and revenue collections.

SEC. 100052. APPROPRIATION FOR U.S. IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$29,850,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) HIRING AND TRAINING.—Hiring and training additional U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel, including officers, agents, investigators, and support staff, to carry out immigration enforcement activities and prioritizing and streamlining the hiring of retired U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel.

(2) PERFORMANCE, RETENTION, AND SIGNING BONUSES.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Providing performance, retention, and signing bonuses for qualified U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel in accordance with this subsection.

(B) PERFORMANCE BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, at the Director's discretion, may provide performance bonuses to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who demonstrates exemplary service.

(C) RETENTION BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement may provide retention bonuses to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who commits to 2 years of additional service with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(D) SIGNING BONUSES.—The Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement may provide a signing bonus to any U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agent, officer, or attorney who—

(i) is hired on or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(ii) who commits to 5 years of service with U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(E) SERVICE AGREEMENT.—In providing a retention or signing bonus under this paragraph, the Director of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement shall provide each qualifying individual with a written service agreement that includes—

(i) the commencement and termination dates of the required service period (or provisions for the determination of such dates);

(ii) the amount of the bonus; and

(iii) any other term or condition under which the bonus is payable, subject to the requirements of this paragraph, including—

(I) the conditions under which the agreement may be terminated before the agreed-upon service period has been completed; and

(II) the effect of a termination described in subclause (I).

(3) RECRUITMENT, HIRING, AND ONBOARDING.—Facilitating the recruitment, hiring, and onboarding of additional U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel to carry out immigration enforcement activities, including by—

(A) investing in information technology, recruitment, and marketing; and

(B) hiring staff necessary to carry out information technology, recruitment, and marketing activities.

(4) TRANSPORTATION.—Funding for transportation costs and related costs associated with alien departure or removal operations.

(5) INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY.—Funding for information technology investments to support enforcement and removal operations, including improvements to fee collections.

(6) FACILITY UPGRADES.—Funding for facility upgrades to support enforcement and removal operations.

(7) FLEET MODERNIZATION.—Funding for fleet modernization to support enforcement and removal operations.

(8) FAMILY UNITY.—Promoting family unity by—

(A) maintaining the care and custody, during the period in which a charge described in clause (i) is pending, in accordance with applicable laws, of an alien who—

(i) is charged only with a misdemeanor offense under section 275(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1325(a)); and

(ii) entered the United States with the alien's child who has not attained 18 years of age; and

(B) detaining such an alien with the alien's child.

(9) 287(g) AGREEMENTS.—Expanding, facilitating, and implementing agreements under section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1357(g)).

(10) VICTIMS OF IMMIGRATION CRIME ENGAGEMENT OFFICE.—Hiring and training additional

staff to carry out the mission of the Victims of Immigration Crime Engagement Office and for providing nonfinancial assistance to the victims of crimes perpetrated by aliens who are present in the United States without authorization.

(11) OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL LEGAL ADVISOR.—Hiring additional attorneys and the necessary support staff within the Office of the Principal Legal Advisor to represent the Department of Homeland Security in immigration enforcement and removal proceedings.

SEC. 100053. APPROPRIATION FOR FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT TRAINING CENTERS.

(a) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Homeland Security for the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$750,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsections (b) and (c).

(b) TRAINING.—Not less than \$285,000,000 of the amounts available under subsection (a) shall be for supporting the training of newly hired Federal law enforcement personnel employed by the Department of Homeland Security and State and local law enforcement agencies operating in support of the Department of Homeland Security.

(c) FACILITIES.—Not more than \$465,000,000 of the amounts available under subsection (a) shall be for procurement, construction and maintenance of, improvements to, training equipment for, and related expenses, of facilities of the Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers.

SEC. 100054. APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Attorney General for the Department of Justice for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$3,330,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the following purposes:

(1) EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR IMMIGRATION REVIEW.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Hiring immigration judges and necessary support staff for the Executive Office for Immigration Review to address the backlog of petitions, cases, and removals.

(B) STAFFING LEVEL.—Effective November 1, 2028, the Executive Office for Immigration Review shall be comprised of not more than 800 immigration judges, along with the necessary support staff.

(2) COMBATING DRUG TRAFFICKING.—Funding efforts to combat drug trafficking (including trafficking of fentanyl and its precursor chemicals) and illegal drug use.

(3) PROSECUTION OF IMMIGRATION MATTERS.—Funding efforts to investigate and prosecute immigration matters, gang-related crimes involving aliens, child trafficking and smuggling involving aliens within the United States, unlawful voting by aliens, violations of the Alien Registration Act, 1940 (54 Stat., chapter 439), and violations of or fraud relating to title IV of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-193; 110 Stat. 2277), including hiring additional Department of Justice personnel to investigate and prosecute such matters.

(4) NONPARTY OR OTHER INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.—Hiring additional attorneys and necessary support staff for the purpose of continuing implementation of assignments by the Attorney General pursuant to sections 516, 517, and 518 of title 28, United States Code, to conduct litigation and attend to the interests of the United States in suits pending in a court of the United States or in a

court of a State in suits seeking nonparty or other injunctive relief against the Federal Governmenties.nt.

(5) EDWARD BYRNE MEMORIAL JUSTICE ASSISTANCE GRANT PROGRAM AND OFFICE OF COMMUNITY ORIENTED POLICING.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Increasing funding for the Edward Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grant Program and the Office of Community Oriented Policing for initiatives associated with—

(i) investigating and prosecuting violent crime;

(ii) criminal enforcement initiatives; and

(iii) immigration enforcement and removal efforts.

(B) LIMITATIONS.—No funds made available under this subsection shall be made available to community violence intervention and prevention initiative programs.

(C) ELIGIBILITY.—To be eligible to receive funds made available under this subsection, a State or local government shall be in full compliance, as determined by the Attorney General, with section 642 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1373).

(6) FINANCIALLY RESPONSIBLE LAWSUIT SETTLEMENTS.—Hiring additional attorneys and necessary support staff for the purpose of maximizing lawsuit settlements that require the payment of fines and penalties to the Treasury of the United States in lieu of providing for the payment to any person or entity other than the United States, other than a payment that provides restitution or otherwise directly remedies actual harm directly and proximately caused by the party making the payment, or constitutes payment for services rendered in connection with the case.

(7) COMPENSATION FOR INCARCERATION OF CRIMINAL ALIENS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Providing compensation to a State or political subdivision of a State for the incarceration of criminal aliens.

(B) USE OF FUNDS.—The amounts made available under subparagraph (A) shall only be used to compensate a State or political subdivision of a State, as appropriate, with respect to the incarceration of an alien who—

(i) has been convicted of a felony or 2 or more misdemeanors; and

(ii) (I) entered the United States without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Secretary of Homeland Security;

(II) was the subject of removal proceedings at the time the alien was taken into custody by the State or a political subdivision of the State; or

(III) was admitted as a nonimmigrant and, at the time the alien was taken into custody by the State or a political subdivision of the State, has failed to maintain the nonimmigrant status in which the alien was admitted, or to which it was changed, or to comply with the conditions of any such status.

(C) LIMITATION.—Amounts made available under this subsection shall be distributed to more than 1 State. The amounts made available under subparagraph (A) may not be used to compensate any State or political subdivision of a State if the State or political subdivision of the State prohibits or in any way restricts a Federal, State, or local government entity, official, or other personnel from doing any of the following:

(i) Complying with the immigration laws (as defined in section 101(a)(17) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(17))).

(ii) Assisting or cooperating with Federal law enforcement entities, officials, or other personnel regarding the enforcement of the immigration laws.

(iii) Undertaking any of the following law enforcement activities as such activities relate to information regarding the citizenship or immigration status, lawful or unlawful, the inadmissibility or deportability, and the custody status, of any individual:

(I) Making inquiries to any individual to obtain such information regarding such individual or any other individuals.

(II) Notifying the Federal Government regarding the presence of individuals who are encountered by law enforcement officials or other personnel of a State or political subdivision of a State.

(III) Complying with requests for such information from Federal law enforcement entities, officials, or other personnel.

SEC. 100055. BRIDGING IMMIGRATION-RELATED DEFICITS EXPERIENCED NATIONWIDE REIMBURSEMENT FUND.

(a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established within the Department of Justice a fund, to be known as the “Bridging Immigration-related Deficits Experienced Nationwide (BIDEN) Reimbursement Fund” (referred to in this section as the “Fund”).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The Attorney General shall use amounts appropriated or otherwise made available for the Fund for grants to eligible States, State agencies, and units of local government, pursuant to their existing statutory authorities, for any of the following purposes:

(1) Locating and apprehending aliens who have committed a crime under Federal, State, or local law, in addition to being unlawfully present in the United States.

(2) Collection and analysis of law enforcement investigative information within the United States to counter gang or other criminal activity.

(3) Investigating and prosecuting—

(A) crimes committed by aliens within the United States; and

(B) drug and human trafficking crimes committed within the United States.

(4) Court operations related to the prosecution of—

(A) crimes committed by aliens; and

(B) drug and human trafficking crimes.

(5) Temporary criminal detention of aliens.

(6) Transporting aliens described in paragraph (1) within the United States to locations related to the apprehension, detention, and prosecution of such aliens.

(7) Vehicle maintenance, logistics, transportation, and other support provided to law enforcement agencies by a State agency to enhance the ability to locate and apprehend aliens who have committed crimes under Federal, State, or local law, in addition to being unlawfully present in the United States.

(c) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available for the purposes described in subsection (b), there is appropriated to the Attorney General for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, not to exceed \$3,500,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, for the Fund for qualified and documented expenses that achieve any such purpose.

(d) **GRANT ELIGIBILITY OF COMPLETED, ONGOING, OR NEW ACTIVITIES.**—The Attorney General may provide grants under this section to State agencies and units of local government for expenditures made by State agencies or units of local government for completed, ongoing, or new activities determined to be eligible for such grant funding that occurred on or after January 20, 2021. Amounts made available under this section shall be distributed to more than 1 State.

SEC. 100056. APPROPRIATION FOR THE BUREAU OF PRISONS.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appro-

priated to the Director of the Bureau of Prisons for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$5,000,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsections (b) and (c).

(b) **SALARIES AND BENEFITS.**—Not less than \$3,000,000,000 of the amounts made available under subsection (a) shall be for hiring and training of new employees, including correctional officers, medical professionals, and facilities and maintenance employees, the necessary support staff, and for additional funding for salaries and benefits for the current workforce of the Bureau of Prisons.

(c) **FACILITIES.**—Not more than \$2,000,000,000 of the amounts made available under subsection (a) shall be for addressing maintenance and repairs to facilities maintained or operated by the Bureau of Prisons.

SEC. 100057. APPROPRIATION FOR THE UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the United States Secret Service (referred to in this section as the “Director”) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,170,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2029, for the purposes described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—Amounts made available under subsection (a) may only be used for—

(1) additional United States Secret Service resources, including personnel, training facilities, programming, and technology; and

(2) performance, retention, and signing bonuses for qualified United States Secret Service personnel in accordance with subsection (c).

(c) **PERFORMANCE, RETENTION, AND SIGNING BONUSES.**—

(1) **PERFORMANCE BONUSES.**—The Director, at the Director’s discretion, may provide performance bonuses to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who demonstrates exemplary service.

(2) **RETENTION BONUSES.**—The Director may provide retention bonuses to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who commits to 2 years of additional service with the Secret Service.

(3) **SIGNING BONUSES.**—The Director may provide a signing bonus to any Secret Service agent, officer, or analyst who—

(A) is hired on or after the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(B) commits to 5 years of service with the United States Secret Service.

(4) **SERVICE AGREEMENT.**—In providing a retention or signing bonus under this subsection, the Director shall provide each qualifying individual with a written service agreement that includes—

(A) the commencement and termination dates of the required service period (or provisions for the determination of such dates);

(B) the amount of the bonus; and

(C) any other term or condition under which the bonus is payable, subject to the requirements under this subsection, including—

(i) the conditions under which the agreement may be terminated before the agreed-upon service period has been completed; and

(ii) the effect of a termination described in clause (i).

Subtitle B—Judiciary Matters

SEC. 100101. APPROPRIATION TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES COURTS.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,250,000 for

each of fiscal years 2025 through 2028, for the purpose of continuing analyses and reporting pursuant to section 604(a)(2) of title 28, United States Code, to examine the state of the dockets of the courts and to prepare and transmit statistical data and reports as to the business of the courts, including an assessment of the number, frequency, and related metrics of judicial orders issuing non-party relief against the Federal Government and their aggregate cost impact on the taxpayers of the United States, as determined by each court when imposing securities for the issuance of preliminary injunctions or temporary restraining orders against the Federal Government pursuant to rule 65(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SEC. 100102. APPROPRIATION TO THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL CENTER.

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Director of the Federal Judicial Center, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2025 through 2028, for the purpose described in subsection (b).

(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—The Federal Judicial Center shall use the amounts appropriated under subsection (a) for the continued implementation of programs pursuant to section 620(b)(3) of title 28, United States Code, to stimulate, create, develop, and conduct programs of continuing education and training for personnel of the judicial branch, including training on the absence of constitutional and statutory authority supporting legal claims that seek non-party relief against the Federal Government, and strategic approaches for mitigating the aggregate cost impact of such legal claims on the taxpayers of the United States.

Subtitle C—Radiation Exposure Compensation Matters

SEC. 100201. EXTENSION OF FUND.

Section 3(d) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by striking the first sentence and inserting “The Fund shall terminate on December 31, 2028.”; and

(2) by striking “the end of that 2-year period” and inserting “such date”.

SEC. 100202. CLAIMS RELATING TO ATMOSPHERIC TESTING.

(a) **LEUKEMIA CLAIMS RELATING TO TRINITY TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND TESTS AT THE NEVADA SITE.**—Section 4(a)(1)(A) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in clause (i)—

(A) in subclause (I), by striking “October 31, 1958” and inserting “November 6, 1962”; and

(B) in subclause (II)—

(i) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”; and

(ii) by striking “or” after the semicolon;

(C) by redesignating subclause (III) as subclause (IV); and

(D) by inserting after subclause (II) the following:

“(III) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 1 year during the period beginning on September 24, 1944, and ending on November 6, 1962; or”;

(2) in clause (ii)(I), by striking “physical presence described in subclause (I) or (II) of clause (i) or onsite participation described in clause (i)(III)” and inserting “physical presence described in subclause (I), (II), or (III) of clause (i) or onsite participation described in clause (i)(IV)”.

(b) **AMOUNTS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO LEUKEMIA.**—Section 4(a)(1) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “an amount” and inserting “the amount”;

(2) by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) AMOUNT.—If the conditions described in subparagraph (C) are met, an individual who is described in subparagraph (A) shall receive \$100,000.”; and

(3) in subparagraph (C), by adding at the end the following:

“(iv) No payment under this paragraph previously has been made to the individual, on behalf of the individual, or to a survivor of the individual.”.

(c) CONDITIONS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO LEUKEMIA.—Section 4(a)(1)(C) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by striking clause (i); and

(2) by redesignating clauses (ii) and (iii) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively.

(d) SPECIFIED DISEASES CLAIMS RELATING TO TRINITY TEST IN NEW MEXICO AND TESTS AT THE NEVADA SITE.—Section 4(a)(2) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”;

(B) by striking “2 years” and inserting “1 year”;

(C) by striking “October 31, 1958,” and inserting “November 6, 1962”;

(2) in subparagraph (B)—

(A) by striking “in the affected area” and inserting “in an affected area”;

(B) by striking “, or” at the end and inserting a semicolon;

(3) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D); and

(4) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following:

“(C) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 1 year during the period beginning on September 24, 1944, and ending on November 6, 1962; or”.

(e) AMOUNTS FOR CLAIMS RELATED TO SPECIFIED DISEASES.—Section 4(a)(2) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended in the matter following subparagraph (D) (as redesignated by subsection (d) of this section)—

(1) by striking “\$50,000 (in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (A) or (B)) or \$75,000 (in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (C)),” and inserting “\$100,000”;

(2) in clause (i), by striking “, and” and inserting a semicolon;

(3) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(4) by adding at the end the following:

“(iii) no payment under this paragraph previously has been made to the individual, on behalf of the individual, or to a survivor of the individual.”.

(f) DOWNWIND STATES.—Section 4(b)(1) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) ‘affected area’ means—

“(A) except as provided under subparagraph (B)—

“(i) the States of New Mexico, Utah, and Idaho;

“(ii) in the State of Nevada, the counties of White Pine, Nye, Lander, Lincoln, Eureka, and that portion of Clark County that consists of townships 13 through 16 at ranges 63 through 71; and

“(iii) in the State of Arizona, the counties of Coconino, Yavapai, Navajo, Apache, and Gila, and Mohave; and

“(B) with respect to a claim by an individual under subsection (a)(1)(A)(i)(III) or subsection (a)(2)(C), only New Mexico; and”.

SEC. 100203. CLAIMS RELATING TO URANIUM MINING.

(a) EMPLOYEES OF MINES AND MILLS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(i) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended to read as follows:

“(i)(I) was employed in a uranium mine or uranium mill (including any individual who was employed in the transport of uranium ore or vanadium-uranium ore from such mine or mill) located in Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, South Dakota, Washington, Utah, Idaho, North Dakota, Oregon, or Texas at any time during the period beginning on January 1, 1942, and ending on December 31, 1990; or

“(II) was employed as a core driller in a State referred to in subclause (I) during the period described in such subclause; and”.

(b) MINERS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii)(I) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by inserting “or renal cancer or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury” after “non-malignant respiratory disease”.

(c) MILLERS, CORE DRILLERS, AND ORE TRANSPORTERS.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii)(II) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) by inserting “, core driller,” after “was a miller”;

(2) by inserting “, or was involved in remediation efforts at such a uranium mine or uranium mill,” after “ore transporter”;

(3) by inserting “(I)” after “clause (i)”;

(4) by striking “or renal cancers” and all that follows and inserting “or renal cancer or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury; or”.

(d) COMBINED WORK HISTORIES.—Section 5(a)(1)(A)(ii) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note), as amended by subsection (c), is further amended—

(1) in subclause (I), by striking “or” at the end; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(III)(aa) does not meet the conditions of subclause (I) or (II);

“(bb) worked, during the period described in clause (i)(I), in 2 or more of the following positions: miner, miller, core driller, and ore transporter;

“(cc) meets the requirements under paragraph (4) or (5); and

“(dd) submits written medical documentation that the individual developed lung cancer, a nonmalignant respiratory disease, renal cancer, or any other chronic renal disease, including nephritis and kidney tubal tissue injury after exposure to radiation through work in one or more of the positions referred to in item (bb)”.

(e) SPECIAL RULES RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES.—Section 5(a) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH AT LEAST ONE YEAR OF EXPERIENCE.—An individual meets the requirements under this paragraph if the individual worked in one or more of the positions referred to in paragraph (1)(A)(ii)(III)(bb) for a period of at least one year during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I).

“(5) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO COMBINED WORK HISTORIES FOR MINERS.—An individual meets the requirements of this paragraph if the individual, during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I), worked as a miner and was exposed to such number of working level months that the Attorney General determines, when combined with the exposure of

such individual to radiation through work as a miller, core driller, or ore transporter during the period described in paragraph (1)(A)(i)(I), results in such individual being exposed to a total level of radiation that is greater or equal to the level of exposure of an individual described in paragraph (4)”.

(f) DEFINITION OF CORE DRILLER.—Section 5(b) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(9) the term ‘core driller’ means any individual employed to engage in the act or process of obtaining cylindrical rock samples of uranium or vanadium by means of a borehole drilling machine for the purpose of mining uranium or vanadium.”.

SEC. 100204. CLAIMS RELATING TO MANHATTAN PROJECT WASTE.—

The Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by inserting after section 5 the following:

“SEC. 5A. CLAIMS RELATING TO MANHATTAN PROJECT WASTE.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A claimant shall receive compensation for a claim made under this Act, as described in subsection (b) or (c), if—

“(1) a claim for compensation is filed with the Attorney General—

“(A) by an individual described in paragraph (2); or

“(B) on behalf of that individual by an authorized agent of that individual, if the individual is deceased or incapacitated, such as—

“(i) an executor of estate of that individual; or

“(ii) a legal guardian or conservator of that individual;

“(2) that individual, or if applicable, an authorized agent of that individual, demonstrates that such individual—

“(A) was physically present in an affected area for a period of at least 2 years after January 1, 1949; and

“(B) contracted a specified disease after such period of physical presence;

“(3) the Attorney General certifies that the identity of that individual, and if applicable, the authorized agent of that individual, is not fraudulent or otherwise misrepresented; and

“(4) the Attorney General determines that the claimant has satisfied the applicable requirements of this Act.

“(b) LOSSES AVAILABLE TO LIVING AFFECTED INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the event of a claim qualifying for compensation under subsection (a) that is submitted to the Attorney General to be eligible for compensation under this section at a time when the individual described in subsection (a)(2) is living, the amount of compensation under this section shall be in an amount that is the greater of \$50,000 or the total amount of compensation for which the individual is eligible under paragraph (2).

“(2) LOSSES DUE TO MEDICAL EXPENSES.—A claimant described in paragraph (1) shall be eligible to receive, upon submission of contemporaneous written medical records, reports, or billing statements created by or at the direction of a licensed medical professional who provided contemporaneous medical care to the claimant, additional compensation in the amount of all documented out-of-pocket medical expenses incurred as a result of the specified disease suffered by that claimant, such as any medical expenses not covered, paid for, or reimbursed through—

“(A) any public or private health insurance;

“(B) any employee health insurance;

“(C) any workers’ compensation program; or

“(D) any other public, private, or employee health program or benefit.

“(3) LIMITATION.—No claimant is eligible to receive compensation under this subsection with respect to medical expenses unless the submissions described in paragraph (2) with respect to such expenses are submitted on or before December 31, 2028.

“(c) PAYMENTS TO BENEFICIARIES OF DECEASED INDIVIDUALS.—In the event that an individual described in subsection (a)(2) who qualifies for compensation under subsection (a) is deceased at the time of submission of the claim—

“(1) a surviving spouse may, upon submission of a claim and records sufficient to satisfy the requirements of subsection (a) with respect to the deceased individual, receive compensation in the amount of \$25,000; or

“(2) in the event that there is no surviving spouse, the surviving children, minor or otherwise, of the deceased individual may, upon submission of a claim and records sufficient to satisfy the requirements of subsection (a) with respect to the deceased individual, receive compensation in the total amount of \$25,000, paid in equal shares to each surviving child.

“(d) AFFECTED AREAS.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘affected area’ means—

“(1) in the State of Missouri, the ZIP Codes of 63031, 63033, 63034, 63042, 63045, 63074, 63114, 63135, 63138, 63044, 63121, 63140, 63145, 63147, 63102, 63304, 63134, 63043, 63341, 63368, and 63367;

“(2) in the State of Tennessee, the ZIP Codes of 37716, 37840, 37719, 37748, 37763, 37828, 37769, 37710, 37845, 37887, 37829, 37854, 37830, and 37831;

“(3) in the State of Alaska, the ZIP Codes of 99546 and 99547; and

“(4) in the State of Kentucky, the ZIP Codes of 42001, 42003, and 42086.

“(e) SPECIFIED DISEASE.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘specified disease’ means any of the following:

“(1) Any leukemia, provided that the initial exposure occurred after 20 years of age and the onset of the disease was at least 2 years after first exposure.

“(2) Any of the following diseases, provided that the onset was at least 2 years after the initial exposure:

“(A) Multiple myeloma.

“(B) Lymphoma, other than Hodgkin’s disease.

“(C) Primary cancer of the—

“(i) thyroid;

“(ii) male or female breast;

“(iii) esophagus;

“(iv) stomach;

“(v) pharynx;

“(vi) small intestine;

“(vii) pancreas;

“(viii) bile ducts;

“(ix) gall bladder;

“(x) salivary gland;

“(xi) urinary bladder;

“(xii) brain;

“(xiii) colon;

“(xiv) ovary;

“(xv) bone;

“(xvi) renal;

“(xvii) liver, except if cirrhosis or hepatitis B is indicated; or

“(xviii) lung.

“(f) PHYSICAL PRESENCE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the Attorney General may not determine that a claimant has satisfied the requirements under subsection (a) unless demonstrated by submission of—

“(A) contemporaneous written residential documentation or at least 1 additional em-

ployer-issued or government-issued document or record that the claimant, for at least 2 years after January 1, 1949, was physically present in an affected area; or

“(B) other documentation determined by the Attorney General to demonstrate that the claimant, for at least 2 years after January 1, 1949, was physically present in an affected area.

“(2) TYPES OF PHYSICAL PRESENCE.—For purposes of determining physical presence under this section, a claimant shall be considered to have been physically present in an affected area if—

“(A) the claimant’s primary residence was in the affected area;

“(B) the claimant’s place of employment was in the affected area; or

“(C) the claimant attended school in the affected area.

“(g) DISEASE CONTRACTION IN AFFECTED AREAS.—For purposes of this section, the Attorney General may not determine that a claimant has satisfied the requirements under subsection (a) unless the claimant submits—

“(1) written medical records or reports created by or at the direction of a licensed medical professional, created contemporaneously with the provision of medical care to the claimant, that the claimant, after a period of physical presence in an affected area, contracted a specified disease; or

“(2) other documentation determined by the Attorney General to demonstrate that the claimant contracted a specified disease after a period of physical presence in an affected area.”

SEC. 10205. LIMITATIONS ON CLAIMS.

Section 8(a) of the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (Public Law 101-426; 42 U.S.C. 2210 note) is amended by striking “2 years after the date of enactment of the RECA Extension Act of 2022” and inserting “December 31, 2027”.

SA 2370. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . CHARGING LABOR ORGANIZATIONS FOR USE OF FEDERAL RESOURCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter IV of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after section 7135 the following:

“§ 7136. Charging labor organizations for use of Federal resources

“(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) AGENCY BUSINESS.—The term ‘agency business’ means work performed by employees on behalf of an agency or under the direction and control of the agency.

“(2) AGENCY RESOURCES PROVIDED FOR UNION USE.—The term ‘agency resources provided for union use’—

“(A) means the resources of an agency, other than the time of employees in a duty status, that such agency provides to labor representatives for purposes pertaining to matters covered by this chapter, including agency office space, parking space, equipment, and reimbursement for expenses incurred while on union time or otherwise performing non-agency business; and

“(B) does not include any resource to the extent that the resource is used for agency business.

“(3) LABOR ORGANIZATION.—Notwithstanding section 7103, the term ‘labor organi-

zation’ means a labor organization recognized as an exclusive representative of employees of an agency under this chapter or as a representative of agency employees under any system established by the Transportation Security Administration Administrator pursuant to section 111(d) of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (49 U.S.C. 44935 note).

“(4) HOURLY RATE OF PAY.—The term ‘hourly rate of pay’ means the total cost to an agency of employing an employee in a pay period or pay periods, including wages, salary, and other cash payments, agency contributions to employee health and retirement benefits, employer payroll tax payments, paid leave accruals, and the cost to the agency for other benefits, divided by the number of hours that employee worked in that pay period or pay periods.

“(5) LABOR REPRESENTATIVE.—The term ‘labor representative’ means an employee of an agency serving in any official or other representative capacity for a labor organization (including as any officer or steward of a labor organization) that is the exclusive representative of employees of such agency under this chapter or is the representative of employees under any system established by the Transportation Security Administration Administrator pursuant to section 111(d) of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (49 U.S.C. 44935 note).

“(6) UNION TIME.—The term ‘union time’ means the time an employee of an agency who is a labor representative for a labor organization spends performing non-agency business while on duty, either in service of that labor organization or otherwise acting in the capacity as an employee representative, including official time authorized under section 7131.

“(b) FEES FOR USE OF AGENCY RESOURCES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of each agency shall charge each labor organization recognized as an exclusive representative of employees of that agency a fee each calendar quarter for the use of the resources of that agency during that quarter.

“(2) FEE CALCULATION.—The amount of the fee the head of an agency charges a labor organization under paragraph (1) with respect to a calendar quarter shall be equal to the amount that is the sum of—

“(A) the value of the union time of each labor representative for that labor organization while employed by that agency in that quarter; and

“(B) the value of agency resources provided for union use to that labor organization by that agency in that quarter.

“(3) TIMING.—

“(A) NOTICE.—Not later than 30 days after the end of each calendar quarter, the head of each agency shall submit to each labor organization charged a fee by that agency head under paragraph (1) with respect to that calendar quarter a notice stating the amount of that fee.

“(B) DUE DATE.—Payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) is due not later than 60 days after the date on which the labor organization charged the fee receives a notice under subparagraph (A) with respect to that fee.

“(4) PAYMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) shall be made to the head of the agency that charged the fee.

“(B) TRANSFER TO GENERAL FUND.—The head of an agency shall transfer each payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) that the agency head receives to the general fund of the Treasury.

“(c) VALUE DETERMINATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of an agency charging a labor organization a fee under

subsection (b) shall determine the value of union time used by labor representatives and the value of agency resources provided for union use for the purposes of paragraph (2) of that subsection in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) VALUES.—For the purposes of paragraph (2) of subsection (b), with respect to a fee charged to a labor organization by the head of an agency under paragraph (1) of that subsection—

“(A) the value of the union time of a labor representative during a calendar quarter is equal to amount that is the product of the hourly rate of pay of that labor representative paid by that agency and the number of hours of union time of that labor representative during that calendar quarter during which that labor representative was on duty as an employee of that agency; and

“(B) that agency head shall determine the value of agency resources provided for union use during a calendar quarter using rates established by the General Services Administration, where applicable, or to the extent that those rates are inapplicable to the use of those resources, the market rate for the use of those resources, except that with respect to resources used for both agency business and for purposes pertaining to matters covered by this chapter, only the value of the portion of the use of those resources for the business of that labor organization shall be included.”.

SA 2371. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . CLOSURE AND SALE OF UNDERUTILIZED FEDERAL BUILDINGS.

(a) CONSOLIDATION; SALE.—

(1) CONSOLIDATION.—Not later than 18 months after the date of enactment of this Act, any Federal agency located within a Federal building described in paragraph (2) as of that date of enactment shall vacate the applicable Federal building and relocate to another Federal building.

(2) SALE.—Not later than 2 years after the vacancy of existing Federal agencies in accordance with paragraph (1), and subject to subsection (b)(2), the Administrator of General Services (referred to in this section as the “Administrator”) shall sell for fair market value at highest and best use the following Federal buildings:

(A) The Department of Agriculture South Building, located at 1400 Independence Avenue SW in Washington, DC.

(B) The Hubert H. Humphrey Federal Building, located at 200 Independence Avenue SW in Washington, DC.

(C) The Frances Perkins Federal Building, located at 200 Constitution Avenue NW in Washington, DC.

(D) The James V. Forrestal Building, located at 1000 Independence Avenue SW in Washington, DC.

(E) The Theodore Roosevelt Federal Building, located at 1900 E. Street NW in Washington, DC.

(F) The Robert C. Weaver Federal Building, located at 451 7th Street SW in Washington, DC.

(b) PROHIBITION ON FOREIGN OWNERSHIP.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection, the terms “beneficial owner”, “foreign entity”, and “foreign person” have the meanings given those terms in section 2 of the Secure

Federal LEASES Act (40 U.S.C. 585 note; Public Law 116–276).

(2) PROHIBITION.—In conducting the sale required under subsection (a)(2), the Administrator may not sell any Federal building described in that subsection to any foreign person, any foreign entity, or any entity of which a foreign person is a beneficial owner.

(c) NET PROCEEDS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Of the net proceeds received from the sale required under subsection (a)(2)—

(A) such amount as may be required to implement this section, as determined by the Administrator, shall be deposited into an account in the Federal Buildings Fund established by section 592(a) of title 40, United States Code (referred to in this subsection as the “Fund”); and

(B) any additional amounts after the deposit required under subparagraph (A) shall be deposited into the general fund of the Treasury for purposes of reducing the deficit.

(2) FUTURE APPROPRIATION.—On deposit of amounts into the Fund under paragraph (1)(A), those amounts may be expended only subject to a specific future appropriation.

(d) PROHIBITION ON ADDITIONAL PROPERTY ACQUISITION.—No other building or property may be purchased or leased by the Administrator or any Federal agency or department on a short-term or long-term basis as part of the closing or consolidation of the Federal agencies impacted by the sale required under subsection (a)(2).

(e) EXEMPTION FROM CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS.—The sale required under subsection (a)(2) shall be exempt from the requirements of—

(1) section 501 of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 11411);

(2) the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.);

(3) division A of subtitle III of title 54, United States Code (formerly known as the “National Historic Preservation Act”); and

(4) chapters 5 and 87 of title 40, United States Code.

SA 2372. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . ENDING UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS TO JOBLESS MILLIONAIRES.

(a) PROHIBITION ON USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—No Federal funds may be used—

(A) to make payments of unemployment compensation benefits under an unemployment compensation program of the United States in a year to an individual whose wages during the individual’s base period are equal to or exceed \$1,000,000; or

(B) for any administrative costs associated with making payments described in subparagraph (A).

(2) COMPLIANCE.—

(A) SELF-CERTIFICATION.—Any application for unemployment compensation under an unemployment compensation program of the United States shall include a form or procedure for an individual applicant to certify that such individual’s wages during the individual’s base period do not equal or exceed \$1,000,000.

(B) VERIFICATION.—Each State agency that is responsible for administering any unemployment compensation program of the

United States shall utilize available systems to verify wage eligibility by assessing claimant income to the degree possible.

(3) RECOVERY OF OVERPAYMENTS.—Each State agency that is responsible for administering any unemployment compensation program of the United States shall require individuals who have received amounts of unemployment compensation under such a program to which they were not entitled to repay such amounts.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The prohibition under paragraph (1) shall apply to weeks of unemployment beginning on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(b) UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION PROGRAM OF THE UNITED STATES DEFINED.—In this section, the term “unemployment compensation program of the United States” means—

(1) unemployment compensation for Federal civilian employees under subchapter I of chapter 85 of title 5, United States Code;

(2) unemployment compensation for ex-servicemembers under subchapter II of chapter 85 of title 5, United States Code;

(3) extended benefits under the Federal-State Extended Unemployment Compensation Act of 1970 (26 U.S.C. 3304 note);

(4) any Federal temporary extension of unemployment compensation;

(5) any Federal program that increases the weekly amount of unemployment compensation payable to individuals; and

(6) any other Federal program providing for the payment of unemployment compensation, as determined by the Secretary of Labor.

SA 2373. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . REPEAL AND RESCISSION OF FUNDS.

The unobligated balances of amounts appropriated or otherwise made available by sections 70002 and 70003 of Public Law 117–169 (commonly referred to as the “Inflation Reduction Act”), as of the date of enactment of this Act are rescinded.

SA 2374. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . QUALITY CONTROL ZERO TOLERANCE.

Section 16(c)(1)(A)(ii) of the Food and Nutrition Act 25 of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2025(c)(1)(A)(ii)) is amended—

(1) in subclause (I), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in subclause (II)—

(A) by striking “fiscal year thereafter” and inserting “of fiscal years 2015 through 2025”; and

(B) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(III) for each fiscal year thereafter, \$0.”.

SA 2375. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by

him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title II, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS FOR CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS.

None of the funds appropriated by this title may be made available for classified programs.

SA 2376. Mr. KAINÉ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Beginning on page 499, strike line 4 and all that follows through page 579, line 16, and insert the following:

SEC. ____ . ADJUSTMENT TO CORPORATE TAX RATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) is amended by striking “21 percent” and inserting “25 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2377. Mr. KAINÉ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike subtitle A of title I.

Strike chapter 1 of subtitle B of title VII.

Strike section 70106 and insert the following:

SEC. 70106. MODIFICATIONS TO INCOME TAX RATES.

(a) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (G) and by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

“(F) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), in prescribing the tables under this subsection for purposes of paragraph (3)(B)—

“(i) the excess of taxable income over \$1,000,000 (\$500,000, in the case of married individuals filing separate returns), if any, shall be taxed at a rate of 39.6 percent, and

“(ii) paragraph (3)(B)(i) shall be applied with respect to such \$1,000,000 and \$500,000 amounts by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2017.’”

(b) ADJUSTMENT TO CORPORATE TAX RATE.—Section 11(b) is amended by striking “21 percent” and inserting “25 percent”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2378. Mr. KAINÉ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 20306(a)(6)(D) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40005(a)), strike the semicolon at the end and insert “; and”.

In section 20306(a)(6)(E) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40005(a)), strike “; and” and insert a period.

In section 20306(a)(6) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40005(a)), strike subparagraph (F).

SA 2379. Mr. KAINÉ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by

him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 20306(b)(3) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40005(a)), add at the end the following:

“(D) LIMITATION ON DESIGNATION OF NON-PROFIT ENTITY.—The Administrator may not designate, as the nonprofit entity to which the space vehicle identified under paragraph (1) is transferred, any entity that charges any amount of entrance fee or admission.

SA 2380. Mr. KAINÉ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 20004(a)(6), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “long-range multi-service cruise missiles”.

In section 20004(a)(7), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “long-range multi-service cruise missiles”.

In section 20004(a)(31), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “unmanned aerial systems industrial base”.

In section 20004(a)(32), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative,” after “\$200,000,000”.

In section 20004(a)(33), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative,” after “\$400,000,000”.

In section 20004(a)(56), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “counter-unmanned aerial systems programs”.

In section 20004(a)(57), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “non-kinetic counter-unmanned aerial systems programs”.

In section 20004(a)(58), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “land-based counter-unmanned aerial systems programs”.

In section 20004(a)(67), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “precision extended-range artillery”.

In section 20005(a)(2), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “small unmanned aerial system industrial base”.

In section 20005(a)(20), insert “, of which 25 percent shall be aligned with the European Deterrence Initiative” after “low-cost cruise missiles”.

SA 2381. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 71108.

SA 2382. Ms. HIRONO (for herself, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. KAINÉ, Mr. REED, and Mr. PETERS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70411.

SA 2383. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 397, strike lines 15 through 20 and insert the following:

“(2) QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘qualified contribution’ means a charitable contribution (as defined by section 170(c)) to a scholarship granting organization in the form of cash.

SA 2384. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60005 (relating to repeal of funding to address air pollution at schools).

In section 60026(a), strike “\$256,657,000” and insert “\$242,657,000”.

SA 2385. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50101(a), strike the subsection designation and heading and all that follows through “Subsection (e)” in paragraph (2) and insert the following:

(a) REPEAL OF INFLATION REDUCTION ACT PROVISION.—Subsection (e)

In section 50102, strike subsection (d).

In section 50102, redesignate subsection (e) as subsection (d).

Strike section 50103.

Strike section 50202.

In section 50402(b)(2), strike subparagraphs (B) through (D).

In section 50402(b)(2), redesignate subparagraphs (E) through (H) as subparagraphs (B) through (E), respectively.

Strike section 50403.

SA 2386. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10604(f) and insert the following:

(f) RESEARCH FACILITIES ACT.—Section 6 of the Research Facilities Act (7 U.S.C. 390d) is amended—

(1) in subsection (c), by striking “subsection (a)” and inserting “subsections (a) and (e)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) MANDATORY FUNDING.—Subject to subsections (b), (c), and (d), of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Secretary shall make available to carry out the competitive grant program under section 4 \$1,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter.”

SA 2387. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to

amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 90001, strike “\$46,550,000,000” and insert “16,550,000,000”.

At the end of subtitle B of title IX, insert the following:

SEC. 901. RURAL MAIL SERVICE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the United States Postal Service \$30,000,000,000 for expenses to maintain rural mail service, to remain available for 10 years.

SA 2388. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . LEGAL TENDER.

Section 5103 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following: “The USD1 stablecoin of World Liberty Financial is not legal tender.”.

SA 2389. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . AMENDMENT.

Section 5(d) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1815(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) TBTF FEE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Whenever the Deposit Insurance Fund reserve ratio is below 2 percent, any insured depository institution with more than \$700,000,000 in assets shall pay an annual fee of 10 basis points multiplied by its total liabilities, in addition to the generally applicable fees required by rule under this section.

“(B) DELAY.—If the Corporation finds that imposing the fee described in subparagraph (A) would undermine the safety and soundness of the banking system, the Corporation may delay the imposition of the fee by 1 year.”.

SA 2390. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 100001(a), insert “who are not unaccompanied alien children (as defined in section 462(g)(2) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g)(2)))” after “aliens”.

Strike section 100005.

SA 2391. Ms. WARREN (for herself, Mr. MURPHY, Ms. SMITH, and Mr. SCHIFF) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . EXTENSION OF ENHANCED PREMIUM TAX CREDITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(b)(3)(A)(iii) is amended—

(1) by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”, and

(2) by striking “2021 THROUGH 2025” in the heading and inserting “YEARS AFTER 2020”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. . ADJUSTMENT TO CORPORATE TAX RATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) is amended by striking “21 percent” and inserting “24 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2392. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . PROHIBITION.

(a) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term “large online platform”—

(1) means a social media platform, an online search engine, an online marketplace, or an online communication platform that averages more than 10,000,000 unique users on a monthly basis or has more than 10,000,000 user accounts;

(2) includes all parents, subsidiaries, and affiliates of the entity; and

(3) does not include a platform that only permits users to interact via a predetermined set of phrases, emoticons, or nonlinguistic symbols.

(b) PROHIBITION.—Large online platforms shall not issue any liability with a maturity of less than 1 year, including any form of debt that is demandable.

SA 2393. Ms. WARREN (for herself and Mr. REED) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title III, insert the following:

SEC. 3. PROHIBITION ON USE OF AMOUNTS APPROPRIATED FOR THE DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT OF 1950 FOR THE PERSONAL BENEFIT OF THE PRESIDENT.

Section 303 of the Defense Production Act of 1950 (50 U.S.C. 4533) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(h) PROHIBITION ON USE OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR PRESIDENT’S BENEFIT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—No amounts appropriated to carry out this Act may be obligated or expended—

“(A) to refurbish, modify, upgrade, or make repairs to any aircraft provided as a gift by the Government of Qatar for the use of the President of the United States; or

“(B) to support any entity, project, or contract in which the President or the family of the President have a direct or indirect financial interest.

“(2) NOTIFICATION REQUIRED.—The President shall notify Congress not later than 15 business days after the obligation or expenditure of any amounts appropriated to carry out this Act.”.

SA 2394. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by

her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . STOCKHOLDER DIVIDENDS.

Section 7(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Reserve Act (12 U.S.C. 289(a)(1)) is amended by striking clause (i) and inserting the following:

“(i) in the case of a stockholder with total consolidated assets of more than \$10,000,000,000, the rate equal to the high yield of the 2-year Treasury note auctioned at the last auction held prior to the payment of such dividend; and”.

SA 2395. Ms. WARREN (for herself and Ms. HIRONO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . PROHIBITION.

The Director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency and the Commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration may not increase guarantee fees or mortgage insurance premiums during fiscal years 2025 through 2030, except—

(1) for loans used to finance second home or vacation home transactions; or

(2) if the borrower is a private equity fund.

SA 2396. Ms. WARREN (for herself and Ms. HIRONO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . PROHIBITION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Department of the Treasury shall not sell in whole or in part its share of senior preferred stocks in Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac until—

(1) the Comptroller General—

(A) completes a study on the impact that ending conservatorship or the end of an explicit government guarantee of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac would have on the cost of mortgage lending, homeownership, and multifamily housing development; and

(B) presents the findings of such study to Congress;

(2) the President issues a public plan; and

(3) the Director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency and the 4 members of the Federal Housing Finance Oversight Board established under section 1313A of the Federal Housing Enterprises Financial Safety and Soundness Act of 1992 (12 U.S.C. 4513a) testify on the plan required in paragraph (2) before the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Financial Services of the House of Representatives.

(b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this section may be construed to authorize the Department of the Treasury to sell in whole or in part its share of senior preferred stocks in Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac.

SA 2397. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . MANDATORY REPORTING WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN HEALTH-RELATED OWNERSHIP INFORMATION.

Part A of title XI of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1301 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 1150D. MANDATORY REPORTING WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN HEALTH-RELATED OWNERSHIP INFORMATION.

“(a) MANDATORY REPORTING WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN HEALTH-RELATED OWNERSHIP INFORMATION.—

“(1) REPORTING.—Not later than January 1, 2026 (or in the case of a specified entity formed after January 1, 2026, not later than 60 days after formation of the specified entity), and each year thereafter, each specified entity shall submit to the Secretary of Health and Human Services, in a form and manner specified by the Secretary, a report containing the following information, subject to paragraph (3)(B):

“(A) Data on mergers, acquisitions, changes in ownership, changes in control, transactions to form new affiliations, changes in partnerships, joint ventures, and/or management services agreements, to which such specified entity is a party for the previous 1-year period, including—

“(i) the primary reason the reporting entity completed the acquisition; and

“(ii) a description of how the acquirer obtained control of the acquiree, and the percentage of ownership acquired (i.e., voting equity interests).

“(B) As applicable, the name, address, tax or health plan identification numbers (including, without limitation, the tax identification number, National Association of Insurance Commissioners identification number, State insurance identification number, Medicare provider number, and the standard unique health identifier (as described in section 1173(b)) of all health care providers within the specified entity that furnish items or services.

“(C) Business structure of any controlling entity, including the business type and the tax identification number of such entity, other affiliates under common control, subsidiaries, and management services entities of such specified entity, as of the date of the submission of this report.

“(D) Information relating to—

“(i) the debt-to-earnings ratio of the specified entity;

“(ii) the amount of debt incurred—

“(I) by each hospital or separate entity within the health system; and

“(II) by the entire specified entity;

“(iii) real estate leases and purchases for property used, or intended to be used, to furnish or otherwise support the provision of health care services, including expenditures on rents and maintenance, property taxes paid, and the name of the company leased from;

“(iv) details of other companies' revenue sharing arrangement;

“(v) fees charged or dividends paid to investors;

“(vi) in the case of a non-profit hospital, a subsidiary of a non-profit hospital, or a 501(c)(3) entity that shares common ownership with a non-profit hospital, capital gains investments (disaggregated by the type of investment) and any taxes paid on such gains from such investments; and

“(vii) information with respect to any controlling entity of such specified entity.

“(E) The value of quality payments received for performance under any value-based or other performance-based program such as the shared savings program under section 1899.

“(F) Any other information with respect to ownership or control of a specified entity, as determined by the Secretary.

“(G) Any changes to the health care providers within the specified entity that furnish items or services during the previous 1-year period, identified by the National Provider identifier described in section 1173(b).

“(H) The domicile and business registration information for any controlling entity or subsidiary of such controlling entity that is domiciled outside of the United States.

“(2) AVOIDING DUPLICATE REPORTING.—If a specified entity is owned or controlled by an entity described in subparagraph (G) of subsection (e)(8), only the entity described in such subparagraph (G) shall be required to submit reports under this subsection with respect to such entity and any specified entity owned or controlled by the entity.

“(3) AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC REPORTING.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than January 1, 2027, and annually thereafter, subject to subparagraph (B), the Secretary shall post on a publicly available website of the Department of Health and Human Services the information reported under this subsection with respect to the previous 1-year period for which the information was collected.

“(B) REQUIREMENT.—In making information reported under this subsection publicly available under subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall do so in a manner that does not disclose any personally identifiable information of any individual provider of services or supplier.

“(b) AUDITS.—The Secretary shall conduct an annual audit consisting of a random sample of specified entities to verify compliance with the requirements of this section and the accuracy of information submitted pursuant to this section.

“(c) PENALTY FOR FAILURE TO REPORT.—If a specified entity fails to provide a complete report under subsection (a), or submits a report containing false information, such entity shall be subject to a civil monetary penalty of not more than \$5,000,000 for each such report not provided or containing false information. Such penalty shall be imposed and collected in the same manner as civil money penalties under subsection (a) of section 1128A are imposed and collected under that section.

“(d) INAPPLICABILITY OF PAPERWORK REDUCTION ACT.—Chapter 35 of title 44, United States Code, shall not apply to collections of information made under this section.

“(e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) CONTROL.—The term ‘control’ means the direct or indirect power through ownership, contractual agreement, or otherwise—

“(A) to vote more than 5 percent of any class of voting securities of a specified entity; or

“(B) to direct the actions of the specified entity.

“(2) CONTROLLING ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘controlling entity’ means, with respect to any specified entity, a parent company or other entity that owns or controls the specified entity through ownership, contractual agreement, or otherwise.

“(B) INCLUSION OF REITS.—Such term includes, with respect to a specified entity, a real estate investment trust (as defined in section 856 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) that owns property where the specified entity furnishes health care items or services.

“(3) HEALTH PLAN.—The term ‘health plan’ has the meaning given such term in section 1128C(c).

“(4) HEALTH SYSTEM.—The term ‘health system’ means a group of health care organizations (such as physician practices, hos-

pitals, skilled nursing facilities) that are jointly owned or managed.

“(5) HOSPITAL.—The term ‘hospital’ has the meaning given such term in section 1861(e).

“(6) INDEPENDENT FREESTANDING EMERGENCY DEPARTMENT.—The term ‘independent freestanding emergency department’ has the meaning given such term in section 2799A-1(a)(3)(D) of the Public Health Service Act.

“(7) PRIVATE FUND.—The term ‘private fund’ means a corporation that—

“(A) would be considered an investment company under section 3 of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a-3) but for the application of paragraph (1) or (7) of subsection (c) of such section 3;

“(B) is not a venture capital fund, as defined in section 275.203(1)-1 of title 17, Code of Federal Regulations, as in effect on the date of enactment of this section; and

“(C) is not an institution selected under section 107 of the Community Development Banking and Financial Institutions Act of 1994 (12 U.S.C. 4706).

“(8) SPECIFIED ENTITY.—The term ‘specified entity’ means—

“(A) a hospital or health system;

“(B) a physician-owned physician practice (other than a practice described in subparagraph (C)) that is enrolled in the Medicare program under title XVIII under section 1866(j);

“(C) a physician practice owned, controlled, under common control, or under management agreement by a hospital, health system, a health plan, a private fund, a venture capital fund, a public or private corporation, or any subsidiaries or entities under common control thereof;

“(D) an ambulatory surgical center meeting the standards specified under section 1832(a)(2)(F)(i);

“(E) an independent freestanding emergency department;

“(F) a behavioral health treatment facility, a hospice program (as defined in section 1861(dd)(2)), a home health agency, a provider of services or renal dialysis facility that furnishes renal dialysis services, or an assisted living facility;

“(G) any other entity specified by the Secretary that furnishes health care items and services; and

“(H) any entity that owns or controls 1 or more specified entities.

“(9) VENTURE CAPITAL FUND.—The term ‘venture capital fund’ has the meaning given in section 275.203(1)-1 of title 17, Code of Federal Regulations.”

SA 2398. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 30003.

SA 2399. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROHIBITION.

The Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Housing Finance Agency, and the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection shall reject any regulatory application, including for a license, charter, or product approval, submitted by a financial institution owned or controlled, directly

or indirectly, by the President or the immediate family of the President.

SA 2400. Ms. WARREN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . PROHIBITION.

The President shall not own or control, directly or indirectly, any entity that engages in activities subject to the supervisory, regulatory, or enforcement jurisdiction of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Housing Finance Agency, or the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.

SA 2401. Mrs. BLACKBURN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . PROHIBITING FEDERAL FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION UNDER MEDICAID AND CHIP FOR INDIVIDUALS WITHOUT VERIFIED CITIZENSHIP, NATIONALITY, OR SATISFACTORY IMMIGRATION STATUS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) MEDICAID.—Section 1903(i)(22) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(i)(22)) is amended—

(A) by adding “and” at the end;

(B) by striking “to amounts” and inserting “to—

“(A) amounts”;

(C) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) in the case that the State elects under section 1902(a)(46)(C) to provide for making medical assistance available to an individual during—

“(i) the period in which the individual is provided the reasonable opportunity to present satisfactory documentary evidence of citizenship or nationality under section 1902(ee)(2)(C) or subsection (x)(4);

“(ii) the 90-day period described in section 1902(ee)(1)(B)(ii)(II); or

“(iii) the period in which the individual is provided the reasonable opportunity to submit evidence indicating a satisfactory immigration status under section 1137(d)(4), amounts expended for such medical assistance, unless the citizenship or nationality of such individual or the satisfactory immigration status of such individual (as applicable) is verified by the end of such period.”

(2) CHIP.—Section 2107(e)(1)(O) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397gg(e)(1)(O)), as redesignated by section 71103(b)(1)(A), is amended by striking “and (17)” and inserting “(17), and (22)”.

(b) ELIMINATING STATE REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE MEDICAL ASSISTANCE DURING REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY PERIOD.—

(1) DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF CITIZENSHIP OR NATIONALITY.—Section 1903(x)(4) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396b(x)) is amended—

(A) by striking “under clauses (i) and (ii) of section 1137(d)(4)(A)” and inserting “under section 1137(d)(4)”;

(B) by inserting “, except that the State shall not be required to make medical assist-

ance available to such individual during the period in which such individual is provided such reasonable opportunity if the State has not elected the option under section 1902(a)(46)(C)” before the period at the end.

(2) SOCIAL SECURITY DATA MATCH.—Section 1902(ee) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(ee)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)(B)(ii)—

(i) in subclause (II), by striking “(and continues to provide the individual with medical assistance during such 90-day period)” and inserting “and, if the State has elected the option under subsection (a)(46)(C), continues to provide the individual with medical assistance during such 90-day period”;

(ii) in subclause (III), by inserting “, or denies eligibility for medical assistance under this title for such individual, as applicable” after “under this title”;

(B) in paragraph (2)(C)—

(i) by striking “under clauses (i) and (ii) of section 1137(d)(4)(A)” and inserting “under section 1137(d)(4)”;

(ii) by inserting “, except that the State shall not be required to make medical assistance available to such individual during the period in which such individual is provided such reasonable opportunity if the State has not elected the option under section 1902(a)(46)(C)” before the period at the end.

(3) INDIVIDUALS WITH SATISFACTORY IMMIGRATION STATUS.—Section 1137(d)(4) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320b-7(d)(4)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by inserting “(except that such prohibition on delay, denial, reduction, or termination of eligibility for benefits under the Medicaid program under title XIX shall apply only if the State has elected the option under section 1902(a)(46)(C))” after “has been provided”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)(ii), by inserting “(except that such prohibition on delay, denial, reduction, or termination of eligibility for benefits under the Medicaid program under title XIX shall apply only if the State has elected the option under section 1902(a)(46)(C))” after “status”.

(c) OPTION TO CONTINUE PROVIDING MEDICAL ASSISTANCE DURING REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY PERIOD.—

(1) MEDICAID.—Section 1902(a)(46) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396a(a)(46)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (B)(ii), by adding “and” at the end; and

(C) by inserting after subparagraph (B)(ii) the following new subparagraph:

“(C) provide, at the option of the State, for making medical assistance available—

“(i) to an individual described in subparagraph (B) during the period in which such individual is provided the reasonable opportunity to present satisfactory documentary evidence of citizenship or nationality under subsection (ee)(2)(C) or section 1903(x)(4), or during the 90-day period described in subsection (ee)(1)(B)(ii)(II); or

“(ii) to an individual who is not a citizen or national of the United States during the period in which such individual is provided the reasonable opportunity to submit evidence indicating a satisfactory immigration status under section 1137(d)(4)”.

(2) CHIP.—Section 2105(c)(9) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1397ee(c)(9)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) OPTION TO CONTINUE PROVIDING CHILD HEALTH ASSISTANCE DURING REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY PERIOD.—Section 1902(a)(46)(C) shall apply to States under this title in the same manner as it applies to a State under title XIX.”

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply beginning on October 1, 2026.

SA 2402. Mr. RISCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title IV, insert the following:

SEC. 4 _____ . REPEAL OF CERTAIN LAWS RELATED TO SWITCHBLADE KNIVES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Act entitled “An Act to prohibit the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, into interstate commerce of switchblade knives, and for other purposes”, approved August 12, 1958 (15 U.S.C. 1241 et seq.) (commonly known as the “Federal Switchblade Act”) is amended by striking sections 1 through 4.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) BALLISTIC KNIVES.—Section 7 of the Act entitled “An Act to prohibit the introduction, or manufacture for introduction, into interstate commerce of switchblade knives, and for other purposes”, approved August 12, 1958 (15 U.S.C. 1245) is amended—

(A) by striking subsection (c) and inserting the following:

“(c) EXCEPTIONS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to—

“(1) any common carrier or contract carrier, with respect to any ballistic knife shipped, transported, or delivered for shipment in interstate commerce in the ordinary course of business;

“(2) the manufacture, sale, transportation, distribution, possession, or introduction into interstate commerce, of ballistic knives pursuant to contract with the Armed Forces; or

“(3) the Armed Forces or any member or employee thereof acting in the performance of his duty.”;

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(e) INTERSTATE COMMERCE DEFINED.—As used in this section, the term ‘interstate commerce’ means commerce between any State, Territory, possession of the United States, or the District of Columbia, and any place outside thereof.”

(2) POSTAL SERVICE.—Chapter 83 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(A) in section 1716—

(i) by striking subsection (g), and inserting the following:

“(g)(1) All ballistic knives are nonmailable and shall not be deposited in or carried by the mails or delivered by any officer or employee of the Postal Service. Such knives may be conveyed in the mails, under such regulations as the Postal Service shall prescribe—

“(A) to civilian or Armed Forces supply or procurement officers and employees of the Federal Government ordering, procuring, or purchasing such knives in connection with the activities of the Federal Government;

“(B) to supply or procurement officers of the National Guard, the Air National Guard, or militia of a State ordering, procuring, or purchasing such knives in connection with the activities of such organizations;

“(C) to supply or procurement officers or employees of any State, or any political subdivision of a State or Territory, ordering, procuring, or purchasing such knives in connection with the activities of such government; and

“(D) to manufacturers of such knives or bona fide dealers therein in connection with any shipment made pursuant to an order from any person designated in subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C).

“(2) The Postal Service may require, as a condition of conveying any ballistic knife in the mails, that any person proposing to mail a ballistic knife explain in writing to the satisfaction of the Postal Service that the mailing of the ballistic knife will not be in violation of this section.

“(3) As used in this subsection, the term ‘ballistic knife’ means a knife with a detachable blade that is propelled by a spring-operated mechanism.”;

(ii) by striking subsection (i); and
(iii) by redesignating subsections (j) and (k) as subsections (i) and (j), respectively; and

(B) in section 1716E(i), by striking “section 1716(k)” and inserting “section 1716(j)”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The repeals made by this section—

(1) shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act; and

(2) shall not apply with respect to any indictment, conviction, sentencing, appeal, civil or criminal fine or penalty obtained, forfeiture obtained, term of imprisonment, or any other enforcement action or proceeding occurring or commenced before the date of the enactment of this Act.

SA 2403. Mr. RISCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 50302(a)(3), add the following:

(D) USE OF PROCEEDS.—Of the monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under this paragraph and deposited in the general fund of the Treasury, 25 percent shall be distributed in accordance with the Act of May 23, 1908 (commonly known as the “Forest Reserve Revenue Act of 1908”) (35 Stat. 260, chapter 192; 16 U.S.C. 500).

SA 2404. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike subsection (g) of section 70606 and insert the following:

(g) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The provisions of this section shall apply to aid, assistance, and advice provided after July 1, 2021.

(2) LIMITATION ON CREDITS AND REFUNDS.—Subsection (d) shall apply to credits and refunds allowed or made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(3) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON ASSESSMENT.—The amendment made by subsection (e) shall apply to assessments made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(4) AMENDMENT TO PENALTY FOR ERRONEOUS CLAIM FOR REFUND OR CREDIT.—The amendment made by subsection (f) shall apply to claims for credit or refund after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(h) INCREASE IN ASSESSABLE PENALTY ON COVID-ERTC PROMOTERS FOR AIDING AND ABETTING UNDERSTATEMENTS OF TAX LIABILITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—If any COVID-ERTC promoter is subject to penalty under section 6701(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to any COVID-ERTC document, notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2) of

section 6701(b) of such Code, the amount of the penalty imposed under such section 6701(a) shall be the greater of—

(A) \$200,000 (\$10,000, in the case of a natural person), or

(B) 75 percent of the gross income derived (or to be derived) by such promoter with respect to the aid, assistance, or advice referred to in section 6701(a)(1) of such Code with respect to such document.

(2) NO INFERENCE.—Paragraph (1) shall not be construed to create any inference with respect to the proper application of the knowledge requirement of section 6701(a)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(i) FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH DUE DILIGENCE REQUIREMENTS TREATED AS KNOWLEDGE FOR PURPOSES OF ASSESSABLE PENALTY FOR AIDING AND ABETTING UNDERSTATEMENT OF TAX LIABILITY.—In the case of any COVID-ERTC promoter, the knowledge requirement of section 6701(a)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be treated as satisfied with respect to any COVID-ERTC document with respect to which such promoter provided aid, assistance, or advice, if such promoter fails to comply with the due diligence requirements referred to in subsection (c)(1).

(j) ASSESSABLE PENALTIES FOR FAILURE TO DISCLOSE INFORMATION, MAINTAIN CLIENT LISTS, ETC.—For purposes of sections 6111, 6112, 6707 and 6708 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986—

(1) any COVID-related employee retention tax credit (whether or not the taxpayer claims such COVID-related employee retention tax credit) shall be treated as a listed transaction (and as a reportable transaction) with respect to any COVID-ERTC promoter if such promoter provides any aid, assistance, or advice with respect to any COVID-ERTC document relating to such COVID-related employee retention tax credit, and

(2) such COVID-ERTC promoter shall be treated as a material advisor with respect to such transaction.

SA 2405. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . REPORT.

Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate) shall submit to the Committee on Finance of the Senate and the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives an analysis of any legal authority within Federal law that allows for the buying or selling of tax credits issued to Native American tribal governments.

SA 2406. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10103.

SA 2407. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for rec-

onciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of chapter 2, add the following new section:

SEC. ____ . RULES PREVENTING TAXES ON TIPS MADE PERMANENT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 224, as added by this Act, is amended by striking subsection (h).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SA 2408. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . APPROPRIATIONS FOR A LOW-INCOME HOME ENERGY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Health and Human Services for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$30,000,000, to remain available until expended, to carry out the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Act of 1981 (42 U.S.C. 8621 through 8630).

SEC. ____ . REDUCTION OF APPROPRIATION FOR GARDEN OF HEROS.

Notwithstanding section 87001, the amount appropriated under that section shall be \$10,000,000.

SA 2409. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 90103.

SA 2410. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 90103 and insert the following:

SEC. 90103. APPROPRIATION FOR STAFFING FOR ADEQUATE FIRE AND EMERGENCY RESPONSE GRANT PROGRAM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the staffing for adequate fire and emergency response grant program under section 34 of the Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974 (15 U.S.C. 2229a).

SA 2411. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO (for herself and Mr. SCHATZ) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50402(b)(2), strike subparagraph (D).

In section 50402(b)(2), redesignate subparagraphs (E) through (H) as subparagraphs (D) through (G), respectively.

SA 2412. Ms. CORTEZ MASTO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50401, add at the end the following:

(d) LIMITATION ON IMPORT OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS FOR THE STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE.—Notwithstanding section 160 of the Energy Policy and Conservation Act (42 U.S.C. 6240), the Strategic Petroleum Reserve may not be filled with a petroleum product (as defined in section 3 of that Act (42 U.S.C. 6202)) imported from—

- (1) the People's Republic of China;
- (2) the Russian Federation;
- (3) the Islamic Republic of Iran;
- (4) the Democratic People's Republic of Korea;
- (5) the Republic of Cuba; or
- (6) the Syrian Arab Republic.

SA 2413. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____. CHARGING LABOR ORGANIZATIONS FOR USE OF FEDERAL RESOURCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter IV of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after section 7135 the following:

“§ 7136. Charging labor organizations for use of Federal resources

“(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) AGENCY BUSINESS.—The term ‘agency business’ means work performed by employees on behalf of an agency or under the direction and control of the agency.

“(2) AGENCY RESOURCES PROVIDED FOR UNION USE.—The term ‘agency resources provided for union use’—

“(A) means the resources of an agency, other than the time of employees in a duty status, that such agency provides to labor representatives for purposes pertaining to matters covered by this chapter, including agency office space, parking space, equipment, and reimbursement for expenses incurred while on union time or otherwise performing non-agency business; and

“(B) does not include any resource to the extent that the resource is used for agency business.

“(3) LABOR ORGANIZATION.—Notwithstanding section 7103, the term ‘labor organization’ means a labor organization recognized as an exclusive representative of employees of an agency under this chapter or as a representative of agency employees under any system established by the Transportation Security Administration Administrator pursuant to section 111(d) of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (49 U.S.C. 44935 note), except that the term does not include a labor organization, not less than 51 percent of the members of which are employees who are subject to mandatory separation under section 8335 or 8425.

“(4) HOURLY RATE OF PAY.—The term ‘hourly rate of pay’ means the total cost to an

agency of employing an employee in a pay period or pay periods, including wages, salary, and other cash payments, agency contributions to employee health and retirement benefits, employer payroll tax payments, paid leave accruals, and the cost to the agency for other benefits, divided by the number of hours that employee worked in that pay period or pay periods.

“(5) LABOR REPRESENTATIVE.—The term ‘labor representative’ means an employee of an agency serving in any official or other representative capacity for a labor organization (including as any officer or steward of a labor organization) that is the exclusive representative of employees of such agency under this chapter or is the representative of employees under any system established by the Transportation Security Administration Administrator pursuant to section 111(d) of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (49 U.S.C. 44935 note).

“(6) UNION TIME.—The term ‘union time’ means the time an employee of an agency who is a labor representative for a labor organization spends performing non-agency business while on duty, either in service of that labor organization or otherwise acting in the capacity as an employee representative, including official time authorized under section 7131.

“(b) FEES FOR USE OF AGENCY RESOURCES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of each agency shall charge each labor organization recognized as an exclusive representative of employees of that agency a fee each calendar quarter for the use of the resources of that agency during that quarter.

“(2) FEE CALCULATION.—The amount of the fee the head of an agency charges a labor organization under paragraph (1) with respect to a calendar quarter shall be equal to the amount that is the sum of—

“(A) the value of the union time of each labor representative for that labor organization while employed by that agency in that quarter; and

“(B) the value of agency resources provided for union use to that labor organization by that agency in that quarter.

“(3) TIMING.—

“(A) NOTICE.—Not later than 30 days after the end of each calendar quarter, the head of each agency shall submit to each labor organization charged a fee by that agency head under paragraph (1) with respect to that calendar quarter a notice stating the amount of that fee.

“(B) DUE DATE.—Payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) is due not later than 60 days after the date on which the labor organization charged the fee receives a notice under subparagraph (A) with respect to that fee.

“(4) PAYMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) shall be made to the head of the agency that charged the fee.

“(B) TRANSFER TO GENERAL FUND.—The head of an agency shall transfer each payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) that the agency head receives to the general fund of the Treasury.

“(c) VALUE DETERMINATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of an agency charging a labor organization a fee under subsection (b) shall determine the value of union time used by labor representatives and the value of agency resources provided for union use for the purposes of paragraph (2) of that subsection in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) VALUES.—For the purposes of paragraph (2) of subsection (b), with respect to a fee charged to a labor organization by the head of an agency under paragraph (1) of that subsection—

“(A) the value of the union time of a labor representative during a calendar quarter is equal to amount that is the product of the hourly rate of pay of that labor representative paid by that agency and the number of hours of union time of that labor representative during that calendar quarter during which that labor representative was on duty as an employee of that agency; and

“(B) that agency head shall determine the value of agency resources provided for union use during a calendar quarter using rates established by the General Services Administration, where applicable, or to the extent that those rates are inapplicable to the use of those resources, the market rate for the use of those resources, except that with respect to resources used for both agency business and for purposes pertaining to matters covered by this chapter, only the value of the portion of the use of those resources for the business of that labor organization shall be included.

“(3) PAYMENT REQUIRED.—The head of an agency may not forgive, reimburse, waive, or in any other manner reduce any fee charged under this section.”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for subchapter IV of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 7135 the following:

“7136. Charging labor organizations for use of Federal resources.”.

SA 2414. Ms. WARREN (for herself,

Mr. REED, Mr. WARNER, Mr. VAN

HOLLEN, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Ms.

SMITH, Mr. WARNOCK, Mr. KIM,

Mr. GALLEGO, Ms. BLUNT ROCH-

ESTER, and Ms. ALSOBROOKS) sub-

mitted an amendment intended

to be proposed to amendment SA

2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for

Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to

provide for reconciliation pursu-

ant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14;

which was ordered to lie on the

table; as follows:

Strike section 30001.

SA 2415. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70411.

SA 2416. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 40002(c)(3), add the following:

(C) CERTIFICATION.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall certify that reallocation of any specific frequencies identified for commercial use would not negatively impact the primary mission of the Department of Transportation.

SA 2417. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14;

which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by section 40002(b)(1), strike subparagraphs (A) and (B) and insert the following:

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(C) in any band of frequencies of which the Department of Transportation is the primary user, such authority shall not apply.”.

SA 2418. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 0002, strike subsections (a) through (e) and insert the following:

SEC. 0002. SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The term “Assistant Secretary” means the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

(2) COMMISSION.—The term “Commission” means the Federal Communications Commission.

(3) COVERED BAND.—The term “covered band”—

(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), means the band of frequencies between 1.3 gigahertz and 10.5 gigahertz; and

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz;

(ii) the band of frequencies between 5.895 gigahertz and 5.925 gigahertz; or

(iii) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz.

(4) FULL-POWER COMMERCIAL LICENSED USE CASES.—The term “full-power commercial licensed use cases” means flexible use wireless broadband services with base station power levels sufficient for high-power, high-density, and wide-area commercial mobile services, consistent with the service rules under part 27 of title 47, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulations, for wireless broadband deployments throughout the covered band.

(b) GENERAL AUCTION AUTHORITY.—

(1) AMENDMENT.—Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and inserting the following: “complete a system of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034, except that, with respect to the electromagnetic spectrum—

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 5.895 gigahertz and 5.925 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(C) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply.”.

(2) SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses through systems of competitive bidding, before the expiration of the general auction authority of the Commission under section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection, for not less than 300 megahertz across the en-

tire spectrum band, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz.

(c) IDENTIFICATION FOR REALLOCATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Assistant Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall identify 500 megahertz of frequencies in the covered band for reallocation to non-Federal use, shared Federal and non-Federal use, or a combination thereof, for full-power commercial licensed use cases, that—

(A) as of the date of enactment of this Act, are allocated for Federal use; and

(B) shall be in addition to the 300 megahertz of frequencies for which the Commission grants licenses under subsection (b)(2).

(2) SCHEDULE.—The Assistant Secretary shall identify the frequencies under paragraph (1) according to the following schedule:

(A) Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify not less than 200 megahertz of frequencies within the covered band.

(B) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify any remaining bandwidth required to be identified under paragraph (1).

(3) REQUIRED ANALYSIS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In determining under paragraph (1) which specific frequencies within the covered band to reallocate, the Assistant Secretary shall determine the feasibility of the reallocation of frequencies.

(B) REQUIREMENTS.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall assess net revenue potential, relocation or sharing costs, as applicable, and the feasibility of reallocating specific frequencies, with the goal of identifying the best approach to maximize net proceeds of systems of competitive bidding for the Treasury, consistent with section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)).

(d) AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses for the frequencies identified for reallocation under subsection (c) through systems of competitive bidding in accordance with the following schedule:

(1) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for not less than 200 megahertz of the frequencies.

(2) Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for any frequencies identified under subsection (c) that remain to be auctioned after compliance with paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(e) LIMITATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall modify or withdraw any frequency proposed for reallocation under this section not later than 60 days before the commencement of a system of competitive bidding scheduled by the Commission with respect to that frequency, if the President determines that such modification or withdrawal is necessary to protect the national security of the United States.

(2) RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.—

(A) Nothing in paragraph (1) may be construed to place any limit on the President to exercise the authority of the President under section 706 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 606).

(B) Nothing in this section may be construed to authorize—

(i) the withdrawal or modification of Federal spectrum allocations between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, between 5.895 gigahertz and 5.925 gigahertz, or between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz; or

(ii) non-Federal use of the frequencies described in clause (i).

SA 2419. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70415.

SA 2420. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70436.

SA 2421. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60021 and insert the following:

SEC. 60021. REPEAL OF FUNDING FOR LOW-CARBON MATERIALS FOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS; FUNDING FOR COVERED PROJECTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST.

(a) RESCISSION.—The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60503 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

(b) FUNDING FOR COVERED BORDER SECURITY PROJECTS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2028, to be deposited in the Federal Buildings Fund established by section 592(a) of title 40, United States Code, to be used consistent with the purposes described in section 60503(a) of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) for covered projects of national interest described in subsection (c).

(c) COVERED PROJECTS OF NATIONAL INTEREST DESCRIBED.—The covered projects of national interest referred to in subsection (b) are projects that the Administrator of General Services designates as supporting border security, the collection of tariffs,entanyl interdiction, and the operation of Federal courthouses and Federal Government operations outside the District of Columbia.

SA 2422. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60021 and insert the following:

SEC. 60021. REPEAL OF FUNDING FOR LOW-CARBON MATERIALS FOR FEDERAL BUILDINGS; FUNDING FOR COVERED BORDER SECURITY PROJECTS.

(a) **RESCISSION.**—The unobligated balances of amounts made available to carry out section 60503 of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) are rescinded.

(b) **FUNDING FOR COVERED BORDER SECURITY PROJECTS.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$991,169,534, to remain available until September 30, 2028, to be deposited in the Federal Buildings Fund established by section 592(a) of title 40, United States Code, to be used consistent with the purposes described in section 60503(a) of Public Law 117-169 (136 Stat. 2083) for covered border security projects described in subsection (c) in the amounts described in that subsection.

(c) **COVERED BORDER SECURITY PROJECTS DESCRIBED.**—The covered border security projects referred to in subsection (b) are each of the following:

- (1) \$45,200,000, for the Alcan LPOE modernization project in Alcan, Alaska.
- (2) \$120,000,000, for the Raul Hector Castro LPOE modernization project in Douglas, Arizona.
- (3) \$47,619,100, for the Denver Federal Center FDA Lab in Lakewood, Colorado.
- (4) \$11,200,000, for the Porthill LPOE modernization project in Porthill, Idaho.
- (5) \$18,700,000, for the Robert J. Dole United States Courthouse project in Kansas City, Kansas.
- (6) \$27,200,000 for the Frank Carlson Federal Building and United States Courthouse project in Topeka, Kansas.
- (7) \$4,436,097, for the Calais Ferry Point LPOE modernization project in Calais, Maine.
- (8) \$27,769,718, for the Coburn Gore LPOE modernization project in Coburn Gore, Maine.
- (9) \$8,869,718, for the Fort Fairfield LPOE modernization project in Fort Fairfield, Maine.
- (10) \$8,869,718, for Houlton LPOE repairs and alterations in Houlton, Maine.
- (11) \$5,169,718, for the Limestone LPOE modernization project in Limestone, Maine.
- (12) \$25,571,690, for the Grand Portage LPOE modernization project in Grand Portage, Minnesota.
- (13) \$74,000,000, for the International Falls LPOE modernization project in International Falls, Minnesota.
- (14) \$118,300,000, for the Charles E. Whitaker United States Courthouse project in Kansas City, Missouri.
- (15) \$8,500,000, for the Mike Mansfield Federal Building and United States Courthouse modernization project in Butte, Montana.
- (16) \$44,331,878, for the Robert V. Denney Federal Building and United States Courthouse repairs in Lincoln, Nebraska.
- (17) \$9,974,019, for the Trout River LPOE modernization project in Constable, New York.
- (18) \$11,581,413, for the Rouses Point LPOE modernization project in Rouses Point, New York.
- (19) \$20,615,632, for the Carl B. Stokes Courthouse Plaza repairs in Cleveland, Ohio.
- (20) \$37,170,333, for the Howard Metzenbaum Courthouse plaza repairs in Cleveland, Ohio.
- (21) \$3,700,000, for the John W. Bricker Federal Building parking lot and sidewalk repaving in Columbus, Ohio.
- (22) \$154,700,000, for the Bridge of the Americas LPOE project in El Paso, Texas.
- (23) \$310,000, for the Alburg Springs LPOE modernization project in Alburg Springs, Vermont.

(24) \$915,833, for the Beebe Plain LPOE modernization project in Beebe Plain, Vermont.

(25) \$49,927,750, for the Highgate Springs LPOE modernization project in Highgate Springs, Vermont.

(26) \$8,613,566, for the Norton LPOE modernization project in Norton, Vermont.

(27) \$9,200,000, for the Richford LPOE modernization project in Richford, Vermont.

(28) \$7,000,000, for the St. Albans Federal Building and Courthouse project in St. Albans, Vermont.

(29) \$29,100,000, for the Lynden (Kenneth G. Ward) LPOE modernization project in Lynden, Washington.

(30) \$15,900,000, for the Henry M. Jackson Federal Building modernization project in Seattle, Washington.

(31) \$45,700,000, for the Sumas LPOE modernization project in Sumas, Washington.

SA 2423. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40002, strike subsections (a) through (c)(1) and insert the following:

(a) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

(1) **ASSISTANT SECRETARY.**—The term “Assistant Secretary” means the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

(2) **COMMISSION.**—The term “Commission” means the Federal Communications Commission.

(3) **COVERED BAND.**—The term “covered band”—

(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), means the band of frequencies between 1.3 gigahertz and 10.5 gigahertz; and

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal; or

(ii) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal.

(b) **GENERAL AUCTION AUTHORITY.**—

(1) **AMENDMENT.**—Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and inserting the following: “complete a system of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034, except that, with respect to the electromagnetic spectrum—

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply.”.

(2) **SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.**—The Commission shall grant licenses through systems of competitive bidding, before the expiration of the general auction authority of the Commission under section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection, for not less than 300 megahertz across the entire spectrum band, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz.

(c) **IDENTIFICATION FOR REALLOCATION.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Assistant Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall identify 500 megahertz of frequencies in the covered band for reallocation to non-Federal use, shared Federal and non-Federal use, or a combination thereof, for commercial use cases, that—

(A) as of the date of enactment of this Act, are allocated for Federal use; and

(B) shall be in addition to the 300 megahertz of frequencies for which the Commission grants licenses under subsection (b)(2).

SA 2424. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40002(a)(3), strike subparagraph (B) and insert the following:

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal;

(ii) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal; or

(iii) any band of frequencies that the Commission has previously auctioned or licensed for terrestrial commercial or private use through a system of competitive bidding under section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)) or for shared use under part 96 of title 47, Code of Federal Regulations (or any successor regulations).

SA 2425. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

CHAPTER 7—ADDITIONAL TAX PROVISIONS

SEC. ____ . START-UP EXPENDITURES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 195(b) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)(A)(ii), by striking “\$5,000” and inserting “\$50,000”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (3).

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. ____ . RESTORATION OF PROGRESSIVE CORPORATE TAX RATE.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 11(b) is amended to read as follows:

“(b) **AMOUNT OF TAX.**—The amount of the tax imposed by subsection (a) shall be the sum of—

“(1) 21 percent of so much of the taxable income as does not exceed \$1,000,000,000, and

“(2) 30 percent of so much of the taxable income as exceeds \$1,000,000,000.”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2426. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 177, strike lines 15 through 23 and insert the following:

(a) REPEAL OF INFLATION REDUCTION ACT PROVISION.—Subsection

SA 2427. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 183, strike lines 5 and 6 and insert the following:

(3) by adding at the end the following:

On page 183, line 7, strike “(q)” and insert “(r)”.

SA 2428. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 71117 and insert the following:

SEC. 71117. ADJUSTMENT TO CORPORATE TAX RATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking “21 percent” and inserting “28 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2429. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VII, insert the following:

SEC. EXPANSION OF LOW-INCOME HOUSE TAX CREDIT.

(a) INCLUSION OF RURAL AREAS AS DIFFICULT DEVELOPMENT AREAS FOR PURPOSES OF CERTAIN BUILDINGS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 42(d)(5)(B)(iii)(I) is amended by inserting before the period the following: “, and, in the case of buildings placed in service after December 31, 2025, any rural area”.

(2) RURAL AREA.—Section 42(d)(5)(B)(iii) is amended by redesignating subclause (II) as subclause (III) and by inserting after subclause (I) the following new subclause:

“(II) RURAL AREA.—For purposes of subclause (I), the term ‘rural area’ means any rural area (as defined by section 520 of the Housing Act of 1949) and any non-metropolitan area.”

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to buildings placed in service after December 31, 2025.

(b) INCREASE IN CORPORATE TAX RATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) is amended to read as follows:

“(b) AMOUNT OF TAX.—The amount of the tax imposed by subsection (a) shall be the sum of—

“(1) 21 percent of so much of the taxable income as does not exceed \$100,000,000, and

“(2) 28 percent of so much of the taxable income as exceeds \$100,000,000.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2430. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. PREMIUM TAX CREDITS FOR DACA RECIPIENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 36B(e)(2)(B), as added by this Act, is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (ii)(V), by striking the period at the end of clause (iii) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iv) an alien who has been granted deferred action pursuant to the memorandum of the Department of Homeland Security entitled ‘Exercising Prosecutorial Discretion with Respect to Individuals Who Came to the United States as Children’ issued on June 15, 2012.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SA 2431. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

CHAPTER 7—ADDITIONAL TAX PROVISIONS

SEC. RESTORATION OF PROGRESSIVE CORPORATE TAX RATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) is amended to read as follows:

“(b) AMOUNT OF TAX.—The amount of the tax imposed by subsection (a) shall be the sum of—

“(1) 20 percent of so much of the taxable income as does not exceed \$1,000,000,

“(2) 21 percent of so much of the taxable income as exceeds \$1,000,000 but does not exceed \$100,000,000, and

“(3) 28 percent of so much of the taxable income as exceeds \$100,000,000.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2432. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 0012, add the following:

(c) DEADLINE FOR RELEASE OF FUNDS AFTER FINAL PROPOSAL APPROVED; CONDITIONS ON DEOBLIGATION.—Section 60102 of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702), as amended by this section, is amended—

(1) in subsection (e)(4)—

(A) in subparagraph (D)(ii)(III), by inserting after “shall” the following: “, not later than 30 days after approving the final proposal,”; and

(B) in subparagraph (E)(ii)(III), by inserting after “shall” the following: “, not later than 30 days after approving the final proposal,”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(s) LIMITS ON DEOBLIGATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The Assistant Secretary may not deobligate funds awarded to an eligible entity under subsection (g)(3)(B) unless the Inspector General of the Department of Commerce has—

“(A) completed an investigation into the alleged misconduct described in clause (i), (ii), or (iii) of that subsection that is the basis for the proposed deobligation; and

“(B) reported to the Assistant Secretary the findings of the Inspector General under subparagraph (A).

“(2) FUNDING.—From the portion of the amount appropriated under subsection (b)(5)(A) that is available to the Assistant Secretary for administrative purposes under subsection (d)(1), the Assistant Secretary shall transfer \$5,000,000 to the Inspector General of the Department of Commerce to carry out paragraph (1) of this subsection.”

SA 2433. Ms. ROSEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 40009.

Section 1181(11) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40001), is amended by striking “\$2,200,000,000” and inserting “\$2,050,000,000”.

SA 2434. Ms. ROSEN (for herself, Mr. SCHATZ, and Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. EXEMPTION FROM CERTAIN DUTIES FOR CRITICAL HOMEBUILDING MATERIALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Duties imposed pursuant to Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to critical homebuilding materials.

(b) COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF CRITICAL HOMEBUILDING MATERIALS.—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Commerce, in consultation with the United States Trade Representative, shall develop and submit to Congress a comprehensive list of critical homebuilding materials for purposes of subsection (a). That list shall include, at a minimum, lumber, aluminum, cement, and copper.

SA 2435. Mr. SANDERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of chapter 2 of title VII, insert the following:

SEC. 71205. PROVIDING COVERAGE FOR DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH CARE, HEARING CARE, AND VISION CARE UNDER MEDICARE.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This section may be cited as the “Medicare Dental, Hearing, and Vision Expansion Act of 2025”.

(b) **COVERAGE OF DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH CARE.**—

(1) **COVERAGE.**—Section 1861(s)(2) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(s)(2)) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (JJ), by adding “and” at the end; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(KK) dental and oral health services (as defined in subsection (nnn));”.

(2) **DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH SERVICES DEFINED.**—Section 1861 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(nnn) **DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH SERVICES.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the term ‘dental and oral health services’ means the following items and services that are furnished by a doctor of dental surgery or of dental medicine (as described in subsection (r)(2)) or an oral health professional (as defined in paragraph (3)) on or after January 1, 2028:

“(A) **PREVENTIVE AND SCREENING SERVICES.**—Preventive and screening services, including oral exams, dental cleanings, dental x-rays, and fluoride treatments.

“(B) **PROCEDURES AND TREATMENT SERVICES.**—Services to address oral disease, including services such as restorative services, prosthodontic and endodontic services, including fillings bridges, crowns, and root canals, periodontal maintenance, periodontal scaling and root planing, tooth extractions, therapeutic pulpotomy, and other related items and services.

“(C) **DENTURES AND DENTAL PROSTHETICS.**—Complete dentures, partial dentures, and implants, including related items and services.

“(2) **EXCLUSIONS.**—Such term does not include items and services for which, as of the date of the enactment of this subsection, coverage was permissible under section 1862(a)(12) and cosmetic services not otherwise covered under section 1862(a)(10).

“(3) **ORAL HEALTH PROFESSIONAL.**—The term ‘oral health professional’ means, with respect to dental and oral health services, a health professional (other than a doctor of dental surgery or of dental medicine (as described in subsection (r)(2))) who is licensed to furnish such services, acting within the scope of such license, by the State in which such services are furnished.”.

(3) **PAYMENT; COINSURANCE; AND LIMITATIONS.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1833(a)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395(a)(1)) is amended—

(i) in subparagraph (N), by inserting “and dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn))” after “section 1861(hhh)(1)”;

(ii) by striking “and” before “(HH)”;

(iii) by inserting before the semicolon at the end the following: “and (II) with respect to dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn)), the amount paid shall be the payment amount specified under section 1834(aa)”.

(B) **PAYMENT AND LIMITS SPECIFIED.**—Section 1834 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(aa) **PAYMENT AND LIMITS FOR DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH SERVICES.**—

“(1) **PAYMENT.**—The payment amount under this part for dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn))

shall be, subject to paragraphs (3) and (4), 80 percent (or 100 percent, in the case of preventive and screening services described in section 1861(nnn)(1)(A)) of the lesser of—

“(A) the actual charge for the service; or

“(B)(i) in the case of such services furnished by a doctor of dental surgery or of dental medicine (as described in section 1861(r)(2)), the amount determined under the fee schedule established under paragraph (2); or

“(ii) in the case of such services furnished by an oral health professional (as defined in section 1861(nnn)(3)), 85 percent of the amount determined under the fee schedule established under paragraph (2).

“(2) **ESTABLISHMENT OF FEE SCHEDULE FOR DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH SERVICES.**—

“(A) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall establish a fee schedule for dental and oral health services furnished in 2027 and subsequent years. The fee schedule amount for a dental or oral health service shall be equal to 70 percent of the national median fee (as determined under subparagraph (B)) for the service or a similar service for the year (or, in the case of dentures, at the bundled payment amount under clause (iv) of such subparagraph), adjusted by the geographic adjustment factor established under section 1848(e)(2) for the area for the year.

“(ii) **CONSULTATION.**—In carrying out this paragraph, the Secretary shall consult annually with organizations representing dentists and other providers who furnish dental and oral health services and shall share with such providers the data and data analysis used to determine fee schedule amounts under this paragraph.

“(B) **DETERMINATION OF NATIONAL MEDIAN FEE.**—

“(i) **IN GENERAL.**—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall apply the national median fee for a dental or oral health service for 2028 and subsequent years in accordance with this subparagraph.

“(ii) **USE OF 2020 DENTAL FEE SURVEY.**—

“(I) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in clause (iii) and clause (iv), the national median fee for a dental or oral health service shall be equal to—

“(aa) for 2028, the median fee for the service in the table titled ‘General Practitioners–National’ of the ‘2020 Survey of Dental Fees’ published by the American Dental Association, increased by the applicable percent increase for the year determined under subclause (II), as reduced by the productivity adjustment under subclause (III); and

“(bb) for 2029 and subsequent years, the amount determined under this subclause for the preceding year, updated pursuant to subparagraph (C)(i).

“(II) **APPLICABLE PERCENT INCREASE.**—The applicable percent increase determined under this subclause for a year is an amount equal to the percentage increase between—

“(aa) the consumer price index for all urban consumers (United States city average) ending with June of the previous year; and

“(bb) the consumer price index for all urban consumers (United States city average) ending with June of 2027.

“(III) **PRODUCTIVITY ADJUSTMENT.**—After determining the applicable percentage increase under subclause (II) for a year, the Secretary shall reduce such percentage increase by the productivity adjustment described in section 1886(b)(3)(B)(xi)(II).

“(iii) **DETERMINATION IF INSUFFICIENT SURVEY DATA.**—If the Secretary determines there is insufficient data under the Survey described in clause (i) with respect to a dental or oral health service, the national median fee for the service for a year shall be equal to an amount established for the service using

1 or more of the following methods, as determined appropriate by the Secretary:

“(I) The payment basis determined under section 1848.

“(II) Fee schedules for dental and oral health services which shall include, as practicable, fee schedules—

“(aa) under Medicare Advantage plans under part C;

“(bb) under State plans (or waivers of such plans) under title XIX; and

“(cc) established by other health care payers.

“(iv) **SPECIAL RULE FOR DENTURES.**—

“(I) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall make payment for dentures and associated professional services as a bundled payment as determined by the Secretary.

“(II) **PAYMENT CONSIDERATIONS.**—In establishing such bundled payment, the Secretary shall consider the national median fee for the service for the year determined under clause (i) or (ii) and the rate determined for such dentures under the Federal Supply Schedule of the General Services Administration, as published by such Administration in 2021, updated to the year involved using the applicable percent increase for the year determined under clause (ii)(II), as reduced by the productivity adjustment under clause (ii)(III), and shall ensure that the payment component for dentures under such bundled payment does not exceed the maximum rate determined for such dentures under the Federal Supply Schedule, as so published and updated to the year involved.

“(C) **ANNUAL UPDATE AND ADJUSTMENTS.**—

“(i) **ANNUAL UPDATE.**—The Secretary shall update payment amounts determined under the fee schedule from year to year beginning in 2029 by increasing such amounts from the prior year by the percentage increase in the consumer price index for all urban consumers (United States city average) for the 12-month period ending with June of the preceding year, reduced by the productivity adjustment described in section 1886(b)(3)(B)(xi)(II).

“(ii) **ADJUSTMENTS.**—

“(I) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall, to the extent the Secretary determines to be necessary and subject to subclause (II), adjust the amounts determined under the fee schedule established under this paragraph for 2029 and subsequent years to take into account changes in dental practice, coding changes, new data on work, practice, or malpractice expenses, or the addition of new procedures.

“(II) **LIMITATION ON ANNUAL ADJUSTMENTS.**—The adjustments under subclause (I) for a year shall not cause the amount of expenditures under this part for the year to differ by more than \$20,000,000 from the amount of expenditures under this part that would have been made if such adjustments had not been made.

“(3) **LIMITATIONS.**—With respect to dental and oral health services that are preventive and screening services described in paragraph (1)(A) of section 1861(nnn)—

“(A) payment shall be made under this part for—

“(i) not more than 2 oral exams in a year;

“(ii) not more than 2 dental cleanings in a year;

“(iii) not more than 1 fluoride treatment in a year; and

“(iv) not more than 1 full-mouth series of x-rays as part of a preventive and screening oral exam every 3 years; and

“(B) in the case of preventive and screening services not described in subparagraph (A), payment shall be made under this part only at such frequencies determined appropriate by the Secretary.

“(4) **INCENTIVES FOR RURAL PROVIDERS.**—In the case of dental and oral health services

furnished by a doctor of dental surgery or of dental medicine (as described in section 1861(r)(2)) or an oral health professional (as defined in section 1861(nnn)(3)) who predominantly furnishes such services under this part in an area that is designated by the Secretary (under section 332(a)(1)(A) of the Public Health Service Act) as a health professional shortage area, in addition to the amount of payment that would otherwise be made for such services under this subsection, there also shall be paid an amount equal to 10 percent of the payment amount for the service under this subsection for such doctor or professional.

“(5) LIMITATION ON BENEFICIARY LIABILITY.—The provisions of section 1848(g) shall apply to a nonparticipating doctor of dental surgery or of dental medicine (as described in section 1861(r)(2)) who does not accept payment on an assignment-related basis for dental and oral health services furnished with respect to an individual enrolled under this part in the same manner as such provisions apply with respect to a physician’s service.

“(6) ESTABLISHMENT OF DENTAL ADMINISTRATOR.—The Secretary shall designate 1 or more (not to exceed 4) medicare administrative contractors under section 1874A to establish coverage policies and establish such policies and process claims for payment for dental and oral health services, as determined appropriate by the Secretary.”

(4) INCLUSION OF ORAL HEALTH PROFESSIONALS AS CERTAIN PRACTITIONERS.—Section 1842(b)(18)(C) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395u(b)(18)(C)) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(ix) With respect to 2028 and each subsequent year, an oral health professional (as defined in section 1861(nnn)(3)).”

(5) EXCLUSION MODIFICATIONS.—Section 1862(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(a)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) in subparagraph (O), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in subparagraph (P), by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting “, and”; and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(Q) in the case of dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn)) for which a limitation is applicable under section 1834(aa)(3), which are furnished more frequently than is provided under such section;” and

(B) in paragraph (12), by inserting before the semicolon at the end the following: “and except that payment shall be made under part B for dental and oral health services that are covered under section 1861(s)(2)(KK)”.

(6) INCLUSION AS EXCEPTED MEDICAL TREATMENT.—Section 1821(b)(5)(A) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i-5(b)(5)(A)) is amended—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the period and inserting “, or”; and

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

“(iv) consisting of dental and oral health services (as defined in subsection (mmm) of section 1861) that are payable under part B as a result of the amendments made by the Medicare Dental, Hearing, and Vision Expansion Act of 2025.”

(7) RURAL HEALTH CLINICS AND FEDERALLY QUALIFIED HEALTH CENTERS.—

(A) COVERAGE OF DENTAL AND ORAL HEALTH SERVICES.—Section 1861(aa) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(aa)), is amended—

(i) in paragraph (1)—

(I) in subparagraph (C), by striking “and” at the end;

(II) in subparagraph (D), by inserting “and” after the comma at the end; and

(III) by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following new subparagraph:

“(E) dental and oral health services (as defined in subsection (nnn)) furnished by a doctor of dental surgery or of dental medicine (as described in subsection (r)(2)) or an oral health professional (as defined in subsection (nnn)(3)) who is employed by or working under contract with a rural health clinic if such rural health clinic furnishes such services;” and

(ii) in paragraph (3)(A), by striking “(D)” and inserting “(E)”.

(B) TEMPORARY PAYMENT RATES FOR CERTAIN SERVICES UNDER THE RHC AIR AND FQHC PPS.—

(i) AIR.—Section 1833 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l) is amended—

(I) in subsection (a)(3)(A), by inserting “(which shall, in the case of dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn)), in lieu of any limits on reasonable costs otherwise applicable, be based on the rates payable for such services under the payment basis determined under section 1848 until such time as the Secretary determines sufficient data has been collected to otherwise apply such limits (or January 1, 2031, if no such determination has been made as of such date))” after “may prescribe in regulations;” and

(II) by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(ee) DISREGARD OF COSTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO CERTAIN SERVICES FROM CALCULATION OF RHC AIR.—Payments for rural health clinic services other than dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn)) under the methodology for all-inclusive rates (established by the Secretary) under subsection (a)(3) shall not take into account the costs of such services while rates for such services are based on rates payable for such services under the payment basis established under section 1848.”

(ii) PPS.—Section 1834(o) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(o)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) TEMPORARY PAYMENT RATES BASED ON PPS FOR CERTAIN SERVICES.—The Secretary shall, in establishing payment rates for dental and oral health services (as defined in section 1861(nnn)) that are Federally qualified health center services under the prospective payment system established under this subsection, in lieu of the rates otherwise applicable under such system, base such rates on rates payable for such services under the payment basis established under section 1848 until such time as the Secretary determines sufficient data has been collected to otherwise establish rates for such services under such system (or January 1, 2031, if no such determination has been made as of such date). Payments for Federally qualified health center services other than such dental and oral health services under such system shall not take into account the costs of such services while rates for such services are based on rates payable for such services under the payment basis established under section 1848.”

(8) IMPLEMENTATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Health and Human Services for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$900,000,000, to remain available until expended, for purposes of implementing the amendments made by this section during the period beginning on January 1, 2025, and ending on September 30, 2034.

(c) PROVIDING COVERAGE FOR HEARING CARE UNDER THE MEDICARE PROGRAM.—

(1) PROVISION OF AUDIOLOGY SERVICES BY QUALIFIED AUDIOLOGISTS AND HEARING AID EXAMINATION SERVICES BY QUALIFIED HEARING AID PROFESSIONALS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 1861(ll) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(ll)) is amended—

(i) in paragraph (3)—

(I) by inserting “(A)” after “(3)”;

(II) in subparagraph (A), as added by subclause (I) of this clause—

(aa) by striking “means such hearing and balance assessment services” and inserting “means—

“(i) such hearing and balance assessment services and, beginning January 1, 2027, such hearing aid examination services and treatment services (including aural rehabilitation, vestibular rehabilitation, and cerumen management)”;

(bb) in clause (i), as added by item (aa) of this subclause, by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

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

“(ii) beginning January 1, 2027, such hearing aid examination services furnished by a qualified hearing aid professional (as defined in paragraph (4)(C)) as the professional is legally authorized to perform under State law (or the State regulatory mechanism provided by State law), as would otherwise be covered if furnished by a physician;” and

(III) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) Beginning January 1, 2027, audiology services described in subparagraph (A)(i) shall be furnished without a requirement for an order from a physician or practitioner;” and

(ii) in paragraph (4), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) The term ‘qualified hearing aid professional’ means an individual who—

“(i) is licensed or registered as a hearing aid dispenser, hearing aid specialist, hearing instrument dispenser, or related professional by the State in which the individual furnishes such services; and

“(ii) is accredited by the National Board for Certification in Hearing Instrument Sciences or meets such other requirements as the Secretary determines appropriate (including requirements relating to educational certifications or accreditations) taking into account any additional relevant requirements for hearing aid specialists, hearing aid dispensers, and hearing instrument dispensers established by Medicare Advantage organizations under part C, State plans (or waivers of such plans) under title XIX, and group health plans and health insurance issuers (as such terms are defined in section 2791 of the Public Health Service Act).”

(B) PAYMENT FOR QUALIFIED HEARING AID PROFESSIONALS.—Section 1833(a)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l(a)(1)), as amended by subsection (b)(3)(A), is amended—

(i) by striking “and” before “(II)”;

(ii) by inserting before the semicolon at the end the following: “and (JJ) with respect to hearing aid examination services (as described in paragraph (3)(A)(ii) of section 1861(ll)) furnished by a qualified hearing aid professional (as defined in paragraph (4)(C) of such section), the amounts paid shall be equal to 80 percent of the lesser of the actual charge for such services or 85 percent of the amount for such services determined under the payment basis determined under section 1848”.

(C) INCLUSION OF QUALIFIED AUDIOLOGISTS AND QUALIFIED HEARING AID PROFESSIONALS AS CERTAIN PRACTITIONERS TO RECEIVE PAYMENT ON AN ASSIGNMENT-RELATED BASIS.—

(i) QUALIFIED AUDIOLOGISTS.—Section 1842(b)(18)(C) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395u(b)(18)(C)), as amended by subsection (b)(4), is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(x) Beginning on January 1, 2027, a qualified audiologist (as defined in section 1861(l)(4)(B)).”.

(ii) QUALIFIED HEARING AID PROFESSIONALS.—Section 1842(b)(18) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395u(b)(18)) is amended—

(I) in each of subparagraphs (A) and (B), by striking “subparagraph (C)” and inserting “subparagraph (C) or, beginning on January 1, 2027, subparagraph (E)”;

(II) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) A practitioner described in this subparagraph is a qualified hearing aid professional (as defined in section 1861(l)(4)(C)).”.

(2) COVERAGE OF HEARING AIDS.—

(A) INCLUSION OF HEARING AIDS AS PROSTHETIC DEVICES.—Section 1861(s)(8) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(s)(8)) is amended by inserting “, and including hearing aids (as described in section 1834(h)(7)) furnished on or after January 1, 2027, to individuals with moderately severe, severe, or profound hearing loss” before the semicolon at the end.

(B) PAYMENT LIMITATIONS FOR HEARING AIDS.—Section 1834(h) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(h)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(6) PAYMENT ONLY ON AN ASSIGNMENT-RELATED BASIS.—Payment for hearing aids for which payment may be made under this part may be made only on an assignment-related basis. The provisions of subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 1842(b)(18) shall apply to hearing aids in the same manner as they apply to services furnished by a practitioner described in subparagraph (C) of such section.

“(7) LIMITATIONS FOR HEARING AIDS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Payment may be made under this part with respect to an individual, with respect to hearing aids furnished by a qualified hearing aid supplier (as defined in subparagraph (C)) on or after January 1, 2027—

“(i) not more than once per ear during a 5-year period;

“(ii) only for types of such hearing aids that are determined appropriate by the Secretary; and

“(iii) only if furnished pursuant to a written order of a physician, qualified audiologist (as defined in section 1861(l)(4)), qualified hearing aid professional (as defined in subparagraph (C) of such section), physician assistant, nurse practitioner, or clinical nurse specialist.

“(B) SPECIAL RULE.—The payment basis determined under this subsection (including after application of paragraph (1)(H), relating to application of competitive acquisition) for hearing aids furnished by a qualified hearing aid supplier on or after January 1, 2027, shall not exceed the rate determined for such hearing aids under the Federal Supply Schedule of the General Services Administration, as published by such Administration in 2021, updated to the year involved using the applicable percent increase for the year.

“(C) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

“(i) HEARING AID.—The term ‘hearing aid’ means the item and related services including selection, fitting, adjustment, and patient education and training.

“(ii) QUALIFIED HEARING AID SUPPLIER.—The term ‘qualified hearing aid supplier’ means—

“(I) a qualified audiologist;

“(II) a physician (as defined in section 1861(r)(1));

“(III) a physician assistant, nurse practitioner, or clinical nurse specialist;

“(IV) a qualified hearing aid professional (as defined in section 1861(l)(4)(C)); and

“(V) other suppliers as determined by the Secretary.”.

(C) APPLICATION OF COMPETITIVE ACQUISITION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—Section 1834(h)(1)(H) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(h)(1)(H)) is amended—

(I) in the header, by inserting “AND HEARING AIDS” after “ORTHOTICS”;

(II) in the matter preceding clause (i), by inserting “or of hearing aids described in paragraph (2)(D) of such section,” after “2011.”; and

(III) in clause (i), by inserting “or such hearing aids” after “such orthotics”.

(ii) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(I) IN GENERAL.—Section 1847(a)(2) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-3(a)(2)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) HEARING AIDS.—Hearing aids described in section 1861(s)(8) for which payment would otherwise be made under section 1834(h).”.

(II) EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN ITEMS FROM COMPETITIVE ACQUISITION.—Section 1847(a)(7) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-3(a)(7)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) CERTAIN HEARING AIDS.—Those items and services described in paragraph (2)(E) if furnished by a physician or other practitioner (as defined by the Secretary) to the physician’s or practitioner’s own patients as part of the physician’s or practitioner’s professional service.”.

(III) IMPLEMENTATION.—Section 1847(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-3(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) COMPETITION WITH RESPECT TO HEARING AIDS.—Not later than January 1, 2031, the Secretary shall begin the competition with respect to the items and services described in paragraph (2)(E).”.

(D) PHYSICIAN SELF-REFERRAL LAW.—Section 1877(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395nn(b)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) HEARING AIDS AND SERVICES.—In the case of hearing aid examination services and hearing aids—

“(A) furnished on or after January 1, 2027, and before January 1, 2029; and

“(B) furnished on or after January 1, 2029, if the financial relationship specified in subsection (a)(2) meets such requirements the Secretary imposes by regulation to protect against program or patient abuse.”.

(3) EXCLUSION MODIFICATION.—Section 1862(a)(7) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(a)(7)) is amended by inserting “(except such hearing aids or examinations therefor as described in and otherwise allowed under section 1861(s)(8))” after “hearing aids or examinations therefor”.

(4) INCLUSION AS EXCEPTED MEDICAL TREATMENT.—Section 1821(b)(5)(A)(iv) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i-5(b)(5)(A)(iv)), as added by subsection (b)(6), is amended by inserting “, audiology services described in subsection (1)(3) of such section, or hearing aids described in subsection (s)(8) of such section” after “section 1861”.

(5) RURAL HEALTH CLINICS AND FEDERALLY QUALIFIED HEALTH CENTERS.—

(A) CLARIFYING COVERAGE OF AUDIOLOGY SERVICES AS PHYSICIANS’ SERVICES.—Section 1861(aa)(1)(A) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(aa)(1)(A)) is amended by inserting “(including audiology services (as defined in subsection (1)(3)))” after “physicians’ services”.

(B) INCLUSION OF QUALIFIED AUDIOLOGISTS AND QUALIFIED HEARING AID PROFESSIONALS AS

RHC AND FQHC PRACTITIONERS.—Section 1861(aa)(1)(B) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(aa)(1)(B)) is amended by inserting “or by a qualified audiologist or a qualified hearing aid professional (as such terms are defined in subsection (1)),” after “(as defined in subsection (hh)(1)).”.

(C) TEMPORARY PAYMENT RATES FOR CERTAIN SERVICES UNDER THE RHC AIR AND FQHC PPS.—

(i) AIR.—Section 1833 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l), as amended by subsection (b)(7)(B)(i), is amended—

(I) in subsection (a)(3)(A), by inserting “or audiology services (as defined in section 1861(l)(3))” after “(as defined in section 1861(nnn))”; and

(II) in subsection (ee), by inserting “or audiology services (as defined in section 1861(l)(3))” after “(as defined in section 1861(nnn))”.

(ii) PPS.—Section 1834(o)(6) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(o)(6)), as added by subsection (b)(7)(B)(ii), is amended—

(I) in the first sentence, by inserting “or audiology services (as defined in section 1861(l)(3))” after “(as defined in section 1861(nnn))”; and

(II) in the second sentence, by inserting “or such audiology services” after “such dental and oral health services”.

(6) EXPEDITING IMPLEMENTATION.—The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall implement this section for 2027 and 2028 through program instruction or other forms of program guidance.

(7) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Health and Human Services for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$370,000,000, to remain available until expended, for purposes of implementing the amendments made by this section during the period beginning on January 1, 2026, and ending on September 30, 2035.

(d) PROVIDING COVERAGE FOR VISION CARE UNDER THE MEDICARE PROGRAM.—

(1) COVERAGE.—Section 1861(s)(2) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(s)(2)), as amended by subsection (b)(1), is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (JJ), by striking “and” after the semicolon at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (KK), by striking the period at the end and adding “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(LL) vision services (as defined in subsection (ooo));”.

(2) VISION SERVICES DEFINED.—Section 1861 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x), as amended by subsection (b)(2), is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(ooo) VISION SERVICES.—The term ‘vision services’ means routine eye examinations to determine the refractive state of the eyes, including procedures performed during the course of such examination, furnished on or after January 1, 2027, by or under the direct supervision of an ophthalmologist or optometrist who is legally authorized to furnish such examinations or procedures (as applicable) under State law (or the State regulatory mechanism provided by State law) of the State in which the examinations or procedures are furnished.”.

(3) PAYMENT LIMITATIONS.—Section 1834 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m), as amended by subsection (b)(3)(B), is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(bb) LIMITATION FOR VISION SERVICES.—With respect to vision services (as defined in section 1861(ooo)) and an individual, payment shall be made under this part for only 1 routine eye examination described in such subsection during a 2-year period.”.

(4) PAYMENT UNDER PHYSICIAN FEE SCHEDULE.—Section 1848(j)(3) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-4(j)(3)) is amended by inserting “(2)(LL),” before “(3)”.

(5) COVERAGE OF CONVENTIONAL EYEGLASSES.—Section 1861(s)(8) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(s)(8)), as amended by subsection (c)(2)(A), is amended by striking “, and including one pair of conventional eyeglasses or contact lenses furnished subsequent to each cataract surgery with insertion of an intraocular lens” and inserting “, including 1 pair of conventional eyeglasses or contact lenses furnished subsequent to each cataract surgery with insertion of an intraocular lens, if furnished before January 1, 2027, and including conventional eyeglasses (as described in section 1834(h)(8)), whether or not furnished subsequent to such a surgery, if furnished on or after January 1, 2027”.

(6) SPECIAL PAYMENT RULES FOR EYEGLASSES.—

(A) LIMITATIONS.—Section 1834(h) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(h)), as amended by subsection (c)(2)(B), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) PAYMENT LIMITATIONS FOR EYEGLASSES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—With respect to conventional eyeglasses furnished to an individual on or after January 1, 2027, subject to subparagraph (B), payment shall be made under this part only during a 2-year period, for 1 pair of eyeglasses (including lenses and the frame).

“(B) EXCEPTION.—With respect to a 2-year period described in subparagraph (A), in the case of an individual who receives cataract surgery with insertion of an intraocular lens, payment shall be made under this part for 1 pair of conventional eyeglasses furnished subsequent to such cataract surgery during such period.

“(C) SPECIAL RULE.—The payment basis determined under this subsection (including after application of paragraph (1)(H), relating to application of competitive acquisition) for conventional eyeglasses furnished to an individual on or after January 1, 2027, shall not exceed the rate determined for such eyeglasses under the Federal Supply Schedule of the General Services Administration, as published by such Administration in 2021, updated to the year involved using the applicable percent increase for the year.

“(D) NO COVERAGE OF CERTAIN ITEMS.—Payment shall not be made under this part for deluxe eyeglasses or conventional reading glasses.”.

(B) APPLICATION OF COMPETITIVE ACQUISITION.—

(i) IN GENERAL.—Section 1834(h)(1)(H) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(h)(1)(H)), as amended by subsection (c)(2)(C)(i), is amended—

(I) in the heading, by striking “AND HEARING AIDS” and inserting “HEARING AIDS, AND EYEGLASSES”;

(II) in the matter preceding clause (i)—

(aa) by striking “or of hearing aids” and inserting “of hearing aids”;

(bb) by inserting “or of eyeglasses described in paragraph (2)(E) of such section,” after “paragraph (2)(D) of such section,”; and

(III) in clause (i), by striking “or such hearing aids” and inserting “, such hearing aids, or such eyeglasses”.

(ii) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1847(a)(2) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-3(a)(2)), as amended by subsection (c)(2)(C)(ii)(I), is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) EYEGLASSES.—Eyeglasses described in section 1861(s)(8) for which payment would otherwise be made under section 1834(h).”.

(iii) IMPLEMENTATION.—Section 1847(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395w-3(a)), as amended by subsection (c)(2)(C)(ii)(III), is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(9) COMPETITION WITH RESPECT TO EYEGLASSES.—Not later than January 1, 2030, the Secretary shall begin the competition with respect to the items and services described in paragraph (2)(F).”.

(7) EXCLUSION MODIFICATIONS.—Section 1862(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395y(a)), as amended by subsection (b)(5), is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) in subparagraph (P), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) in subparagraph (Q), by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting “, and”; and

(iii) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(R) in the case of vision services (as defined in section 1861(ooo)) that are routine eye examinations as described in such section, which are furnished more frequently than once during a 2-year period;”;

(B) in paragraph (7)—

(i) by inserting “(other than such an examination that is a vision service that is covered under section 1861(s)(2)(LL))” after “eye examinations”; and

(ii) by inserting “(other than such a procedure that is a vision service that is covered under section 1861(s)(2)(LL))” after “refractive state of the eyes”.

(8) INCLUSION AS EXCEPTED MEDICAL TREATMENT.—Section 1821(b)(5)(A)(iv) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i-5(b)(5)(A)(iv)), as added by subsection (b)(6) and amended by subsection (c)(4), is amended—

(A) by striking “or hearing aids” and inserting “hearing aids”; and

(B) by inserting “, or vision services (as defined in subsection (ooo) of such section)” after “subsection (s)(8) of such section”.

(9) RURAL HEALTH CLINICS AND FEDERALLY QUALIFIED HEALTH CENTERS.—

(A) CLARIFYING COVERAGE OF VISION SERVICES AS PHYSICIANS’ SERVICES.—Section 1861(aa)(1)(A) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395x(aa)(1)(A)), as amended by subsection (c)(5)(A), is amended by inserting “and vision services (as defined in subsection (ooo))” after “(as defined in subsection (l)(3))”.

(B) TEMPORARY PAYMENT RATES FOR CERTAIN SERVICES UNDER THE RHC AIR AND FQHC PPS.—

(i) AIR.—Section 1833 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395l), as amended by subsections (b)(7)(B)(i) and (c)(5)(C)(i), is amended—

(I) in subsection (a)(3)(A)—

(aa) by striking “or audiology” and inserting “, audiology”; and

(bb) by inserting “, or vision services (as defined in section 1861(ooo))” after “(as defined in section 1861(l)(3))”; and

(II) in subsection (ee)—

(aa) by striking “or audiology” and inserting “, audiology”; and

(bb) by inserting “, or vision services (as defined in section 1861(ooo))” after “(as defined in section 1861(l)(3))”.

(ii) PPS.—Section 1834(o)(6) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395m(o)(6)), as added by subsection (b)(7)(B)(ii) and amended by subsection (c)(5)(C)(ii), is amended—

(I) in the first sentence—

(aa) by striking “or audiology” and inserting “, audiology”; and

(bb) by inserting “, or vision services (as defined in section 1861(ooo))” after “(as defined in section 1861(l)(3))”; and

(II) in the second sentence, by striking “or such audiology services” and inserting “,

such audiology services, or such vision services”.

(10) EXPEDITING IMPLEMENTATION.—The Secretary of Health and Human Services shall implement this section for 2027 and 2028 through program instruction or other forms of program guidance.

(11) FUNDING.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Health and Human Services for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$500,000,000, to remain available until expended, for purposes of implementing the amendments made by this section during the period beginning on January 1, 2026, and ending on September 30, 2034.

SEC. 71206. IMPROVEMENTS TO THE MEDICARE DRUG PRICE NEGOTIATION PROGRAM.

(a) ACCELERATION OF THE SELECTION OF NEGOTIATION-ELIGIBLE DRUGS.—Section 1192(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(a)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by adding “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) by striking “2028, 15 negotiation-eligible drugs” and inserting “2028 or a subsequent initial price applicability year, at least 50 negotiation-eligible drugs”;

(B) by striking “less than 15” and inserting “less than 50”; and

(C) by striking “; and” at the end and inserting a period; and

(3) by striking paragraph (4).

(b) IMPROVEMENTS TO THE DEFINITION OF NEGOTIATION-ELIGIBLE DRUGS.—Subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 1192(d)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(d)(1)) are each amended by striking “among the 50” and inserting “among the 50 (or, in the case of initial price applicability year 2028 or a subsequent initial price applicability year, 125)”.

(c) IMPROVEMENTS TO THE DEFINITION OF QUALIFYING SINGLE SOURCE DRUGS.—Subparagraphs (A)(ii) and (B)(ii) of section 1192(e)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(e)(1)) are each amended by striking “for which” and inserting “with respect to initial price applicability year 2026 and 2027, for which”.

(d) IMPROVEMENT TO THE CEILING FOR MAXIMUM FAIR PRICE.—Section 1194(c)(1) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-3(c)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “or the amount under subparagraph (C)” and inserting “, the amount under subparagraph (C), or, if available, the amount under subparagraph (D)”;

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

“(D) SUBPARAGRAPH (D) AMOUNT.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—An amount equal to the international maximum fair price for the drug or biological product.

“(ii) INTERNATIONAL MAXIMUM FAIR PRICE.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘international maximum fair price’ means, with respect to a drug or biological product, an amount equal to the highest price (which shall be the net price, if practicable, and volume-weighted, if practicable) for a unit (as defined in section 1191(c)(6)) of such drug or biological product for sales of such drug or biological product (calculated across different dosage forms and strengths of the drug or biological product and not based on the specific formulation or package size or package type), as computed (as of the date of publication of such drug or biological product as a selected drug) among any applicable countries for which pricing information is available with respect to such drug or biological product.

“(iii) APPLICABLE COUNTRIES.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of clause (ii), the term ‘applicable countries’ includes any country described in subclause (II) for which, with respect to a drug or biological product, there is available a price for any unit of such drug or biological product for sales of such drug or biological product in such country.

“(II) COUNTRIES DESCRIBED.—For purposes of subclause (I), the following countries are described in this subclause:

“(aa) Australia.

“(bb) Canada.

“(cc) France.

“(dd) Germany.

“(ee) Japan.

“(ff) The United Kingdom.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to initial price applicability years (as defined in section 1191(b) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f(b)) beginning with initial price applicability year 2028.

SA 2436. Mr. SANDERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70106.

SA 2437. Mr. SANDERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike title II.

SA 2438. Ms. BALDWIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in subtitle H of title VIII, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROVIDING FOR ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE NAVIGATOR PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1311(i) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18031(i)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SELECTION OF RECIPIENTS.—In the case of an Exchange established and operated by the Secretary within a State pursuant to section 1321(c), in awarding grants under paragraph (1), the Exchange shall—

“(i) select entities to receive such grants based on an entity’s demonstrated capacity to carry out each of the duties specified in paragraph (3);

“(ii) not take into account whether or not the entity has demonstrated how the entity will provide information to individuals relating to group health plans that are not qualified health plans; and

“(iii) ensure that, each year, the Exchange awards such a grant to at least 1 entity described in this paragraph that is a community and consumer-focused nonprofit group.”;

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (C), by inserting after “qualified health plans” the following: “, State Medicaid plans under title XIX of the Social Security Act, and State children’s health insurance programs under title XXI of such Act”;

(B) in subparagraph (D), by striking “and” at the end;

(C) in subparagraph (E), by striking the period and inserting “; and”;

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(F) conduct public education activities in plain language to raise awareness of the requirements of and the protections provided under qualified health plans.”; and

(E) by adding at the end the following flush left sentence:

“The duties specified in the preceding sentence may be carried out by such a navigator at any time during a year.”;

(3) in paragraph (4)(A)—

(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “not”;

(B) in clause (i)—

(i) by inserting “not” before “be”; and

(ii) by striking “; or” and inserting a semicolon;

(C) in clause (ii)—

(i) by inserting “not” before “receive”; and

(ii) by striking the period and inserting a semicolon; and

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

“(iii) maintain physical presence in the State of the Exchange so as to allow in-person assistance to consumers.”; and

(4) in paragraph (6)—

(A) by striking “FUNDING.—Grants under” and inserting “FUNDING.—

“(A) STATE EXCHANGES.—Grants under”;

and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(B) FEDERAL EXCHANGES.—For purposes of carrying out this subsection, with respect to an Exchange established and operated by the Secretary within a State pursuant to section 1321(c), the Secretary shall obligate \$100,000,000 out of amounts collected through the user fees on participating health insurance issuers pursuant to section 156.50 of title 45, Code of Federal Regulations (or any successor regulations) for fiscal year 2026 and each subsequent fiscal year. Such amount for a fiscal year shall remain available until expended.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2026.

SA 2439. Ms. BALDWIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title ____, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . FLEXIBILITY FOR ELIGIBLE ENTITIES UNDER THE BROADBAND EQUITY, ACCESS, AND DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM.

Section 60102 of division F of Public Law 117-58 (47 U.S.C. 1702) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(p) FLEXIBILITY FOR ELIGIBLE ENTITIES.—Notwithstanding the policy notice entitled ‘Broadband Equity, Access, and Deployment (BEAD) Program: BEAD Restructuring Policy Notice’ issued by the Assistant Secretary on June 6, 2025 (in this subsection referred to as the ‘June 6 policy notice’)—

“(1) an eligible entity may choose whether to expend grant funds received under this section in accordance with either—

“(A) the notice of funding opportunity issued by the Assistant Secretary on May 12, 2022 under subsection (e)(1)(A)(i), without regard to the June 6 policy notice; or

“(B) the notice of funding opportunity described in subparagraph (A) as modified by the June 6 policy notice; and

“(2) an eligible entity that makes the choice described in paragraph (1) (A) shall not be required to comply with the June 6 policy notice in order to gain approval of the eligible entity’s final proposal from the Assistant Secretary.”

SA 2440. Ms. BALDWIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 1181(8) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40001), strike “and medium” and insert “, medium, and heavy”.

SA 2441. Ms. BALDWIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 71117.

SA 2442. Ms. BALDWIN (for herself, Mr. BOOKER, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. GALLEG0) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS TRANSFERRED IN CONNECTION WITH PERFORMANCE OF SERVICES.

(a) MODIFICATION TO ELECTION TO INCLUDE PARTNERSHIP INTEREST IN GROSS INCOME IN YEAR OF TRANSFER.—Subsection (c) of section 83 is amended by redesignating paragraph (4) as paragraph (5) and by inserting after paragraph (3) the following new paragraph:

“(4) PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—Except as provided by the Secretary—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any transfer of an interest in a partnership in connection with the provision of services to (or for the benefit of) such partnership—

“(i) the fair market value of such interest shall be treated for purposes of this section as being equal to the amount of the distribution which the partner would receive if the partnership sold (at the time of the transfer) all of its assets at fair market value and distributed the proceeds of such sale (reduced by the liabilities of the partnership) to its partners in liquidation of the partnership, and

“(ii) the person receiving such interest shall be treated as having made the election under subsection (b)(1) unless such person makes an election under this paragraph to have such subsection not apply.

“(B) ELECTION.—The election under subparagraph (A)(ii) shall be made under rules similar to the rules of subsection (b)(2).”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to interests in partnerships transferred after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. ____ . SPECIAL RULES FOR PARTNERS PROVIDING INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT SERVICES TO PARTNERSHIPS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part I of subchapter K of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 710. SPECIAL RULES FOR PARTNERS PROVIDING INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT SERVICES TO PARTNERSHIPS.

“(a) TREATMENT OF DISTRIBUTIVE SHARE OF PARTNERSHIP ITEMS.—For purposes of this title, in the case of an investment services partnership interest—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 702(b)—

“(A) an amount equal to the net capital gain with respect to such interest for any partnership taxable year shall be treated as ordinary income, and

“(B) subject to the limitation of paragraph (2), an amount equal to the net capital loss with respect to such interest for any partnership taxable year shall be treated as an ordinary loss.

“(2) RECHARACTERIZATION OF LOSSES LIMITED TO RECHARACTERIZED GAINS.—The amount treated as ordinary loss under paragraph (1)(B) for any taxable year shall not exceed the excess (if any) of—

“(A) the aggregate amount treated as ordinary income under paragraph (1)(A) with respect to the investment services partnership interest for all preceding partnership taxable years to which this section applies, over

“(B) the aggregate amount treated as ordinary loss under paragraph (1)(B) with respect to such interest for all preceding partnership taxable years to which this section applies.

“(3) ALLOCATION TO ITEMS OF GAIN AND LOSS.—

“(A) NET CAPITAL GAIN.—The amount treated as ordinary income under paragraph (1)(A) shall be allocated ratably among the items of long-term capital gain taken into account in determining such net capital gain.

“(B) NET CAPITAL LOSS.—The amount treated as ordinary loss under paragraph (1)(B) shall be allocated ratably among the items of long-term capital loss and short-term capital loss taken into account in determining such net capital loss.

“(4) TERMS RELATING TO CAPITAL GAINS AND LOSSES.—For purposes of this section—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Net capital gain, long-term capital gain, and long-term capital loss, with respect to any investment services partnership interest for any taxable year, shall be determined under section 1222, except that such section shall be applied—

“(i) without regard to the recharacterization of any item as ordinary income or ordinary loss under this section,

“(ii) by only taking into account items of gain and loss taken into account by the holder of such interest under section 702 (other than subsection (a)(9) thereof) with respect to such interest for such taxable year, and

“(iii) by treating property which is taken into account in determining gains and losses to which section 1231 applies as capital assets held for more than 1 year.

“(B) NET CAPITAL LOSS.—The term ‘net capital loss’ means the excess of the losses from sales or exchanges of capital assets over the gains from such sales or exchanges. Rules similar to the rules of clauses (i) through (iii) of subparagraph (A) shall apply for purposes of the preceding sentence.

“(5) SPECIAL RULE FOR DIVIDENDS.—Any dividend allocated with respect to any investment services partnership interest shall not be treated as qualified dividend income for purposes of section 1(h).

“(6) SPECIAL RULE FOR QUALIFIED SMALL BUSINESS STOCK.—Section 1202 shall not apply to any gain from the sale or exchange of qualified small business stock (as defined in section 1202(c)) allocated with respect to any investment services partnership interest.

“(b) DISPOSITIONS OF PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—

“(1) GAIN.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any gain on the disposition of an investment services partnership interest shall be—

“(i) treated as ordinary income, and

“(ii) recognized notwithstanding any other provision of this subtitle.

“(B) GIFT AND TRANSFERS AT DEATH.—In the case of a disposition of an investment services partnership interest by gift or by reason of death of the taxpayer—

“(i) subparagraph (A) shall not apply,

“(ii) such interest shall be treated as an investment services partnership interest in the hands of the person acquiring such interest, and

“(iii) any amount that would have been treated as ordinary income under this subsection had the decedent sold such interest immediately before death shall be treated as an item of income in respect of a decedent under section 691.

“(2) LOSS.—Any loss on the disposition of an investment services partnership interest shall be treated as an ordinary loss to the extent of the excess (if any) of—

“(A) the aggregate amount treated as ordinary income under subsection (a) with respect to such interest for all partnership taxable years to which this section applies, over

“(B) the aggregate amount treated as ordinary loss under subsection (a) with respect to such interest for all partnership taxable years to which this section applies.

“(3) ELECTION WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN EXCHANGES.—Paragraph (1)(A)(ii) shall not apply to the contribution of an investment services partnership interest to a partnership in exchange for an interest in such partnership if—

“(A) the taxpayer makes an irrevocable election to treat the partnership interest received in the exchange as an investment services partnership interest, and

“(B) the taxpayer agrees to comply with such reporting and recordkeeping requirements as the Secretary may prescribe.

“(4) DISTRIBUTIONS OF PARTNERSHIP PROPERTY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any distribution of property by a partnership with respect to any investment services partnership interest held by a partner, the partner receiving such property shall recognize gain equal to the excess (if any) of—

“(i) the fair market value of such property at the time of such distribution, over

“(ii) the adjusted basis of such property in the hands of such partner (determined without regard to subparagraph (C)).

“(B) TREATMENT OF GAIN AS ORDINARY INCOME.—Any gain recognized by such partner under subparagraph (A) shall be treated as ordinary income to the same extent and in the same manner as the increase in such partner’s distributive share of the taxable income of the partnership would be treated under subsection (a) if, immediately prior to the distribution, the partnership had sold the distributed property at fair market value and all of the gain from such disposition were allocated to such partner. For purposes of applying subsection (a)(2), any gain treated as ordinary income under this subparagraph shall be treated as an amount treated as ordinary income under subsection (a)(1)(A).

“(C) ADJUSTMENT OF BASIS.—In the case of a distribution to which subparagraph (A) applies, the basis of the distributed property in the hands of the distributee partner shall be the fair market value of such property.

“(D) SPECIAL RULES WITH RESPECT TO MERGERS AND DIVISIONS.—In the case of a taxpayer which satisfies requirements similar to the requirements of subparagraphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (3), this paragraph and paragraph (1)(A)(ii) shall not apply to the distribution of a partnership interest if such distribution

is in connection with a contribution (or deemed contribution) of any property of the partnership to which section 721 applies pursuant to a transaction described in section 708(b)(2).

“(c) INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INTEREST.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘investment services partnership interest’ means any interest in an investment partnership acquired or held by any person in connection with the conduct of a trade or business described in paragraph (2) by such person (or any person related to such person). An interest in an investment partnership held by any person—

“(A) shall not be treated as an investment services partnership interest for any period before the first date on which it is so held in connection with such a trade or business,

“(B) shall not cease to be an investment services partnership interest merely because such person holds such interest other than in connection with such a trade or business, and

“(C) shall be treated as an investment services partnership interest if acquired from a related person in whose hands such interest was an investment services partnership interest.

“(2) BUSINESSES TO WHICH THIS SECTION APPLIES.—A trade or business is described in this paragraph if such trade or business primarily involves the performance of any of the following services with respect to assets held (directly or indirectly) by one or more investment partnerships referred to in paragraph (1):

“(A) Advising as to the advisability of investing in, purchasing, or selling any specified asset.

“(B) Managing, acquiring, or disposing of any specified asset.

“(C) Arranging financing with respect to acquiring specified assets.

“(D) Any activity in support of any service described in subparagraphs (A) through (C).

“(3) INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘investment partnership’ means any partnership if, at the end of any two consecutive calendar quarters ending after the date of enactment of this section—

“(i) substantially all of the assets of the partnership are specified assets (determined without regard to any section 197 intangible within the meaning of section 197(d)), and

“(ii) less than 75 percent of the capital of the partnership is attributable to qualified capital interests which constitute property held in connection with a trade or business of the owner of such interest.

“(B) LOOK-THROUGH OF CERTAIN WHOLLY OWNED ENTITIES FOR PURPOSES OF DETERMINING ASSETS OF THE PARTNERSHIP.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of determining the assets of a partnership under subparagraph (A)(i)—

“(I) any interest in a specified entity shall not be treated as an asset of such partnership, and

“(II) such partnership shall be treated as holding its proportionate share of each of the assets of such specified entity.

“(ii) SPECIFIED ENTITY.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘specified entity’ means, with respect to any partnership (hereafter referred to as the upper-tier partnership), any person which engages in the same trade or business as the upper-tier partnership and is—

“(I) a partnership all of the capital and profits interests of which are held directly or indirectly by the upper-tier partnership, or

“(II) a foreign corporation which does not engage in a trade or business in the United States and all of the stock of which is held directly or indirectly by the upper-tier partnership.

“(C) SPECIAL RULES FOR DETERMINING IF PROPERTY HELD IN CONNECTION WITH TRADE OR BUSINESS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, solely for purposes of determining whether any interest in a partnership constitutes property held in connection with a trade or business under subparagraph (A)(ii)—

“(I) a trade or business of any person closely related to the owner of such interest shall be treated as a trade or business of such owner,

“(II) such interest shall be treated as held by a person in connection with a trade or business during any taxable year if such interest was so held by such person during any 3 taxable years preceding such taxable year, and

“(III) paragraph (5)(B) shall not apply.

“(ii) CLOSELY RELATED PERSONS.—For purposes of clause (i)(I), a person shall be treated as closely related to another person if, taking into account the rules of section 267(c), the relationship between such persons is described in—

“(I) paragraph (1) or (9) of section 267(b), or

“(II) section 267(b)(4), but solely in the case of a trust with respect to which each current beneficiary is the grantor or a person whose relationship to the grantor is described in paragraph (1) or (9) of section 267(b).

“(D) ANTIABUSE RULES.—The Secretary may issue regulations or other guidance which prevent the avoidance of the purposes of subparagraph (A), including regulations or other guidance which treat convertible and contingent debt (and other debt having the attributes of equity) as a capital interest in the partnership.

“(E) CONTROLLED GROUPS OF ENTITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a controlled group of entities, if an interest in the partnership received in exchange for a contribution to the capital of the partnership by any member of such controlled group would (in the hands of such member) constitute property held in connection with a trade or business, then any interest in such partnership held by any member of such group shall be treated for purposes of subparagraph (A) as constituting (in the hands of such member) property held in connection with a trade or business.

“(ii) CONTROLLED GROUP OF ENTITIES.—For purposes of clause (i), the term ‘controlled group of entities’ means a controlled group of corporations as defined in section 1563(a)(1), applied without regard to subsections (a)(4) and (b)(2) of section 1563. A partnership or any other entity (other than a corporation) shall be treated as a member of a controlled group of entities if such entity is controlled (within the meaning of section 954(d)(3)) by members of such group (including any entity treated as a member of such group by reason of this sentence).

“(F) SPECIAL RULE FOR CORPORATIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph, in the case of a corporation, the determination of whether property is held in connection with a trade or business shall be determined as if the taxpayer were an individual.

“(4) SPECIFIED ASSET.—The term ‘specified asset’ means securities (as defined in section 475(c)(2) without regard to the last sentence thereof), real estate held for rental or investment, interests in partnerships, commodities (as defined in section 475(e)(2)), cash or cash equivalents, or options or derivative contracts with respect to any of the foregoing.

“(5) RELATED PERSONS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—A person shall be treated as related to another person if the relationship between such persons is described in section 267(b) or 707(b).

“(B) ATTRIBUTION OF PARTNER SERVICES.—Any service described in paragraph (2) which

is provided by a partner of a partnership shall be treated as also provided by such partnership.

“(d) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN CAPITAL INTERESTS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any portion of an investment services partnership interest which is a qualified capital interest, all items of gain and loss (and any dividends) which are allocated to such qualified capital interest shall not be taken into account under subsection (a) if—

“(A) allocations of items are made by the partnership to such qualified capital interest in the same manner as such allocations are made to other qualified capital interests held by partners who do not provide any services described in subsection (c)(2) and who are not related to the partner holding the qualified capital interest, and

“(B) the allocations made to such other interests are significant compared to the allocations made to such qualified capital interest.

“(2) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE EXCEPTIONS TO ALLOCATION REQUIREMENTS.—To the extent provided by the Secretary in regulations or other guidance—

“(A) ALLOCATIONS TO PORTION OF QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTEREST.—Paragraph (1) may be applied separately with respect to a portion of a qualified capital interest.

“(B) NO OR INSIGNIFICANT ALLOCATIONS TO NONSERVICE PROVIDERS.—In any case in which the requirements of paragraph (1)(B) are not satisfied, items of gain and loss (and any dividends) shall not be taken into account under subsection (a) to the extent that such items are properly allocable under such regulations or other guidance to qualified capital interests.

“(C) ALLOCATIONS TO SERVICE PROVIDERS’ QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTERESTS WHICH ARE LESS THAN OTHER ALLOCATIONS.—Allocations shall not be treated as failing to meet the requirement of paragraph (1)(A) merely because the allocations to the qualified capital interest represent a lower return than the allocations made to the other qualified capital interests referred to in such paragraph.

“(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR CHANGES IN SERVICES AND CAPITAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—In the case of an interest in a partnership which was not an investment services partnership interest and which, by reason of a change in the services with respect to assets held (directly or indirectly) by the partnership or by reason of a change in the capital contributions to such partnership, becomes an investment services partnership interest, the qualified capital interest of the holder of such partnership interest immediately after such change shall not, for purposes of this subsection, be less than the fair market value of such interest (determined immediately before such change).

“(4) SPECIAL RULE FOR TIERED PARTNERSHIPS.—Except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, in the case of tiered partnerships, all items which are allocated in a manner which meets the requirements of paragraph (1) to qualified capital interests in a lower-tier partnership shall retain such character to the extent allocated on the basis of qualified capital interests in any upper-tier partnership.

“(5) EXCEPTION FOR NO-SELF-CHARGED CARRY AND MANAGEMENT FEE PROVISIONS.—Except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, an interest shall not fail to be treated as satisfying the requirement of paragraph (1)(A) merely because the allocations made by the partnership to such interest do not reflect the cost of services described in subsection (c)(2) which are provided (directly or indirectly) to the partnership by the holder of such interest (or a related person).

“(6) SPECIAL RULE FOR DISPOSITIONS.—In the case of any investment services partnership interest any portion of which is a qualified capital interest, subsection (b) shall not apply to so much of any gain or loss as bears the same proportion to the entire amount of such gain or loss as—

“(A) the distributive share of gain or loss that would have been allocated to the qualified capital interest (consistent with the requirements of paragraph (1)) if the partnership had sold all of its assets at fair market value immediately before the disposition, bears to

“(B) the distributive share of gain or loss that would have been so allocated to the investment services partnership interest of which such qualified capital interest is a part.

“(7) QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTEREST.—For purposes of this section—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified capital interest’ means so much of a partner’s interest in the capital of the partnership as is attributable to—

“(i) the fair market value of any money or other property contributed to the partnership in exchange for such interest (determined without regard to section 752(a)),

“(ii) any amounts which have been included in gross income under section 83 with respect to the transfer of such interest, and

“(iii) the excess (if any) of—

“(I) any items of income and gain taken into account under section 702 with respect to such interest, over

“(II) any items of deduction and loss so taken into account.

“(B) ADJUSTMENT TO QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTEREST.—

“(i) DISTRIBUTIONS AND LOSSES.—The qualified capital interest shall be reduced by distributions from the partnership with respect to such interest and by the excess (if any) of the amount described in subparagraph (A)(iii)(II) over the amount described in subparagraph (A)(iii)(I).

“(ii) SPECIAL RULE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS OF PROPERTY.—In the case of any contribution of property described in subparagraph (A)(i) with respect to which the fair market value of such property is not equal to the adjusted basis of such property immediately before such contribution, proper adjustments shall be made to the qualified capital interest to take into account such difference consistent with such regulations or other guidance as the Secretary may provide.

“(C) MERGERS, CONSOLIDATIONS, ETC., DISREGARDED.—No increase or decrease in the qualified capital interest of any partner shall result from a merger, consolidation, or division described in section 708, or any similar transaction.

“(8) TREATMENT OF CERTAIN LOANS.—

“(A) PROCEEDS OF PARTNERSHIP LOANS NOT TREATED AS QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTEREST OF SERVICE PROVIDING PARTNERS.—For purposes of this subsection, an investment services partnership interest shall not be treated as a qualified capital interest to the extent that such interest is acquired in connection with the proceeds of any loan or other advance made or guaranteed, directly or indirectly, by any other partner or the partnership (or any person related to any such other partner or the partnership). The preceding sentence shall not apply to the extent the loan or other advance is repaid before the date of the enactment of this section unless such repayment is made with the proceeds of a loan or other advance described in the preceding sentence.

“(B) REDUCTION IN ALLOCATIONS TO QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTERESTS FOR LOANS FROM NON-SERVICE-PROVIDING PARTNERS TO THE PARTNERSHIP.—For purposes of this subsection, any loan or other advance to the partnership

made or guaranteed, directly or indirectly, by a partner not providing services described in subsection (c)(2) to the partnership (or any person related to such partner) shall be taken into account in determining the qualified capital interests of the partners in the partnership.

“(9) SPECIAL RULE FOR QUALIFIED FAMILY PARTNERSHIPS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any specified family partnership interest, paragraph (1)(A) shall be applied without regard to the phrase ‘and who are not related to the partner holding the qualified capital interest’.

“(B) SPECIFIED FAMILY PARTNERSHIP INTEREST.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified family partnership interest’ means any investment services partnership interest if—

“(i) such interest is an interest in a qualified family partnership,

“(ii) such interest is held by a natural person or by a trust with respect to which each beneficiary is a grantor or a person whose relationship to the grantor is described in section 267(b)(1), and

“(iii) all other interests in such qualified family partnership with respect to which significant allocations are made (within the meaning of paragraph (1)(B) and in comparison to the allocations made to the interest described in clause (ii)) are held by persons who—

“(I) are related to the natural person or trust referred to in clause (ii), or

“(II) provide services described in subsection (c)(2).

“(C) QUALIFIED FAMILY PARTNERSHIP.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘qualified family partnership’ means any partnership if—

“(i) all of the capital and profits interests of such partnership are held by—

“(I) specified family members,

“(II) any person closely related (within the meaning of subsection (c)(3)(C)(ii)) to a specified family member, or

“(III) any other person (not described in subclause (I) or (II)) if such interest is an investment services partnership interest with respect to such person, and

“(ii) such partnership does not hold itself out to the public as an investment advisor.

“(D) SPECIFIED FAMILY MEMBERS.—For purposes of subparagraph (C), individuals shall be treated as specified family members if such individuals would be treated as one person under the rules of section 1361(c)(1) if the applicable date (within the meaning of subparagraph (B)(iii) thereof) were the latest of—

“(i) the date of the establishment of the partnership,

“(ii) the earliest date that the common ancestor holds a capital or profits interest in the partnership, or

“(iii) the date of the enactment of this section.

“(e) OTHER INCOME AND GAIN IN CONNECTION WITH INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT SERVICES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—If—

“(A) a person performs (directly or indirectly) investment management services for any investment entity or special purpose acquisition company,

“(B) such person holds (directly or indirectly) a disqualified interest with respect to such entity or such company (as the case may be), and

“(C) the value of such interest (or payments thereunder) is substantially related to the amount of income or gain (whether or not realized) from the assets with respect to which the investment management services are performed,

any income or gain with respect to such interest shall be treated as ordinary income. Rules similar to the rules of subsections

(a)(5) and (d) shall apply for purposes of this subsection.

“(2) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) DISQUALIFIED INTEREST.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘disqualified interest’ means, with respect to any investment entity—

“(I) any interest in such entity other than indebtedness,

“(II) convertible or contingent debt of such entity,

“(III) any option or other right to acquire property described in subclause (I) or (II), and

“(IV) any derivative instrument entered into (directly or indirectly) with such entity or any investor in such entity.

“(i) EXCEPTIONS.—Such term shall not include—

“(I) a partnership interest,

“(II) except as provided by the Secretary, any interest in a taxable corporation (other than a special purpose acquisition company), and

“(III) except as provided by the Secretary, stock in an S corporation.

“(B) TAXABLE CORPORATION.—The term ‘taxable corporation’ means—

“(i) a domestic C corporation, or

“(ii) a foreign corporation substantially all of the income of which is—

“(I) effectively connected with the conduct of a trade or business in the United States, or

“(II) subject to a comprehensive foreign income tax (as defined in section 457A(d)(2)).

“(C) INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT SERVICES.—The term ‘investment management services’ means a substantial quantity of any of the services described in subsection (c)(2).

“(D) INVESTMENT ENTITY.—The term ‘investment entity’ means any entity which, if it were a partnership, would be an investment partnership.

“(E) SPECIAL PURPOSE ACQUISITION COMPANY.—The term ‘special purpose acquisition company’ means any corporation that—

“(i) is formed for the purpose of acquiring a privately held company,

“(ii) is publicly traded on an established securities market or its interests are readily tradable on a secondary market (or the substantial equivalent thereof), and

“(iii) is required to report an acquisition under Item 2.01 or make a disclosure under Item 5.06 of Form 8-K (or any successor form) with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

“(f) EXCEPTION FOR DOMESTIC C CORPORATIONS.—Except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, in the case of a domestic C corporation (other than a special purpose acquisition company, as defined in subsection (e)(2)(E))—

“(1) subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply to any item allocated to such corporation with respect to any investment services partnership interest (or to any gain or loss with respect to the disposition of such an interest), and

“(2) subsection (e) shall not apply.

“(g) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as is necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to—

“(1) require such reporting and record-keeping by any person in such manner and at such time as the Secretary may prescribe for purposes of enabling the partnership to meet the requirements of section 6031 with respect to any item described in section 702(a)(9),

“(2) provide modifications to the application of this section (including treating related persons as not related to one another) to the extent such modification is consistent with the purposes of this section,

“(3) prevent the avoidance of the purposes of this section (including through the use of qualified family partnerships), and

“(4) coordinate this section with the other provisions of this title.

“(h) CROSS REFERENCE.—For 40 percent penalty on certain underpayments due to the avoidance of this section, see section 6662.”.

(b) APPLICATION OF SECTION 751 TO INDIRECT DISPOSITIONS OF INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 751 is amended by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (1), by inserting “or” at the end of paragraph (2), and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) investment services partnership interests held by the partnership.”.

(2) CERTAIN DISTRIBUTIONS TREATED AS SALES OR EXCHANGES.—Subparagraph (A) of section 751(b)(1) is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause (i), by inserting “or” at the end of clause (ii), and by inserting after clause (i) the following new clause:

“(iii) investment services partnership interests held by the partnership.”.

(3) APPLICATION OF SPECIAL RULES IN THE CASE OF TIERED PARTNERSHIPS.—Subsection (f) of section 751 is amended—

(A) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph (1), by inserting “or” at the end of paragraph (2), and by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) an investment services partnership interest held by the partnership.”, and

(B) by striking “partner,” and inserting “partner (other than a partnership in which it holds an investment services partnership interest).”.

(4) INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS; QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTERESTS.—Section 751 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘investment services partnership interest’ has the meaning given such term by section 710(c).

“(2) ADJUSTMENTS FOR QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTERESTS.—The amount to which subsection (a) applies by reason of paragraph (3) thereof shall not include so much of such amount as is attributable to any portion of the investment services partnership interest which is a qualified capital interest (determined under rules similar to the rules of section 710(d)).

“(3) EXCEPTION FOR PUBLICLY TRADED PARTNERSHIPS.—Except as otherwise provided by the Secretary, in the case of an exchange of an interest in a publicly traded partnership (as defined in section 7704) to which subsection (a) applies—

“(A) this section shall be applied without regard to subsections (a)(3), (b)(1)(A)(iii), and (f)(3), and

“(B) such partnership shall be treated as owning its proportionate share of the property of any other partnership in which it is a partner.

“(4) RECOGNITION OF GAINS.—Any gain with respect to which subsection (a) applies by reason of paragraph (3) thereof shall be recognized notwithstanding any other provision of this title.

“(5) COORDINATION WITH INVENTORY ITEMS.—An investment services partnership interest held by the partnership shall not be treated as an inventory item of the partnership.

“(6) PREVENTION OF DOUBLE COUNTING.—Under regulations or other guidance prescribed by the Secretary, subsection (a)(3) shall not apply with respect to any amount to which section 710 applies.

“(7) VALUATION METHODS.—The Secretary shall prescribe regulations or other guidance which provide the acceptable methods for valuing investment services partnership interests for purposes of this section.”.

(c) TREATMENT FOR PURPOSES OF SECTION 7704.—Subsection (d) of section 7704 is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) INCOME FROM CERTAIN CARRIED INTERESTS NOT QUALIFIED.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Specified carried interest income shall not be treated as qualifying income.

“(B) SPECIFIED CARRIED INTEREST INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘specified carried interest income’ means—

“(I) any item of income or gain allocated to an investment services partnership interest (as defined in section 710(c)) held by the partnership,

“(II) any gain on the disposition of an investment services partnership interest (as so defined) or a partnership interest to which (in the hands of the partnership) section 751 applies, and

“(III) any income or gain taken into account by the partnership under subsection (b)(4) or (e) of section 710.

“(ii) EXCEPTION FOR QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTERESTS.—A rule similar to the rule of section 710(d) shall apply for purposes of clause (i).

“(C) COORDINATION WITH OTHER PROVISIONS.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to any item described in paragraph (1)(E) (or so much of paragraph (1)(F) as relates to paragraph (1)(E)).

“(D) SPECIAL RULES FOR CERTAIN PARTNERSHIPS.—

“(i) CERTAIN PARTNERSHIPS OWNED BY REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUSTS.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply in the case of a partnership which meets each of the following requirements:

“(I) Such partnership is treated as publicly traded under this section solely by reason of interests in such partnership being convertible into interests in a real estate investment trust which is publicly traded.

“(II) Fifty percent or more of the capital and profits interests of such partnership are owned, directly or indirectly, at all times during the taxable year by such real estate investment trust (determined with the application of section 267(c)).

“(III) Such partnership meets the requirements of paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of section 856(c).

“(ii) CERTAIN PARTNERSHIPS OWNING OTHER PUBLICLY TRADED PARTNERSHIPS.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply in the case of a partnership which meets each of the following requirements:

“(I) Substantially all of the assets of such partnership consist of interests in one or more publicly traded partnerships (determined without regard to subsection (b)(2)).

“(II) Substantially all of the income of such partnership is ordinary income or section 1231 gain (as defined in section 1231(a)(3)).

“(E) TRANSITIONAL RULE.—Subparagraph (A) shall not apply to any taxable year of the partnership beginning before the date which is 10 years after the date of the enactment of this paragraph.”.

(d) IMPOSITION OF PENALTY ON UNDERPAYMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (b) of section 6662 is amended by inserting after paragraph (10) the following new paragraph:

“(11) The application of section 710(e) or the regulations or other guidance prescribed under section 710(g) to prevent the avoidance of the purposes of section 710.”.

(2) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 6662, as amended by this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(n) INCREASE IN PENALTY IN CASE OF PROPERTY TRANSFERRED FOR INVESTMENT MAN-

AGEMENT SERVICES.—In the case of any portion of an underpayment to which this section applies by reason of subsection (b)(11), subsection (a) shall be applied with respect to such portion by substituting ‘40 percent’ for ‘20 percent’.”.

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Subparagraph (B) of section 6662A(e)(2) is amended by striking “or (i)” and inserting “, (i), or (m)”.

(3) SPECIAL RULES FOR APPLICATION OF REASONABLE CAUSE EXCEPTION.—Subsection (c) of section 6664 is amended—

(A) by redesignating paragraphs (3) and (4) as paragraphs (4) and (5), respectively;

(B) by striking “paragraph (3)” in paragraph (5)(A), as so redesignated, and inserting “paragraph (4)”;

(C) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR UNDERPAYMENTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT SERVICES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any portion of an underpayment to which section 6662 applies by reason of subsection (b)(11) unless—

“(i) the relevant facts affecting the tax treatment of the item are adequately disclosed,

“(ii) there is or was substantial authority for such treatment, and

“(iii) the taxpayer reasonably believed that such treatment was more likely than not the proper treatment.

“(B) RULES RELATING TO REASONABLE BELIEF.—Rules similar to the rules of subsection (d)(4) shall apply for purposes of subparagraph (A)(iii).”.

(e) INCOME AND LOSS FROM INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DETERMINING NET EARNINGS FROM SELF-EMPLOYMENT.—

(1) INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 1402(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (16), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (17) and inserting “; and”, and by inserting after paragraph (17) the following new paragraph:

“(18) notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this subsection, in the case of any individual engaged in the trade or business of providing services described in section 710(c)(2) with respect to any entity, investment services partnership income or loss (as defined in subsection (m)) of such individual with respect to such entity shall be taken into account in determining the net earnings from self-employment of such individual.”.

(B) INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INCOME OR LOSS.—Section 1402 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(m) INVESTMENT SERVICES PARTNERSHIP INCOME OR LOSS.—For purposes of subsection (a)—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘investment services partnership income or loss’ means, with respect to any investment services partnership interest (as defined in section 710(c)) or disqualified interest (as defined in section 710(e)), the net of—

“(A) the amounts treated as ordinary income or ordinary loss under subsections (b) and (e) of section 710 with respect to such interest,

“(B) all items of income, gain, loss, and deduction allocated to such interest, and

“(C) the amounts treated as realized from the sale or exchange of property other than a capital asset under section 751 with respect to such interest.

“(2) EXCEPTION FOR QUALIFIED CAPITAL INTERESTS.—A rule similar to the rule of section 710(d) shall apply for purposes of applying paragraph (1)(B).”.

(2) SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.—Section 211(a) of the Social Security Act is amended by strik-

ing “and” at the end of paragraph (15), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (16) and inserting “; and”, and by inserting after paragraph (16) the following new paragraph:

“(17) Notwithstanding the preceding provisions of this subsection, in the case of any individual engaged in the trade or business of providing services described in section 710(c)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to any entity, investment services partnership income or loss (as defined in section 1402(m) of such Code) shall be taken into account in determining the net earnings from self-employment of such individual.”.

(f) SEPARATE ACCOUNTING BY PARTNER.—Section 702(a) is amended by striking “and” at the end of paragraph (7), by striking the period at the end of paragraph (8) and inserting “, and”, and by inserting after paragraph (8) the following:

“(9) any amount treated as ordinary income or loss under subsection (a), (b), or (e) of section 710.”.

(g) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Subsection (d) of section 731 is amended by inserting “section 710(b)(4) (relating to distributions of partnership property),” after “to the extent otherwise provided by”.

(2) Section 741 is amended by inserting “or section 710 (relating to special rules for partners providing investment management services to partnerships)” before the period at the end.

(3) The table of sections for part I of subchapter K of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 710. Special rules for partners providing investment management services to partnerships.”.

(4)(A) Part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by striking section 1061.

(B) The table of sections for part IV of subchapter O of chapter 1 is amended by striking the item relating to section 1061.

(h) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) PARTNERSHIP TAXABLE YEARS WHICH INCLUDE EFFECTIVE DATE.—In applying section 710(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this section) in the case of any partnership taxable year which includes the date of the enactment of this Act, the amount of the net capital gain referred to in such section shall be treated as being the lesser of the net capital gain for the entire partnership taxable year or the net capital gain determined by only taking into account items attributable to the portion of the partnership taxable year which is after such date.

(3) DISPOSITIONS OF PARTNERSHIP INTERESTS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 710(b) of such Code (as added by this section) shall apply to dispositions and distributions after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(B) INDIRECT DISPOSITIONS.—The amendments made by subsection (b) shall apply to transactions after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(4) OTHER INCOME AND GAIN IN CONNECTION WITH INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT SERVICES.—Section 710(e) of such Code (as added by this section) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

SA 2443. Mr. KELLY (for himself, Mr. KAINE, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. PETERS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM)

to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 20306(a)(6)(D), of title 51, United States Code (as added by section 40005), strike the semicolon at the end and insert “; and”

In section 20306(a)(6)(E) of title 51, United States Code (as added by section 40005), strike “; and” and insert a period.

In section 20306(a)(6) of title 51, United States Code (as added by section 40005), strike subparagraph (F).

In section 20306 of title 51, United States Code (as added by section 40005), strike subsection (b).

In section 20306 of title 51, United States Code (as added by section 40005), redesignate subsection (c) as subsection (b).

SA 2444. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____. CONDITIONAL EFFECTIVENESS.

Sections 10101 through 10108, and the amendments made by such sections, shall only take effect upon the Administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service and the Administrator of the Economic Research Service of the Department of Agriculture, and all State agencies (as defined in section 3 of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012)), issuing reports evaluating and certifying that any changes made by sections 10101 through 10108, or the amendments made by such sections, to the supplemental nutrition assistance program will not result in a decrease in benefits to eligible individuals who are part of households with children under the age of 18, or a decrease in participation due to changes in eligibility impacting individuals who are part of households with children under the age of 18, in comparison to what would have occurred in the absence of sections 10101 through 10108, and the amendments made by such sections.

SA 2445. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10104.

SA 2446. Mr. MERKLEY (for himself, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. REED) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____. PREVENTING CRYPTOCURRENCY CORRUPTION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection—

(A) the term “covered cryptocurrency” means any cryptocurrency, meme coin, token, non-fungible token, payment stablecoin, or other digital asset that is sold for remuneration;

(B) the term “covered former special Government employee” means an individual who—

(i) served as a special Government employee associated with the Executive Office of the President on or after January 1, 2024; and

(ii) ceased to serve as a special Government employee associated with the Executive Office of the President during the period beginning on January 2, 2024 and ending on the day before the date of enactment of this Act;

(C) the term “covered individual” means—

(i) the President;

(ii) the Vice President;

(iii) a Member of Congress;

(iv) an individual appointed to a Senate-confirmed position;

(v) a special Government employee associated with the Executive Office of the President; or

(vi) a covered former special Government employee;

(D) the term “directly” means by virtue of the ownership or beneficial interest of a covered individual, or the spouse or child of a covered individual, in an issuer of a covered cryptocurrency;

(E) the term “indirectly” means by virtue of the financial interest of a covered individual, or the spouse or child of a covered individual, in a business entity, partnership interest, company, investment fund, trust, or other third party in which the covered individual, or the spouse or child of a covered individual, has an ownership or beneficial interest;

(F) the term “Member of Congress” has the meaning given that term in section 13101 of title 5, United States Code;

(G) the term “payment stablecoin”—

(i) means a digital asset—

(I) that is, or is designed to be, used as a means of payment or settlement; and

(II) the issuer of which—

(aa) is obligated to convert, redeem, or repurchase for a fixed amount of monetary value, not including a digital asset denominated in a fixed amount of monetary value; and

(bb) represents that such issuer will maintain, or create the reasonable expectation that it will maintain, a stable value relative to the value of a fixed amount of monetary value; and

(ii) does not include a digital asset that—

(I) is a national currency;

(II) is a deposit (as defined in section 3 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1813)), including a deposit recorded using distributed ledger technology; or

(III) is a security, as defined in section 2 of the Securities Act of 1933 (15 U.S.C. 77b), section 3 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78c), or section 2 of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a-2);

(H) the term “promote” includes the use of the name and likeness of a covered individual in any marketing materials, including in the title of the covered cryptocurrency; and

(I) the term “special Government employee” has the meaning given the term in section 202(a) of title 18, United States Code.

(2) PROHIBITION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—It shall be unlawful for any covered individual described in clauses (i) through (v) of paragraph (1)(C), or any spouse or child of any such covered individual, to directly or indirectly own, control, promote in exchange for anything of value, or affiliate with any issuer of a covered cryptocurrency or any entity that provides custodial or safekeeping services for covered cryptocurrencies.

(B) COVERED FORMER SPECIAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.—It shall be unlawful for any

covered former special Government employee, or any spouse or child of a covered special Government employee, to directly or indirectly own, control, promote in exchange for anything of value, or affiliate with any issuer of a covered cryptocurrency or any entity that provides custodial or safekeeping services for covered cryptocurrencies during the 1-year period beginning on the last day of service of the covered former special Government employee as a special Government employee associated with the Executive Office of the President.

(3) TRANSITION.—Any individual in violation of subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (2) on the date of enactment of this Act shall, not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, come into compliance with the prohibition under that paragraph.

(4) ENFORCEMENT.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Beginning on the date that is 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, a violation of paragraph (2) shall be punishable by not more than 5 years in prison and fines of not more than 3 times the monetary value of any earnings related to the violation.

(B) NOT AN OFFICIAL ACT.—A violation of paragraph (2)(A) shall not be deemed an official act if committed by any covered individual described in clauses (i) through (v) of paragraph (1)(C) who is in office at the time of the violation.

(C) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—No person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished for any offense under this subsection unless the indictment for such offense is instituted, not later than 15 years after the date on which the offense was committed.

(b) FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE REPORTS.—Section 13104(b) of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3); and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following:

“(2) DISCLOSURE RELATING TO COVERED CRYPTOCURRENCY INVOLVEMENT.—

“(A) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) COVERED CRYPTOCURRENCY.—The term ‘covered cryptocurrency’ means any cryptocurrency, meme coin, token, non-fungible token, payment stablecoin, or other digital asset that is sold for remuneration.

“(ii) DIRECTLY.—The term ‘directly’ means by virtue of the ownership or beneficial interest of a reporting individual, or the spouse or child of a reporting individual, in a covered cryptocurrency issuer.

“(iii) INDIRECTLY.—The term ‘indirectly’ means by virtue of the financial interest of a reporting individual, or the spouse or child of a reporting individual, in a business entity, partnership interest, company, investment fund, trust, or other third party in which the reporting individual, or the spouse or child of a reporting individual, has an ownership or beneficial interest.

“(iv) PAYMENT STABLECOIN.—The term ‘payment stablecoin’—

“(I) means a digital asset—

“(aa) that is, or is designed to be, used as a means of payment or settlement; and

“(bb) the issuer of which—

“(AA) is obligated to convert, redeem, or repurchase for a fixed amount of monetary value, not including a digital asset denominated in a fixed amount of monetary value; and

“(BB) represents that such issuer will maintain, or create the reasonable expectation that it will maintain, a stable value relative to the value of a fixed amount of monetary value; and

“(II) does not include a digital asset that—

“(aa) is a national currency;

“(bb) is a deposit (as defined in section 3 of the Federal Deposit Insurance Act (12 U.S.C. 1813)), including a deposit recorded using distributed ledger technology; or

“(cc) is a security, as defined in section 2 of the Securities Act of 1933 (15 U.S.C. 77b), section 3 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78c), or section 2 of the Investment Company Act of 1940 (15 U.S.C. 80a-2).

“(v) PROMOTE.—The term ‘promote’ includes the use of the name and likeness of a reporting individual in any marketing materials, including in the title of the covered cryptocurrency.

“(B) REQUIREMENT.—Each report filed pursuant to subsections (b) and (c) of section 13103 shall include a statement of whether the reporting individual, or the spouse or child of the reporting individual, as of the filing date, directly or indirectly owns, controls, promotes in exchange for anything of value, or affiliates with any covered cryptocurrency issuer or any entity that provides custodial or safekeeping services for covered cryptocurrencies.”.

SA 2447. Mr. MERKLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . END JUNK FEES FOR RENTERS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) APPROPRIATE REGULATOR.—The term “appropriate regulator” means—

(A) the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, with respect to covered dwelling units described in—

(i) paragraph (2)(A);

(ii) paragraph (2)(B), to the extent the Federally backed mortgage loan referred to in such paragraph is described in subparagraph (A), (B), or (C) of paragraph (3); or

(iii) paragraph (2)(B), to the extent the Federally backed mortgage loan referred to in such paragraph is described in paragraph (4) and is made in whole or in part, or insured, guaranteed, supplemented, or assisted in any way under or in connection with a housing or urban development program administered by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development;

(B) the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, with respect to covered dwelling units described in paragraph (2)(B), to the extent the Federally backed mortgage loan referred to in such paragraph is described in—

(i) paragraph (3)(D); or

(ii) paragraph (4) and is made in whole or in part, or insured, guaranteed, supplemented, or assisted in any way, by the Secretary of Veterans Affairs or under or in connection with a housing or related program administered by Secretary of Veterans Affairs;

(C) the Secretary of Agriculture, with respect to covered dwelling units described in paragraph (2)(B), to the extent the Federally backed mortgage loan referred to in such paragraph is described in—

(i) subparagraph (E) or (F) of paragraph (3); or

(ii) paragraph (4) and is made in whole or in part, or insured, guaranteed, supplemented, or assisted in any way, by the Secretary of Agriculture or under or in connection with a housing or related program administered by Secretary of Agriculture; and

(D) the Director of the Federal Housing Finance Agency, with respect to covered dwelling units described in paragraph (2)(B), to the extent the Federally backed mortgage loan referred to in such paragraph is described in—

(i) paragraph (3)(G); or

(ii) paragraph (4) and is purchased or securitized by the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation or the Federal National Mortgage Association.

(2) COVERED DWELLING UNIT.—The term “covered dwelling unit” means a dwelling unit that—

(A) is provided assistance within the jurisdiction of the Department, as defined in section 102(m) of the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989 (42 U.S.C. 3545(m)); or

(B) is subject to, or is on or in a property that is subject to, a Federally backed single-family mortgage loan or a Federally backed multifamily mortgage loan.

(3) FEDERALLY BACKED SINGLE-FAMILY MORTGAGE LOAN.—The term “Federally backed single-family mortgage loan” includes any loan that is secured by a first or subordinate lien on residential real property (including individual units of condominiums and cooperatives) designed principally for the occupancy of from 1- to 4-families that is—

(A) insured by the Federal Housing Administration under title II of the National Housing Act (12 U.S.C. 1707 et seq.);

(B) insured under section 255 of the National Housing Act (12 U.S.C. 1715z-20);

(C) guaranteed under section 184 or 184A of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 (12 U.S.C. 1715z-13a, 1715z-13b);

(D) guaranteed or insured by the Department of Veterans Affairs;

(E) guaranteed or insured by the Department of Agriculture;

(F) made by the Department of Agriculture; or

(G) purchased or securitized by the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation or the Federal National Mortgage Association.

(4) FEDERALLY BACKED MULTIFAMILY MORTGAGE LOAN.—The term “Federally backed multifamily mortgage loan” includes any loan (other than temporary financing such as a construction loan) that—

(A) is secured by a first or subordinate lien on residential multifamily real property designed principally for the occupancy of 5 or more families, including any such secured loan, the proceeds of which are used to prepay or pay off an existing loan secured by the same property; and

(B) is made in whole or in part, or insured, guaranteed, supplemented, or assisted in any way, by any officer or agency of the Federal Government or under or in connection with a housing or urban development program administered by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development or a housing or related program administered by any other such officer or agency, or is purchased or securitized by the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation or the Federal National Mortgage Association.

(5) OWNER.—The term “owner” means, with respect to a dwelling unit, any private person or entity, including a cooperative, an agency of the Federal Government, or a public housing agency, having the legal right to lease or sublease the dwelling unit.

(b) RENTAL JUNK FEES.—

(1) APPLICATION FEES.—The appropriate regulator shall prohibit the owner of a covered dwelling unit from assessing or collecting a fee or charge, from any household in connection with the submission of an application for rental of the dwelling unit.

(2) TENANT SCREENING FEES.—The appropriate regulator shall prohibit the owner of a covered dwelling unit from assessing to or collecting from any household applying to rent the dwelling unit any fee or charge for costs of conducting any criminal history, tenant screening, consumer report, or other background check of the household.

(3) LATE FEES.—The appropriate regulator shall require that owners of covered dwelling units—

(A) only impose fees or charges on tenants in connection with the late payment of rent for a covered dwelling unit if the amount of the fee or charge is less than 3 percent of the monthly rent the tenant pays for the covered dwelling unit;

(B) only impose fees or charges on tenants in connection with the late payment of rent for a covered dwelling unit if 15 days have elapsed since the date on which the rent was due; and

(C) disclose the requirements imposed under subparagraphs (A) and (B) in any lease entered for a covered dwelling unit on or after the date on which rules are issued under subsection (c).

(4) REQUIRED DISCLOSURES.—The appropriate regulator shall require each owner of a covered dwelling unit to disclose to the tenant before a lease is signed—

(A) the total amount due each month, including any fees;

(B) to the degree practicable, a summary of any past litigation between the owner and any former or current tenants;

(C) a description of any ongoing pest and maintenance issues; and

(D) the amount rent increase for the property in each of the 10 previous years.

(c) RULEMAKING.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection and the Federal Trade Commission shall issue a rule that—

(1) defines the term “junk fee” with respect to rental housing; and

(2) finds the furnishing of any information about a unpaid junk fee (as such term is defined pursuant to paragraph (1)) to a consumer reporting agency to be a unfair or unconscionable means to collect or attempt to collect debt in violation of section 808 of the Fair Debt Collection Practices Act (15 U.S.C. 1692f).

SA 2448. Mr. MERKLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . HOMEOWNERSHIP PROVISIONS.

(a) EXCISE TAX ON ACQUISITION OF SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES BY HEDGE FUND TAXPAYERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50B—SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES

“Sec. 5000E. Newly acquired single-family residences.

“SEC. 5000E. NEWLY ACQUIRED SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—There is hereby imposed the acquisition of any newly acquired single-family residence by a hedge fund taxpayer an amount equal to 15 percent of the purchase price thereof.

“(b) NEWLY ACQUIRED SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCE.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘newly acquired single-family residence’ means any residential property which—

“(A) consists of 1-to-4 dwelling units, and

“(B) was acquired by the taxpayer in any taxable year which begins after the date of the enactment of this chapter.

“(2) EXCEPTION.—A residential property shall not be treated as a newly acquired single-family residence if, immediately after acquisition and at all times thereafter, such property is—

“(A) not rented or leased, and

“(B) used as the principal residence (within the meaning of section 121) of any person who has an ownership interest in the hedge fund taxpayer acquiring such taxpayer.

“(C) HEDGE FUND TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this chapter—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘hedge fund taxpayer’ means, with respect to any taxable year, any applicable entity which—

“(A) manages funds pooled from investors,

“(B) has \$50,000,000 or more in net value or assets under management on any day during the taxable year, and

“(C) is a fiduciary with respect to such investors.

“(2) APPLICABLE ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable entity’ means—

“(i) any partnership,

“(ii) any corporation, or

“(iii) any real estate investment trust.

“(B) EXCEPTIONS.—The term ‘applicable entity’ shall not include—

“(i) an organization which is described in section 501(c)(3) and exempt from tax under section 501(a), or

“(ii) an organization which is primarily engaged in the construction or rehabilitation of single-family residences and which offers such residences for sale in the ordinary course of business.

“(3) AGGREGATION RULES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—All persons which are treated as a single employer under subsections (a) and (b) of section 52 shall be treated as a single person.

“(B) MODIFICATIONS.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(i) section 52(a) shall be applied by substituting ‘component members’ for ‘members’, and

“(ii) for purposes of applying section 52(b), the term ‘trade or business’ shall include any activity treated as a trade or business under paragraph (5) or (6) of section 469(c) (determined without regard to the phrase ‘To the extent provided in regulations’ in such paragraph (6)).

“(C) COMPONENT MEMBER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘component member’ has the meaning given such term by section 1563(b), except that the determination shall be made without regard to section 1563(b)(2).

“(d) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND RULES.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) PURCHASE PRICE.—The term ‘purchase price’ means the adjusted basis of the newly acquired single-family residence on the date such residence is purchased.

“(2) ACQUISITION.—A hedge fund taxpayer shall be treated as acquiring a single-family residence if the taxpayer acquires a majority ownership interest in the single-family residence, regardless of the percentage of that ownership interest.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters for subtitle D is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50B—EXCESS SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES”.

(3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) CORPORATE SURTAX ON HEDGE FUND TAXPAYERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 11 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) HEDGE FUND TAXPAYERS.—In the case of a corporation which is described in section 5000E(c), the percentage under subsection (b) shall be increased by 5 percentage points.”.

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2035.

(c) DISALLOWANCE OF CERTAIN DEDUCTIONS TAKEN IN CONNECTION WITH SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES OF HEDGE FUND TAXPAYERS.—

(1) MORTGAGE INTEREST.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 163 is amended by redesignating subsection (n) as subsection (o) and by inserting after subsection (m) the following new subsection:

“(n) NO DEDUCTION FOR INTEREST ON ACQUISITION INDEBTEDNESS OF SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES OF CERTAIN TAXPAYERS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a hedge fund taxpayer, no deduction shall be allowed under this chapter with respect to interest paid or accrued on acquisition indebtedness with respect to any single family residence.

“(2) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) HEDGE FUND TAXPAYER.—The term ‘hedge fund taxpayer’ means, for any taxable year, any taxpayer—

“(i) who is described in section 5000E(c), and

“(ii) who is in the trade or business of renting or leasing single-family residences.

“(B) ACQUISITION INDEBTEDNESS.—The term ‘acquisition indebtedness’ has the meaning given such term under subsection (h)(3)(B), determined—

“(i) by substituting ‘single-family residence (as defined in subsection (n))’ for ‘qualified residence’, and

“(ii) without regard to clause (ii) thereof.

“(C) SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCE.—The term ‘single-family residence’ means any residential property which consists of 1-to-4 dwelling units”.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2030.

(2) DEPRECIATION.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 167 is amended by redesignating subsection (i) as subsection (j) and by inserting after subsection (h) the following new subsection:

“(i) DEDUCTION DISALLOWED FOR SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES OF CERTAIN TAXPAYERS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a hedge fund taxpayer, no deduction shall be allowed under this section for any single family residence.

“(2) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) HEDGE FUND TAXPAYER.—The term ‘hedge fund taxpayer’ means, for any taxable year, any taxpayer—

“(i) who is described in section 5000E(c), and

“(ii) who is in the trade or business of renting or leasing single-family residences.

“(B) SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCE.—The term ‘single-family residence’ means any residential property which consists of 1-to-4 dwelling units.”.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2030.

(3) QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 199A(d) is amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (A), by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting “, or”, and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) any trade or business of hedge fund taxpayer (as defined in section 163(n)(2)(A)).”.

(B) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this paragraph shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2035.

SA 2449. Mr. MERKLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation

pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50302(a)(3), strike subparagraph (C) and insert the following:

(C) RECEIPTS.—Of the monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B)—

(i) 50 percent shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(ii) 50 percent shall be distributed to the county within the boundaries of which the applicable National Forest System land is located.

In section 50302(b)(3), strike subparagraph (C) and insert the following:

(C) RECEIPTS.—Of the monies derived from a contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B)—

(i) 50 percent shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(ii) 50 percent shall be distributed to the county within the boundaries of which the applicable public lands are located.

In section 1706(f)(1) of the Energy Policy Act of 2005 (as added by section 50403(a)(6)), strike “\$1,000,000,000” and insert “\$819,000,000”.

SA 2450. Mr. MERKLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50302(a)(3), strike subparagraph (C) and insert the following:

(C) RECEIPTS.—Of the monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B)—

(i) 50 percent shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(ii) 50 percent shall be distributed to the county within the boundaries of which the applicable National Forest System land is located.

In section 50302(b)(3), strike subparagraph (C) and insert the following:

(C) RECEIPTS.—Of the monies derived from a contract entered into to meet the requirements under subparagraphs (A) and (B)—

(i) 50 percent shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury; and

(ii) 50 percent shall be distributed to the county within the boundaries of which the applicable public lands are located.

In section 50401(b), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “September 30, 2029—” and all that follows through the period in paragraph (2) and insert “September 30, 2029, \$217,000,000 for maintenance of, including repairs to, storage facilities and related facilities of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.”

SA 2451. Mr. MERKLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 100052, strike paragraph (8).

SA 2452. Mr. MERKLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14;

which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 90003(a), strike “and family residential center capacity”.

In section 90003(b), strike the first sentence.

In section 90003, strike subsection (c).

SA 2453. Mr. SCHIFF (for himself and Mr. BENNET) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS UNTIL REHIRING OF FOREST SERVICE PERSONNEL.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COVERED INDIVIDUAL.—The term “covered individual” means an individual who—

(A) was separated from Federal service during the period beginning on January 20, 2025, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act as part of a mass removal of Federal employees; and

(B) as of the date of separation described in subparagraph (A) was employed with the Forest Service.

(2) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Agriculture.

(b) PROHIBITION.—None of the funds made available by this Act or any amendment made by this Act shall be used until the date on which the Secretary certifies that—

(1) each covered individual is employed with the Forest Service; or

(2) with respect to each covered individual who declines employment with the Forest Service or is otherwise unavailable for such employment, another qualified individual who is not a covered individual is employed with the Forest Service.

(c) DIRECT HIRING AUTHORITY.—For purposes of carrying out this section, the Secretary may noncompetitively appoint qualified individuals to positions in the Forest Service.

SA 2454. Mr. SCHIFF (for himself and Mr. BOOKER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS UNTIL RESUMPTION OF PAYMENTS UNDER CONTRACTS.

None of the funds made available by this Act or any amendment made by this Act shall be used until the date on which the Secretary of Agriculture certifies that payments under all contracts entered into by the Department of Agriculture during the period beginning on October 1, 2020, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act are being made in accordance with the terms of the contracts.

SA 2455. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title IX, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . RESTRICTION ON IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AT FARMS.

None of the funds made available under this Act may be used by the Department of

Homeland Security to carry out immigration enforcement operations at a farm.

SA 2456. Mr. SCHIFF (for himself and Mr. KELLY) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . TAX ON DIGITAL ASSETS ISSUED BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new part:

“PART VIII—CERTAIN INCOME FROM DIGITAL ASSETS

“Sec. 59B. Income from the issuance of digital assets by public officials.

“SEC. 59B. INCOME FROM THE ISSUANCE OF DIGITAL ASSETS BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, if such individual has applicable digital asset income for the taxable year—

“(1) gross income shall be reduced by the amount of such applicable digital asset income, and

“(2) the tax imposed by section 1 for the taxable year shall be increased by an amount equal to 100 percent of such applicable digital asset income (determined by reducing the amount of such income by any deductions properly allocable to such income).

“(b) APPLICABLE DIGITAL ASSET INCOME.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable digital asset income’ means, with respect to any individual, any income derived in connection with the issuance of a digital asset by such individual or any person related to such individual if, at the time such digital asset is issued, the individual is a person who is such as is described in section 13101(f) of title 5, United States Code.

“(2) DIGITAL ASSET.—The term ‘digital asset’ has the meaning given such term under section 6045(g)(3)(D).

“(3) RELATED PERSON.—For purposes of paragraph (1), a person is related to another person if the relationship between such persons would result in a disallowance of losses under section 267 or 707(b).

“(c) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations or other guidance as is necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance to the determination of items of income which are derived in connection with the issuance of digital assets.”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of parts for subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“PART VIII—CERTAIN INCOME FROM DIGITAL ASSETS”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SA 2457. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 90003(a), strike “\$45,000,000,000” and insert “\$42,774,500,000”.

At the end of subtitle B of title IX, add the following:

SEC. 901 _____ . NONPROFIT SECURITY GRANT PROGRAM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2025 \$2,225,500,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for the Nonprofit Security Grant Program established under section 2009 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 609a).

SA 2458. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50305, strike paragraph (3).

SA 2459. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50402(b)(2), strike subparagraph (D).

In section 50402(b)(2), redesignate subparagraphs (E) through (H) as subparagraphs (D) through (G), respectively.

SA 2460. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 50303.

SA 2461. Mr. SCHIFF (for himself and Mr. BOOKER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 6(o)(3) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)(3)) (as amended by section 10102(a)), redesignate subparagraphs (F) and (G) as subparagraphs (G) and (H), respectively.

In section 6(o)(3) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2015(o)(3)) (as amended by section 10102(a)), insert after subparagraph (E) the following:

“(F) a veteran;”

SA 2462. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 71116.

SA 2463. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike chapter 1 of subtitle B of title VII and insert the following:

SEC. 71101. CORPORATE INCOME TAX RATE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 11(b) is amended by striking “21 percent” and inserting “25 percent”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2464. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 71118.

SA 2465. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50301(f), add at the end the following:

(5) PROHIBITION.—The Secretary may not dispose of any tract of covered Federal land for which the Secretary has received—

(A) from the Governor of the State in which the tract of covered Federal land is located notice that the Governor disapproves of the proposed disposal; or

(B) from an Indian Tribe notice indicating that the Indian Tribe—

(i) has a connection to the applicable tract of covered Federal land under the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (16 U.S.C. 470aa et seq.) or the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (25 U.S.C. 3001 et seq.) or a historic property (as defined in section 300308 of title 54, United States Code) located on the applicable tract of covered Federal land that is confirmed by the Secretary; and

(ii) objects to the proposed disposal of the applicable tract of covered Federal land.

SA 2466. Mr. SCHIFF (for himself, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. BENNET, and Mr. WELCH) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 557, strike line 21 and all that follows through page 561, line 2, and insert the following:

(1) ESTABLISHMENT OF 39.6 PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (G) and by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

“(F) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), in prescribing the tables under this subsection for purposes of paragraph (3)(B)—

“(i) the excess of taxable income over \$10,000,000, if any, shall be taxed at a rate of 39.6 percent, and

“(ii) paragraph (3)(B)(i) shall be applied with respect to such \$10,000,000 amount by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2017’.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2467. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to

amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in chapter 5 of subtitle A of title VII, insert the following:

SEC. 705 . . . ELIMINATING RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.

(a) CLEAN ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION CREDIT.—Section 45Y, as amended by subsections (a) and (d) of section 70512 of this Act, is amended—

(1) in subsection (d), by striking paragraph (4), and

(2) by striking subsection (h).

(b) CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.—Section 48E(e), as amended by subsections (a) and (c)(1) of section 70513 of this Act, is amended—

(1) in subsection (e), by striking paragraph (4), and

(2) by striking subsection (i).

(c) GEOTHERMAL HEAT PUMPS.—Section 50, as amended by section 70513(c)(2) of this Act, is amended by striking subsection (e).

(d) ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.—Section 45X(b)(3), as amended by section 70514(b) of this Act, is amended by striking subparagraph (D).

(e) EXCISE TAX ON CERTAIN FACILITIES.—Subtitle D, as amended by section 70512(1) of this Act, is amended by striking section 5000E-1.

(f) ESTABLISHMENT OF 39.6 PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (G) and by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

“(F) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), in prescribing the tables under this subsection for purposes of paragraph (3)(B)—

“(i) the excess of taxable income over \$10,000,000, if any, shall be taxed at a rate of 39.6 percent, and

“(ii) paragraph (3)(B)(i) shall be applied with respect to such \$10,000,000 amount by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2017’.”

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this subsection shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2468. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of chapter 5 of subtitle A of title VII, insert the following:

SEC. 705 . . . SUNSET PROVISION.

If the Energy Information Administration determines that the amendments enacted under this chapter have resulted in the average price of electricity to ultimate customers in the residential category having increased for 3 consecutive months, the amendments made by this chapter shall be repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied as if such amendments had not been enacted.

SA 2469. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14;

which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50301(f), add at the end the following:

(5) PROHIBITION.—The Secretary may not dispose of any tract of covered Federal land for which the Secretary has received from the Governor of the State in which the tract of covered Federal land is located notice that the Governor disapproves of the proposed disposal.

SA 2470. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50301(a), strike paragraph (4) and insert the following:

(4) FEDERALLY PROTECTED LAND.—The term “federally protected land” means—

(A) a National Monument;

(B) a National Recreation Area;

(C) a component of the National Wilderness Preservation System;

(D) a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

(E) a component of the National Trails System;

(F) a National Conservation Area;

(G) a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System;

(H) a unit of the National Fish Hatchery System;

(I) a unit of the National Park System;

(J) a National Preserve;

(K) a National Seashore or National Lakeshore;

(L) a National Historic Site;

(M) a National Memorial;

(N) a National Battlefield, National Battlefield Park, National Battlefield Site, or National Military Park;

(O) a National Historical Park;

(P) a designated wilderness study area;

(Q) an inventoried roadless area within the National Forest System;

(R) an area of critical environmental concern;

(S) Federal land that has been withdrawn; or

(T) Federal land that holds natural resource value, as determined by the Secretary concerned.

SA 2471. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50301(f), add at the end the following:

(5) REVERSIONARY INTEREST.—If the Secretary determines that housing has not been constructed on a tract of covered Federal land conveyed under this section by the date that is 5 years after the date of the conveyance of the tract of covered Federal land, the tract of covered Federal land shall revert to the United States.

SA 2472. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50301(f), add at the end the following:

(5) **PROHIBITION.**—The Secretary may not dispose of any tract of covered Federal land for which the Secretary has received from an Indian Tribe notice indicating that the Indian Tribe—

(A) has a connection to the applicable tract of covered Federal land under the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (16 U.S.C. 470aa et seq.) or the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (25 U.S.C. 3001 et seq.) or a historic property (as defined in section 300308 of title 54, United States Code) located on the applicable tract of covered Federal land that is confirmed by the Secretary; and

(B) objects to the proposed disposal of the applicable tract of covered Federal land.

SA 2473. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . PROHIBITION ON GRANT CANCELLATION.

The Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency shall be prohibited from canceling any grant after the date that such grant is awarded.

SA 2474. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 70104, insert the following:

(g) **INCREASE TIED TO AVERAGE WAGE.**—Section 24(h) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(8) **INCREASE TIED TO AVERAGE WAGE.**—If the average wages and salaries for the first 12-month period ending after the date of the enactment of this Act, as determined according to the Employment Cost Index for total compensation for civilian workers, are not at least 3.5 percent higher than such average wages and salaries, as so determined, for calendar year 2024—

“(A) paragraph (2) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$3,600 (\$6,360 in the case of a child who has not attained age 1 as of the last day of the taxable year, and \$4,320 in the case of a child who has attained age 1 but has not attained age 7 as of the last day of the taxable year)’ for ‘\$2,200’, and

“(B) subsection (i)(2) shall be applied by substituting ‘\$3,600, \$6,360, and \$4,320 amounts’ for ‘\$2,200 amount’.”.

SA 2475. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . EFFECTIVE DATE.

Title 1 and the amendments made by title I shall not take effect until the date on which the Administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service certifies that those provisions and amendments shall not result in a

reduction in nutrition benefits for children, seniors, or veterans.

SA 2476. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . INEFFECTIVENESS ON CBO DETERMINATION.

If the Congressional Budget Office determines that the provisions of, or the amendments made by, this Act would increase the number of children without nutrition assistance, such provisions or amendments shall be null and void and this Act shall be applied and administered as if such provisions and amendments had not been enacted.

SA 2477. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . EFFECTIVE DATE.

Title 1 and the amendments made by title I shall not take effect until the date on which the Administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service certifies that those provisions and amendments shall not result in an increase in the number of children who are obese or living with a diet-related disease as compared to such number if such provisions and amendments were not enacted.

SA 2478. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . SPECIAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,490,200,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to be used for the National Science Foundation and the Arctic Research Commission as follows:

(1) \$1,130,000,000 for the Directorate for Biological Sciences, of which not less than \$282,500,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(2) \$1,286,000,000 for the Directorate for Computer and Information Science and Engineering, of which not less than \$321,500,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(3) \$1,732,000,000 for the Directorate for STEM Education, of which not less than \$433,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(4) \$1,112,000,000 for the Directorate for Engineering, of which not less than \$278,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(5) \$1,408,000,000 for the Directorate for Geosciences, of which not less than

\$352,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(6) \$2,078,000,000 for the Directorate for Mathematical and Physical Sciences, of which not less than \$519,500,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(7) \$392,000,000 for the Directorate for Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences, of which not less than \$98,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(8) \$536,000,000 for the Directorate for Technology, Innovation and Partnerships, of which not less than \$134,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(9) \$7,000,000 for the Office of the Chief of Research Security Strategy and Policy, of which not less than \$1,750,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(10) \$102,000,000 for the Office of International Science and Engineering, of which not less than \$25,500,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(11) \$504,000,000 for the Office of Integrative Activities, of which not less than \$126,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(12) \$1,200,000 for the Arctic Research Commission, of which not less than \$300,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(13) \$186,000,000 for National Science Foundation operations and award management, of which not less than \$46,500,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(14) \$13,000,000 for the Office of the Inspector General, of which not less than \$3,250,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(15) \$4,000,000 for the National Science Board, of which not less than \$1,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

(b) **OBLIGATION AND OUTLAYS OF FUNDS.**—Funds appropriated under subsection (a) shall be obligated and outlaid as follows:

(1) Not less than 50 percent of those funds shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2028.

(2) 100 percent of those funds shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2029.

(3) All associated outlays shall occur not later than September 30, 2034.

SA 2479. Mr. BLUMENTHAL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 20003(a)(9), strike “\$7,200,000,000” and insert “\$4,200,000,000”.

At the end of title II, add the following:

SEC. 20016. UKRAINE SECURITY ASSISTANCE INITIATIVE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there are appropriated to the Secretary of Defense for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$3,000,000,000, for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative.

SA 2480. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 40002(c)(3), add the following:

(C) CERTIFICATION.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall certify that reallocation of any specific frequencies identified for commercial use would not negatively impact the primary mission of the Federal Aviation Administration.

SA 2481. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by section 40002(b)(1), strike subparagraphs (A) and (B) and insert the following:

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(C) in any band of frequencies of which the Federal Aviation Administration is the primary user, such authority shall not apply.”.

SA 2482. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 809, strike lines 19 through 21 and insert the following:

“(i) The term ‘eligible institution’ means an eligible institution for purposes of section 401, but does not include a proprietary institution, as defined in section 102(b).

SA 2483. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title II, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROHIBITION ON FUNDING FOR PROCUREMENT OR MODIFICATION OF FOREIGN PLANES FOR USE AS EXECUTIVE AIRLIFT AIRCRAFT.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) EXECUTIVE AIRLIFT AIRCRAFT.—The term “executive airlift aircraft” means an aircraft used or intended for the transport of the President, Vice President, or individual serving in a cabinet-level position, as designated by the President.

(2) FOREIGN SOURCE.—The term “foreign source” means an entity that is not incorporated or headquartered in the United States.

(b) LIMITATION.—None of the funds made available under this title may be used—

(1) to procure, upgrade, retrofit, or modify an aircraft acquired from a foreign source for use as an executive airlift aircraft, including any aircraft designated or intended for use as Air Force One; or

(2) to transfer such an aircraft to a non-governmental entity.

SA 2484. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for

reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of part I of subtitle A of title X, add the following:

SEC. 100019. INCOME-BASED FULL AND PARTIAL INCOME-BASED IMMIGRATION FEE WAIVERS.

(a) NEW FEES IMPOSED UNDER THIS PART.—Notwithstanding any other provision under this part—

(1) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, no fee may be charged or collected from the alien under this part; and

(2) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, each of the applicable fees under this part shall be reduced for such alien by not less than 50 percent.

(b) FORM I-94 APPLICATIONS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

(1) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, no fee may be charged or collected from the alien in connection with an application for a Form I-94 Arrival/Departure Record; and

(2) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, the fee imposed on such alien in connection with an application described in paragraph (1) shall be reduced by not less than 50 percent.

(c) DEFINED TERM.—Section 101(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(53) The term ‘Federal poverty line’ has the meaning given such term by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, as revised annually by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, in accordance with section 673(2) of the Community Services Block Grant Act (42 U.S.C. 9902(2)).”.

(d) DIVERSITY IMMIGRANT VISA APPLICATIONS.—Section 204(a)(1)(I)(iv) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1154(a)(1)(I)(iv)) is amended—

(1) by moving the margin 4 ems to the left; and

(2) by inserting “(I)” before “Each petition”; and

(3) by striking “All amounts” and inserting the following:

“(II) Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

“(aa) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, the fee required under subclause (I) shall be waived; and

“(bb) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, the fee required under subclause (I) shall be reduced by not less than 50 percent.

“(III) All amounts”.

(e) ASYLUM APPLICATIONS.—Section 208(d)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1158(d)(3)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The Attorney General may impose” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General may impose”.

(2) by striking “Nothing” and inserting the following:

“(B) INCOME-BASED FEE WAIVER OR REDUCTION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

“(i) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, no fee may be collected from the alien under this paragraph; and

“(ii) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, the fee imposed under subparagraph (A) shall be reduced for such alien by not less than 50 percent.

“(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing”.

(f) ESTA FEES.—Section 217(h)(3)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1187(h)(3)(B)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating clause (iii) as clause (iv); and

(2) by inserting after clause (ii) the following:

“(iii) INCOME-BASED FEE WAIVER OR REDUCTION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

“(I) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, no fee may be collected from the alien under this subparagraph; and

“(II) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, the fees imposed under clause (i) shall be reduced for such alien by not less than 50 percent.”.

(g) TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS APPLICATIONS.—Section 244(c)(1)(B) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1254a(c)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) by striking “The Attorney General may require” and inserting the following:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Homeland Security may require”;

(2) by striking “Attorney General” and inserting “Secretary”; and

(3) by striking “Notwithstanding” and inserting the following:

“(ii) INCOME-BASED FEE WAIVER OR REDUCTION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

“(I) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, no fee may be collected from the alien under this subparagraph; and

“(II) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, the fees imposed under clause (i) shall be reduced for such alien by not less than 50 percent.

“(iii) DISPOSITION OF FEES.—Notwithstanding”.

(h) EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATION APPLICATIONS.—Section 286(u)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1356(u)(3)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(D) INCOME-BASED FEE WAIVER OR REDUCTION.—Notwithstanding subparagraph (A)—

“(i) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty level, no fee may be collected from the alien under subparagraph (A) in connection with an application for employment authorization; and

“(ii) if an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, the premium fee imposed under subparagraph (A) in connection with an application for employment authorization shall be reduced for such alien by not less than 50 percent.”.

(i) NATURALIZATION APPLICATIONS.—Section 344(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1455(b)) is amended—

(1) in the subsection enumerator, by striking “(b)” and inserting “(b)(1)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) Notwithstanding any provision of this Act or of any other law, the following fee waivers shall apply:

“(A) If an alien’s monthly income is less than 150 percent of the Federal poverty line, no fee shall be charged or collected from the alien for—

“(i) the filing of an application for naturalization or the issuance of a certificate of naturalization upon admission to citizenship;

“(ii) the filing of an application to preserve residence for naturalization purposes;

“(iii) the filing of an application for a replacement naturalization or citizenship document;

“(iv) the filing of an application for citizenship and issuance of certificate of citizenship (Form N-600K) under section 322;

“(v) the filing of an application for certificate of citizenship (Form N-600); or

“(vi) a biometrics capture or background check associated with any application described in any of clauses (i) through (iv).

“(B) If an alien’s monthly income is less than 250 percent of the Federal poverty line, not more than 50 percent of the applicable fee shall be charged or collected for each of the applications and checks described in clauses (i) through (vi) of subparagraph (A).

“(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Homeland Security shall consider the receipt of means-tested benefits as a criterion for the purpose of demonstrating eligibility for a fee waiver under paragraph (2).”.

SA 2485. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 1181(1) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 4001), strike “\$1,142,500,000” and insert “\$802,500,000”.

In section 1181 of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 4001), insert after paragraph (1) the following:

“(2) \$340,000,000 is provided for procurement and acquisition of a hurricane hunter aircraft and for equipment for such aircraft for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to address critical operational gaps in hurricane weather forecasting.”.

SA 2486. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Beginning on page 912, strike line 9 and all that follows through page 913, line 9.

On page 913, strike “(6)” and insert “(5)”.
On page 913, strike “(7)” and insert “(6)”.

SA 2487. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 100052, strike paragraph (9).

SA 2488. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

After section 40001, insert the following:

SEC. 40001A. MODIFICATION TO SPECIAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS.

Section 1181(a)(10) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40001), is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)—
(A) by striking “\$2,729,500,000” and inserting “\$1,429,000,000”; and

(B) by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking the semicolon and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:
“(E) \$100,000,000 is provided for tuition assistance for members of the Coast Guard.”.

SA 2489. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

After section 40001, insert the following:
SEC. 40001A. MODIFICATION TO SPECIAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR COAST GUARD MISSION READINESS.

Section 1181(a)(10) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40001), is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (C)—
(A) by striking “\$2,729,500,000” and inserting “\$1,429,000,000”; and

(B) by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:
“(E) \$1,000,000,000 is provided for Coast Guard Small Boat Stations conducting search and rescue and other Coast Guard missions;

“(F) \$200,000,000 is provided for Coast Guard medical clinics and infrastructure improvements associated with such clinics;

“(G) \$1,000,000,000 is provided for childcare services for members of the Coast Guard and design, planning, engineering, and construction of Coast Guard child development centers; and

“(H) \$100,000,000 is provided for the design, planning, engineering, construction, and improvement of housing for members of the Coast Guard;”.

SA 2490. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 30001.

SA 2491. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. —. TRUST FUND TO COMPENSATE UNITED STATES MANUFACTURERS FOR COST INCREASES ATTRIBUTABLE TO TARIFFS.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUST FUND.—There is established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund, consisting of—

(1) amounts transferred to the trust fund under subsection (b); and

(2) any amounts that may be credited to the trust fund under subsection (c).

(b) TRANSFER OF AMOUNTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—For fiscal year 2026 and each fiscal year thereafter, the Secretary of the Treasury shall transfer to the trust fund established under subsection (a), from the general fund of the Treasury, an amount (subject to paragraph (2)) equivalent to the amount received into the general fund during that fiscal year and attributable to duties imposed on or after January 20, 2025.

(2) LIMITATION.—The Secretary may transfer not more than \$1,000,000,000 to the trust fund established under subsection (a) in a fiscal year.

(3) FREQUENCY OF TRANSFERS.—The Secretary shall transfer amounts required by

this subsection to the trust fund established under subsection (a) not less frequently than quarterly.

(c) INVESTMENT OF AMOUNTS.—

(1) INVESTMENT OF AMOUNTS.—The Secretary shall invest such portion of the trust fund established under subsection (a) as is not required to meet current withdrawals in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States.

(2) INTEREST AND PROCEEDS.—The interest on, and the proceeds from the sale or redemption of, any obligations held in the trust fund established under subsection (a) shall be credited to and form a part of the trust fund.

(d) AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS IN TRUST FUND.—Amounts in the trust fund established under subsection (a) shall be available, without further appropriation, to the Secretary to provide payments to manufacturers in the United States to compensate such manufacturers for increases in the cost of manufacturing inputs attributable to duties imposed on or after January 20, 2025.

SA 2492. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. —. TRUST FUND FOR PAYMENTS TO LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME HOUSEHOLDS FROM TARIFF REVENUE.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUST FUND.—There is established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund, consisting of—

(1) amounts transferred to the trust fund under subsection (b); and

(2) any amounts that may be credited to the trust fund under subsection (c).

(b) TRANSFER OF AMOUNTS.—For each fiscal quarter in which revenue from duties imposed on or after January 20, 2025, exceeds \$25,000,000,000, the Secretary of the Treasury shall transfer to the trust fund established under subsection (a), from the general fund of the Treasury, an amount equivalent to the amount received into the general fund during that quarter and attributable to such duties.

(c) INVESTMENT OF AMOUNTS.—

(1) INVESTMENT OF AMOUNTS.—The Secretary shall invest such portion of the trust fund established under subsection (a) as is not required to meet current withdrawals in interest-bearing obligations of the United States or in obligations guaranteed as to both principal and interest by the United States.

(2) INTEREST AND PROCEEDS.—The interest on, and the proceeds from the sale or redemption of, any obligations held in the trust fund established under subsection (a) shall be credited to and form a part of the trust fund.

(d) AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS IN TRUST FUND.—During each fiscal quarter in which revenue from duties imposed on or after January 20, 2025, exceeds \$25,000,000,000, amounts in the trust fund established under subsection (a) shall be available, without further appropriation, to the Secretary to provide payments to low- and middle-income households in the United States.

SA 2493. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr.

THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . TERMINATION OF TARIFFS AFTER 3 YEARS.

Any duty imposed by the President on or after January 20, 2025, shall terminate on the date that is 3 years after the date on which the duty was first imposed unless extended by an Act of Congress.

SA 2494. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . CFPB CERTIFICATION.

If any provision of this Act results in a change in outlays or revenues of the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, as in effect on of the day before the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and the Secretary of the Treasury shall submit to Congress a certification on the number of consumer scams or complaints or other abuses committed against consumers that were reported to Bureau but went unanswered or were not investigated in a reasonable manner during the 1-year period beginning on January 20, 2025, and for each 1-year period thereafter.

SA 2495. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 30004, add the following:

(b) **LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.**—None of the amounts appropriated under this section may be made available to any entity if a senior executive of, or a shareholder holding more than 5 percent of the equity interest in, the entity—

(1) is or was an elected official of the Federal Government; or

(2) is serving or has served in a position at level I of the Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5, United States Code.

SA 2496. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . LIMITATION ON USE OF DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY FUNDS TO PREVENT CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT OF DEPARTMENT FACILITIES.

None of the funds made available to the Department of Homeland Security under this Act or under any other Act may be expended to prevent a Member of Congress and an accompanying employee of the Senate or of the House of Representatives from entering, for the purpose of conducting oversight, without advanced notice, any facility operated or

used by the Department of Homeland Security to detain or otherwise house aliens, including U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement detention facilities, U.S. Customs and Border Patrol detention facilities, and field offices.

SA 2497. Mr. KIM (for himself, Mr. SCHIFF, and Mr. PETERS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY APPROPRIATION.

In addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Federal Emergency Management Agency for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$12,000,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2026, to carry out the purposes of the Disaster Relief Fund for costs associated with major disaster declarations.

SA 2498. Mr. KIM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . APPROPRIATION TO INSPECTORS GENERAL TO INVESTIGATE CORRUPTION AND THE ABUSE OF POWER BY CERTAIN OFFICIALS.

There is appropriated for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$10,000,000 to each office of an inspector general of an agency in the executive branch of the Federal Government, to remain available until expended, to investigate any conflicts of interest, including conflicts of interest for special government employees (as defined in section 202(a) of title 18, United States Code).

SA 2499. Mr. ROUNDS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ 01. POSTPONEMENT OF TAX DEADLINES FOR HOSTAGES AND INDIVIDUALS WRONGFULLY DETAINED ABROAD.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 77 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting after section 7510 the following new section: “**SEC. 7511. TIME FOR PERFORMING CERTAIN ACTS POSTPONED FOR HOSTAGES AND INDIVIDUALS WRONGFULLY DETAINED ABROAD.**

“(a) **TIME TO BE DISREGARDED.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The period during which an applicable individual was unlawfully or wrongfully detained abroad, or held hostage abroad, shall be disregarded in determining, under the internal revenue laws, in respect of any tax liability of such individual—

“(A) whether any of the acts described in section 7508(a)(1) were performed within the time prescribed thereof (determined without regard to extension under any other provision of this subtitle for periods after the initial date (as determined by the Secretary) on which such individual was unlawfully or wrongfully detained abroad or held hostage abroad),

“(B) the amount of any interest, penalty, additional amount, or addition to the tax for periods after such date, and

“(C) the amount of any credit or refund.

“(2) **APPLICATION TO SPOUSE.**—The provisions of paragraph (1) shall apply to the spouse of any individual entitled to the benefits of such paragraph.

“(3) **SPECIAL RULE FOR OVERPAYMENTS.**—The rules of section 7508(b) shall apply for purposes of this section.

“(b) **APPLICABLE INDIVIDUAL.**—

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable individual’ means any individual who is—

“(A) a United States national unlawfully or wrongfully detained abroad, as determined under section 302 of the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741), or

“(B) a United States national taken hostage abroad, as determined pursuant to the findings of the Hostage Recovery Fusion Cell (as described in section 304 of the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741b)).

“(2) **INFORMATION PROVIDED TO TREASURY.**—For purposes of identifying individuals described in paragraph (1), not later than January 1, 2026, and annually thereafter—

“(A) the Secretary of State shall provide the Secretary with a list of the individuals described in paragraph (1)(A), as well as any other information necessary to identify such individuals, and

“(B) the Attorney General, acting through the Hostage Recovery Fusion Cell, shall provide the Secretary with a list of the individuals described in paragraph (1)(B), as well as any other information necessary to identify such individuals.

“(c) **MODIFICATION OF TREASURY DATABASES AND INFORMATION SYSTEMS.**—The Secretary shall update, as necessary, any database or information system of the Department of the Treasury in order to ensure that the provisions of subsection (a) are applied with respect to each applicable individual.

“(d) **REFUND AND ABATEMENT OF PENALTIES AND FINES IMPOSED PRIOR TO IDENTIFICATION AS APPLICABLE INDIVIDUAL.**—In the case of any applicable individual—

“(1) for whom any interest, penalty, additional amount, or addition to the tax in respect to any tax liability for any taxable year ending during the period described in subsection (a)(1) was assessed or collected, and

“(2) who was, subsequent to such assessment or collection, determined to be an individual described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of subsection (b)(1), the Secretary shall abate any such assessment and refund any amount collected to such applicable individual in the same manner as any refund of an overpayment of tax under section 6402.”

(b) **CLERICAL AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections for chapter 77 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 7510 the following new item:

“Sec. 7511. Time for performing certain acts postponed for hostages and individuals wrongfully detained abroad.”

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. ____ 02. REFUND AND ABATEMENT OF PENALTIES AND FINES PAID BY ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUALS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 7511 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as added by section ____ 01, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(d) REFUND AND ABATEMENT OF PENALTIES AND FINES PAID BY ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUALS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—

“(A) ESTABLISHMENT.—Not later than January 1, 2026, the Secretary shall establish a program to allow any eligible individual (or the spouse or any dependent (as defined in section 152) of such individual) to apply for a refund or an abatement of any amount described in paragraph (2) (including interest) to the extent such amount was attributable to the applicable period.

“(B) IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS.—Not later than January 1, 2026, the Secretary of State and the Attorney General, acting through the Hostage Recovery Fusion Cell (as described in section 304 of the Robert Levinson Hostage Recovery and Hostage-Taking Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 1741b)), shall—

“(i) compile a list, based on such information as is available, of individuals who were applicable individuals during the applicable period, and

“(ii) provide the list described in clause (i) to the Secretary.

“(C) NOTICE.—For purposes of carrying out the program described in subparagraph (A), the Secretary (in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Attorney General) shall, with respect to any individual identified under subparagraph (B), provide notice to such individual—

“(i) in the case of an individual who has been released on or before the date of enactment of this subsection, not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this subsection, or

“(ii) in the case of an individual who is released after the date of enactment of this subsection, not later than 90 days after the date on which such individual is released, that such individual may be eligible for a refund or an abatement of any amount described in paragraph (2) pursuant to the program described in subparagraph (A).

“(D) AUTHORIZATION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), in the case of any refund described in subparagraph (A), the Secretary shall issue such refund to the eligible individual in the same manner as any refund of an overpayment of tax.

“(ii) EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON TIME FOR REFUND.—With respect to any refund under subparagraph (A)—

“(1) the 3-year period of limitation prescribed by section 6511(a) shall be extended until the end of the 1-year period beginning on the date that the notice described in subparagraph (C) is provided to the eligible individual, and

“(II) any limitation under section 6511(b)(2) shall not apply.

“(2) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘eligible individual’ means any applicable individual who, for any taxable year ending during the applicable period, paid or incurred any interest, penalty, additional amount, or addition to the tax in respect to any tax liability for such year of such individual based on a determination that an act described in section 7508(a)(1) which was not performed by the time prescribed therefor (without regard to any extensions).

“(3) APPLICABLE PERIOD.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘applicable period’ means the period—

“(A) beginning on January 1, 2021, and

“(B) ending on the date of enactment of this subsection.”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending on or before the date of enactment of this Act.

SA 2500. Ms. HIRONO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60005 (relating to rescission of funding to address air pollution at schools).

In section 60025(a), strike “\$256,657,000” and insert “\$242,657,000”.

SA 2501. Mr. PAUL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike subsections (c) and (d) of section 70104 and insert the following:

(c) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 24(i) is amended to read as follows:

“(i) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) ADJUSTMENT OF CREDIT AMOUNT.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2025, the \$2,200 amount in subsection (h)(2) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any increase under this subsection is not a multiple of \$100, such increase shall be rounded to the next lowest multiple of \$100.”

(d) ELIMINATION OF REFUNDABLE CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 24 is amended by striking subsection (d).

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 24(h) is amended by striking paragraphs (5) and (6).

(B) Section 24(k)(2)(B) is amended by striking “December 31, 2021” and all that follows through the period and inserting “December 31, 2021, the credit determined under this section shall be allowable to such resident.”

(C) Section 45R(f)(3)(B) is amended by inserting “(as in effect before the date of the enactment of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act)” after “24(d)(2)(C)”.

SA 2502. Mr. WYDEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . JUDICIAL SECURITY AND PRIVACY.

The Daniel Aderl Judicial Security and Privacy Act of 2022 (28 U.S.C. part III note; subtitle D of title LIX of Public Law 117-263) is amended—

(1) in section 5933(1)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (E) as clauses (i) through (v), respectively, and adjusting the margins accordingly;

(B) by striking “The” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), the”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EXCEPTION.—For purposes of section 5934(d)(1)(A), the term ‘at-risk individual’ means—

“(i) an individual that is located in the United States; or

“(ii) a United States person, as defined in section 101 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (50 U.S.C. 1801).”; and

(2) in section 5934(f)(1) by inserting “The Attorney General or the attorney general (or equivalent thereof) of any State may file an action seeking injunctive or declaratory relief in any court of competent jurisdiction to enforce the provisions of subsection (d)(1)(A).” after the period at the end.

SA 2503. Mr. WYDEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . RESTRICTION ON THE USE OF FUNDS.

No agency shall use any appropriated funds to construct an executive dining room or private gym for the use of senior administration officials without congressional approval.

SA 2504. Mr. WYDEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . TERMINATION OF DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 14257.

Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared by Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after the date that is 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SA 2505. Mr. WYDEN (for himself, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WARNOCK, and Ms. BALDWIN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60019 (relating to rescission of neighborhood access and equity grant program).

SA 2506. Mr. WYDEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . PROTECTING PERSONALLY IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) AGENCY.—The term “agency” has the meaning given that term in section 552(f) of title 5, United States Code.

(2) INDIVIDUAL.—The term “individual” means an individual that is a—

(A) United States person, as defined in section 101 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (50 U.S.C. 1801); or

(B) person in the United States.

(3) **PERSONALLY IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION.**—The term “personally identifiable information” means any information that identifies, or is linked or reasonably linkable, alone or in combination with other data, to—

(A) an individual; or

(B) a device that identifies, or is linked or reasonably linkable to, an individual.

(4) **PROCESS.**—The term “process”, with respect to personally identifiable information, means to perform an operation or set of operations on the personally identifiable information, including by storing, analyzing, organizing, structuring, using, modifying, or otherwise handling the personally identifiable information, whether or not by automated means.

(5) **RECORD.**—The term “record” means any personally identifiable information processed by an agency.

(6) **SYSTEM OF RECORDS.**—The term “system of records” means a group of any records maintained by or for, or otherwise under the control of, any agency.

(b) **PROHIBITION ON USE OF FEDERAL FUNDS.**—No Federal funds may be used to implement, administer, or enforce Executive Order 14243 (90 Fed. Reg. 13681; relating to stopping waste, fraud, and abuse by eliminating information silos), or any successive executive order.

(c) **CONTRACTS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—No Federal funds may be used to acquire services or software from, or use any services or software acquired from, Palantir Technologies Inc. for the processing of personally identifiable information in 1 or more systems of records.

(2) **TERMINATION.**—Any contract which has a requirement for the processing described in paragraph (1) is hereby terminated.

SA 2507. Mr. WYDEN (for himself, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WARNOCK, and Ms. BALDWIN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 60019 (relating to rescission of neighborhood access and equity grant program), insert “except for any amounts that were awarded before the date of enactment of this Act but are unobligated as of that date of enactment,” after “Code.”.

In section 60019 (relating to rescission of neighborhood access and equity grant program), strike “The unobligated” and insert the following:

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The unobligated

In section 60019 (relating to rescission of neighborhood access and equity grant program), add at the end the following:

(b) **TREATMENT.**—Amounts made available to carry out section 177 of title 23, United States Code, that were not rescinded under subsection (a) shall be obligated for the projects for which those funds were awarded.

SA 2508. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 60012, strike subsection (b).

SA 2509. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be

proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike title VI (relating to Committee on Environment and Public Works).

SA 2510. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 112 of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (as added by section 60026), add at the end the following:

“(c) **ADDITIONAL FEE FOR RENAMING OF ISSUING AGENCY.**—In addition to the fee determined under subsection (b), a project sponsor may pay an additional fee, which shall be in an amount equal to the amount determined under that subsection, to add the name of the project sponsor to the front of the name of the Federal agency that issued the permit for the applicable project for a period of 180 days.”.

SA 2511. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . REPEAL OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS.

(a) **PROVISIONS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL TAX.**—The amendments made by the following provisions of this Act are repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied as if such amendments had not been enacted:

(1) Section 70311 (relating to rules for allocation of certain deductions to foreign source net CFC tested income for purposes of foreign tax credit limitation).

(2) Section 70312 (relating to modifications to determination of deemed paid credit for taxes property attributable to tested income).

(3) Section 70313 (relating to sourcing certain income from sale of inventory produced in the United States).

(4) Section 70321 (relating to modification of deduction for foreign-derived deduction eligible income and net CFC tested income).

(5) Section 70322 (relating to determination of deduction eligible income).

(6) Section 70331 (relating to the extension and modification of the base erosion minimum tax amount).

(7) Section 70351 (relating to permanent extension of look-thru rule for controlled foreign corporations).

(8) Section 70353 (relating to restoration of limitation on downward attribution of stock ownership in applying constructive ownership rules).

(b) **PROVISIONS RELATING TO MEDICAID.**—The amendments made by the following provisions of this Act are repealed, and the Social Security Act shall be applied as if such amendments had not been enacted:

(1) Section 71103 (relating to reducing duplicate enrollment under the Medicaid and CHIP programs).

(2) Section 71107 (relating to eligibility re-determination).

(3) Section 71113 (relating to limiting retroactive coverage).

(4) Section 71116 (relating to sunseting increased FMAP incentive).

(5) Section 71122 (relating to modifying cost sharing requirements for certain expansion individuals under the Medicaid program).

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The repeals made by this section shall take effect as if included in the enactment of the section to which they relate.

SA 2512. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VII, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . GAO STUDY AND REPORT ON RURAL AND URBAN HOSPITAL AND NURSING HOME CLOSURES.

(a) **STUDY.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Comptroller General shall conduct a study on the closures of hospitals and nursing homes located in rural, urban, and suburban areas in the United States. Such study shall include an analysis, for each of 2024, 2025, 2026, and 2027, of—

(A) the number of hospitals located in such areas that—

(i) closed; or

(ii) reduced service offerings (obstetric services, inpatient services, etc.); and

(B) the number of nursing homes located in such areas that closed.

(2) **DEFINITIONS.**—For purposes of this section:

(A) **COMPTROLLER GENERAL.**—The term “Comptroller General” means the Comptroller General of the United States.

(B) **NURSING HOME.**—The term “nursing home” means—

(i) a skilled nursing facility (as defined in section 1819(a) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i-3(a))); and

(ii) a nursing facility (as defined in section 1919(a) of such Act (42 U.S.C. 1396r(a)))

(C) **NURSING HOME CLOSURE.**—The term “closure” means, with respect to a nursing home, that the nursing home—

(i) does not complete a required survey or certification; or

(ii) is no longer submitting assessment data to the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services.

(b) **REPORT.**—Not later than 4 years after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General shall submit to Congress a report containing the results of the study conducted under subsection (a)(1), together with recommendations for such legislative and administrative action as the Comptroller General determines appropriate.

SA 2513. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . ADDITIONAL HOSPITAL INSURANCE TAX ON TRADE OR BUSINESS INCOME OF CERTAIN HIGH INCOME INDIVIDUALS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1401(b) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) **APPLICATION TO CERTAIN HIGH INCOME INDIVIDUALS.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—In addition to the taxes imposed by paragraphs (1) and (2) and subsection (a), in the case of any individual

whose modified adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds the high income threshold amount, there is hereby imposed on the income of such individual a tax equal to 3.8 percent of the individual's specified net income for the taxable year.

“(B) PHASE-IN OF TAX.—The tax imposed by subparagraph (A) shall not exceed the amount which bears the same ratio to the amount of such tax (determined without regard to this subparagraph) as—

“(i) the amount by which the individual's modified adjusted gross income exceeds the high income threshold amount, bears to

“(ii) \$100,000 (½ such amount in the case of a married taxpayer (as defined in section 7703) filing a separate return).

“(C) HIGH INCOME THRESHOLD AMOUNT.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘high income threshold amount’ means—

“(i) except as provided in clause (ii) or (iii), \$400,000,

“(ii) in the case of a taxpayer making a joint return under section 6013 or a surviving spouse (as defined in section 2(a)), \$500,000, and

“(iii) in the case of a married taxpayer (as defined in section 7703) filing a separate return, ½ of the dollar amount determined under clause (ii).

“(D) SPECIFIED NET INCOME.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘specified net income’ means the excess, if any, of—

“(I) the sum of—

“(aa) gross income from interest, dividends, annuities, royalties, and rents which is derived in the ordinary course of a trade or business not described in section 1411(c)(2),

“(bb) other gross income derived from a trade or business not described in section 1411(c)(2), and

“(cc) net gain (to the extent taken into account in computing taxable income) attributable to the disposition of property held in a trade or business not described in section 1411(c)(2), including gain from the disposition of an interest in a partnership or S corporation (other than gain which is described in section 1411(c)(1)(A)(iii), after the application of section 1411(c)(4)), over

“(II) the deductions allowed by this subtitle, other than section 172, which are properly allocable to such gross income or net gain.

The rules of paragraphs (5) and (6) of section 469(c) shall apply for purposes of this clause.

“(ii) EXCEPTIONS.—Such term shall not include—

“(I) any distribution to which section 1411(c)(5) applies,

“(II) self-employment income subject to the taxes imposed by paragraphs (1) and (2),

“(III) wages on which a tax is imposed under section 3101(b),

“(IV) compensation subject to the tax under subsections (a) and (b) of section 3201, or

“(V) net investment income subject to the tax under section 1411(a).

“(E) COORDINATION RULE.—For purposes of section 1402(a)(12)(B), the tax imposed by subparagraph (A) shall not be treated as a rate imposed by this subsection.”

(b) APPLICATION TO TRUSTS AND ESTATES.—Section 1411(a)(2)(A) is amended by striking “undistributed net investment income” and inserting “the greater of undistributed specified net income (as determined under section 1401(b)(3)(D)) or undistributed net investment income”.

(c) CLARIFICATIONS WITH RESPECT TO DETERMINATION OF NET INVESTMENT INCOME.—

(1) NET OPERATING LOSSES NOT TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—Section 1411(c)(1)(B) is amended by inserting “(other than section 172)” after “this subtitle”.

(2) INCLUSION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN INCOME.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 1411(c)(1)(A) is amended by striking “and” at the end of clause (ii), by striking “over” at the end of clause (iii) and inserting “and”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iv) any amount includible in gross income under section 951, 951A, 1293, or 1296, over”.

(B) PROPER TREATMENT OF CERTAIN PREVIOUSLY TAXED INCOME.—Section 1411(c) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) CERTAIN PREVIOUSLY TAXED INCOME.—The Secretary shall issue regulations or other guidance providing for the treatment of distributions of amounts previously included in gross income for purposes of chapter 1 but not previously subject to tax under this section.”

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 164(f)(1) is amended by striking “section 1401(b)(2)” and inserting “paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 1401”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

(f) TRANSITION RULE.—The regulations or other guidance issued by the Secretary under section 1411(c)(7) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this section) shall include provisions which provide for the proper coordination and application of clauses (i) and (iv) of section 1411(c)(1)(A) with respect to—

(1) taxable years beginning on or before December 31, 2025, and

(2) taxable years beginning after such date.

SA 2514. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70523.

SA 2515. Mr. WHITEHOUSE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . . . REPEAL OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS.

(a) MODIFICATION OF DEDUCTION FOR FOREIGN-DERIVED DEDUCTION ELIGIBLE INCOME AND NET CFC TESTED INCOME.—Section 70321 is repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied as if the amendments made by such section had not been enacted.

(b) PROVISIONS RELATING TO MEDICAID.—The amendments made by the following provisions of this Act are repealed, and the Social Security Act shall be applied as if such amendments had not been enacted:

(1) Section 71107 (relating to eligibility redeterminations).

(2) Section 71116 (relating to sunseting increased FMAP incentive).

(3) Section 71122 (relating to modifying cost sharing requirements for certain expansion individuals under the Medicaid program).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The repeals made by this section shall take effect as if included in the enactment of the section to which they relate.

SA 2516. Mr. WHITEHOUSE (for himself, Mr. REED, and Ms. HIRONO) sub-

mitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . . . INDEXING FEDERAL PELL GRANTS FOR INFLATION.

Clause (i) of section 401(b)(5)(A) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(5)(A)) is amended to read as follows:

“(i)(I) for award years 2024–2025 and 2025–2026, \$1,060; and

“(II) for award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year, the amount awarded under this clause for the preceding award year, increased by the percentage increase, if any, in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Department of Labor for the most recent calendar year ending prior to the beginning of the award year for which the determination is being made.”.

SA 2517. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 829, between lines 3 and 4, insert the following:

(d) RESTRICTION ON CERTAIN CONTRACTS, GRANTS, AND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for a contract, grant, or cooperative agreement with any company in which a Federal official or employee, including a special Government employee (as defined in section 202(a) of title 18, United States Code), has financial holdings equal to or greater than \$100,000.

On page 834, line 23, strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition

On page 835, between lines 5 and 6, insert the following:

(b) RESTRICTION ON CERTAIN CONTRACTS, GRANTS, AND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for a contract, grant, or cooperative agreement with any company in which a Federal official or employee, including a special Government employee (as defined in section 202(a) of title 18, United States Code), has financial holdings equal to or greater than \$100,000.

On page 899, line 11, strike “in addition” and insert the following:

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition

On page 904, between lines 16 and 17, insert the following:

(b) RESTRICTION ON CERTAIN CONTRACTS, GRANTS, AND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for a contract, grant, or cooperative agreement with any company in which a Federal official or employee, including a special Government employee (as defined in section 202(a) of title 18, United States Code), has financial holdings equal to or greater than \$100,000.

On page 904, line 19, strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition

On page 909, between lines 15 and 16, insert the following:

(b) RESTRICTION ON CERTAIN CONTRACTS, GRANTS, AND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used for a contract, grant, or cooperative agreement with any company in which a Federal official or employee, including a special Government employee (as

defined in section 202(a) of title 18, United States Code), has financial holdings equal to or greater than \$100,000.

SA 2518. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in chapter 6 of subtitle A of title VIII, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . TRANSACTION TAX.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 36 is amended by inserting after subchapter B the following new subchapter:

“Subchapter C—Tax on Certain Digital Asset Transaction Fees

“Sec. 4475. Tax on certain digital asset transaction fees.

“SEC. 4475. TAX ON CERTAIN DIGITAL ASSET TRANSACTION FEES.

“(a) IMPOSITION OF TAX.—There is hereby imposed a tax on any covered transaction fee with respect to any digital asset.

“(b) RATE OF TAX.—The tax imposed under subsection (a) with respect to any covered transaction shall be 25 percent of the transaction fee.

“(c) COVERED TRANSACTION FEE.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘covered transaction fee’ means a fee assessed on the purchase of a digital asset if such fee is assessed by an applicable entity.

“(2) APPLICABLE ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable entity’ means any entity in which a Federal official directly or indirectly holds a controlling interest.

“(B) FEDERAL OFFICIAL.—The term ‘Federal official’ means any individual who occupies a position in any agency or instrumentality of the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the Federal Government.

“(C) CONTROLLING INTEREST.—The term ‘controlling interest’ means owning, controlling, or holding not less than 20 percent, by vote or value, of the outstanding amount of any class of equity interest in an entity.

“(d) DIGITAL ASSET.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘digital asset’ has the meaning given such term under section 6045(g)(3)(D).

“(e) BY WHOM PAID.—The tax imposed by this section shall be paid by the applicable entity.

“(f) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations as are necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section.”

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of subchapters for chapter 36 of such Code is amended by inserting after the item relating to subchapter B the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER C—TAX ON CERTAIN DIGITAL ASSET TRANSACTION FEES”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to transactions after December 31, 2025.

SA 2519. Mr. KAINÉ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . LIMITATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—No amounts made available under this Act, or an amendment made

by this Act, may be obligated or expended until after the date on which the head of each agency to which amounts are made available under this Act has certified to Congress that the agency—

(1) has ceased any mass layoff;

(2) is not executing a reduction in force plan; and

(3) is not in violation of the Impoundment Control Act of 1974 (2 U.S.C. 681 et seq.) or sections 1341, 1342, or 1517 of title 31, United States Code (commonly known as “the Antideficiency Act”).

(b) REPORTING.—The Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to Congress a report that, for each agency to which amounts are made available under this Act, or an amendment made by this Act, addresses the legal authority of, and impacts on the mission of the agency resulting from, any reduction in force by the agency, any mass termination by the agency, any coerced resignations of employees of the agency, or any firing or placing on administrative leave of employees of the agency for the cause of alleged insubordination on or after January 20, 2025.

(c) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term “mass layoff” means the termination of more than 1 percent of the employees of an agency.

SA 2520. Ms. ALSOBROOKS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 402, strike lines 2 and 3 and insert the following:

“(H) such organization provides scholarships only to qualified elementary or secondary schools that provide the same protections under applicable Federal civil rights laws that are provided to a student of a public elementary or secondary school, including the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, section 444 of the General Education Provisions Act (commonly referred to as the ‘Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974’), and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, and

“(I) no officer or board member of such

SA 2521. Ms. ALSOBROOKS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . DELAYED EFFECTIVE DATE.

The provisions of, and the amendments made by, this Act shall not take effect until the date on which each State completes a study and submits to Congress a report on such study regarding the number of individuals currently enrolled and receiving medical assistance under a State plan (or a waiver of such plan) under title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.) or enrolled in a health plan offered on the American Health Benefit Exchanges established pursuant to subtitle D of title I of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18021 et seq.) that would lose coverage

under such plan as a result of such provisions and amendments taking effect.

SA 2522. Ms. ALSOBROOKS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70436 and insert the following:

SEC. 70436. ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR THE MEDICARE PART A TRUST FUND.

In addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Federal Hospital Insurance Trust Fund under section 1817 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1395i) for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,700,000,000, to remain available until expended.

SA 2523. Ms. ALSOBROOKS (for herself, Mr. BENNET, Mr. BOOKER, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, and Mr. HICKENLOOPER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10107.

SA 2524. Ms. ALSOBROOKS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . DEDUCTION FOR TRADE AND BUSINESS EXPENSES OF FIREFIGHTERS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS.

(a) DEDUCTION FROM ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—Section 62(a)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) CERTAIN EXPENSES OF FIREFIGHTERS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS.—The deductions allowed by section 162 which consist of expenses paid or incurred by Federal, State, or local firefighters or law enforcement officers in connection with the performance of their official duties.”

(b) ADJUSTMENT TO CORPORATE TAX RATE.—Section 11(b) is amended by striking “20 percent” and inserting “20.5 percent”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2525. Mr. KIM (for himself and Mr. BLUMENTHAL) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 82002 and insert the following:

SEC. 82002. DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE.

(a) SUNSET OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP AND UNEMPLOYMENT DEFERMENTS.—Section 455(f) of

the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended—

(1) by striking the subsection heading and inserting the following: “DEFERMENT; FORBEARANCE”;

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(B) in subparagraph (D), by striking “not in” and inserting “subject to paragraph (7), not in”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(7) SUNSET OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP DEFERMENTS.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after the later of July 1, 2027, or the date on which the Secretary makes a determination under section 82002(c) of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, shall not be eligible to defer such loan under subparagraph (B) or (D) of paragraph (2).”.

(b) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(8) FORBEARANCE ON LOANS MADE UNDER THIS PART ON OR AFTER JULY 1, 2027.—A borrower who receives a loan made under this part on or after the later of July 1, 2027, or the date on which the Secretary makes a determination under section 82002(c) of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act, may only be eligible for a forbearance on such loan pursuant to section 428(c)(3)(B) that does not exceed 9 months during any 24-month period.”.

(c) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply until the date on which the Chief Operating Officer for the Office of Federal Student Aid certifies in writing to the Secretary of Education and the appropriate committees of Congress that implementation of such amendments will not result in additional financial hardship for any borrower who—

(A)(i) is serving on active duty during a war or other military operation or national emergency; or

(ii) is performing qualifying National Guard duty during a war or other military operation or national emergency;

(B) is receiving treatment for cancer;

(C) is enrolled in a rehabilitation program for physical or mental impairment; or

(D) became unemployed in the 180 days preceding the date of such certification.

(2) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

(A) ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL HARDSHIP.—The term “additional financial hardship” means any—

(i) increase in monthly payment amounts for a loan made under part D of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965;

(ii) loss of eligibility for any deferment or forbearance option under the Higher Education Act of 1965 for which the borrower would have been eligible prior to the implementation of the amendments made by subsections (a) and (b); or

(iii) other changes resulting in a materially adverse impact on the ability of the borrower to afford basic living expenses.

(B) APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS.—The term “appropriate committees of Congress” means—

(i) the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions of the Senate;

(ii) the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate;

(iii) the Committee on Education and Workforce of the House of Representatives; and

(iv) the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

SA 2526. Mr. MURPHY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 491, line 15, strike “\$0” and insert “\$1”.

On page 491, line 23, strike “\$0” and insert “\$1”.

SA 2527. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike sections 10306 through 10307 and insert the following:

SEC. 1. DEFINITION OF SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE PERSONAL MANAGEMENT.

Section 1001(a) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(6) SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE PERSONAL MANAGEMENT.—The term ‘significant contribution of active personal management’ means active personal management activities performed by a person with a direct or indirect ownership interest in the farming operation on a regular, continuous, and substantial basis to the farming operation, and that meet at least one of the following to be considered significant:

“(A) Are performed for at least 25 percent of the total management hours required for the farming operation on an annual basis.

“(B) Are performed for at least 500 hours annually for the farming operation.”.

SEC. 1. ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FARMING REQUIREMENT.

Section 1001A(b) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1308-1(b)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(3) ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN FARMING REQUIREMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this section (other than subsection (c)(6)), section 1001, and sections 1001B through 1001F, and any regulations to implement those provisions or sections, the Secretary shall consider not more than 1 person or legal entity per farming operation to be actively engaged in farming using active personal management.

“(B) REQUIREMENTS.—The Secretary may only consider a person or legal entity to be actively engaged in farming using active personal management under subparagraph (A) if the person or legal entity—

“(i) does not use the active management contribution allowed under this section to qualify as actively engaged in farming in more than 1 farming operation; and

“(ii) manages a farming operation that does not substantially share equipment, labor, or management with persons or legal entities that, together with the person or legal entity, collectively receive, directly or indirectly, an amount equal to more than the limitation under subsection (b) or (c) of section 1001.

“(C) EFFECT.—Nothing in this paragraph shall limit—

“(i) a person or legal entity otherwise eligible to receive a payment described in subsection (b) or (c) of section 1001 from being considered actively engaged in farming using personal labor pursuant to paragraph (2)(A)(i)(II); or

“(ii) the determination, pursuant to subsection (c)(6), that a spouse (or estate of a deceased spouse) has met the requirements of paragraph (2)(A)(i)(II), if the other spouse meets the requirements (including the requirements under this paragraph) to be considered actively engaged in farming using active personal management.”.

SA 2528. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . ALLOWANCE OF CASUALTY LOSS DEDUCTION FOR CERTAIN LOSSES RELATED TO RETIREMENT ACCOUNT THEFT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 165(h)(5)(A), as amended by this Act, is further amended—

(1) by striking “attributable to a Federally declared disaster” and inserting “attributable to—

“(i) a Federally declared disaster”;

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or”;

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

“(ii) theft in connection with a qualified theft-related retirement distribution.”.

(b) EXCEPTION RELATED TO PERSONAL CASUALTY GAINS.—Section 165(h)(5)(B), as amended by this Act, is further amended by striking “(as so defined) or a State declared disaster” in clause (i) and inserting “(as so defined), a State declared disaster, or a theft described in subparagraph (A)(ii).”.

(c) QUALIFIED THEFT-RELATED RETIREMENT DISTRIBUTION.—Section 165(h) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6) RULES RELATING TO QUALIFIED THEFT-RELATED RETIREMENT DISTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this section—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualified theft-related retirement distribution’ means any distribution from an eligible retirement plan (as defined in section 402(c)(8)(B))—

“(i) which is induced by fraud or deceit, and

“(ii) the amounts distributed in which are lost due to theft (within the meaning of subsection (c)(3)).

“(B) SUBSTANTIATION REQUIREMENT.—A distribution shall be treated as a qualified theft-related retirement distribution only if—

“(i) the theft is reported to a law enforcement agency within 60 days of discovery of the theft, and

“(ii) the taxpayer provides substantiation of the theft and that the theft was properly reported to a law enforcement agency, including a police report and statement from the plan, or other documentation as determined by the Secretary.

The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subparagraph, including regulations that may provide that some or all of the requirements of this subparagraph do not apply in appropriate cases.

“(C) LOSS ALLOWED TO EXTENT OF INCOME INCLUSION.—The loss taken into account with respect to a qualified theft-related retirement distribution shall not exceed the amount included in gross income as a result of the distribution under section 72, 402(a), 403(a), 403(b), 408(d), or 457(a).

“(D) EXEMPTION FROM 10 PERCENT RULE.—Paragraph (2)(A) shall not apply to loss or gain related to a qualified theft-related retirement distribution.

“(E) YEAR OF DEDUCTION.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Loss or gain related to a qualified theft-related retirement distribution may be taken into account either in the year of the income inclusion described in subparagraph (C) or in the year of discovery of the theft or fraud.

“(ii) PERIOD OF LIMITATION FOR CLAIMS.—The period of limitation under section 6511 shall be extended such that, notwithstanding subsections (a) and (b) of section 6511—

“(I) any claim for credit or refund (and any assessment of tax) attributable to a deduction under this section with respect to a qualified theft-related retirement distribution may be made within 3 years after the later of the date of the income inclusion described in subparagraph (C) or the date of the discovery of the theft or fraud, and

“(II) the limitation of subsection 6511(b)(2) shall not apply to such claim.”.

(d) WAIVER OF 10-PERCENT ADDITIONAL TAX ON EARLY DISTRIBUTIONS.—Section 72(t)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(O) QUALIFIED THEFT-RELATED RETIREMENT DISTRIBUTIONS.—Any qualified theft-related retirement distribution (as defined in section 165(h)(6)).”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2017.

(f) CLAIMS ORIGINATING IN PRIOR YEARS.—In the case of a qualified theft-related retirement distribution occurring before the date of the enactment of this Act, notwithstanding section 165(h)(6)(D)(ii) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by this section), the period of limitation under section 6511 of such Code shall not expire until the date which is 3 years after such date of enactment.

SA 2529. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 582, strike line 20 and all that follows through page 583, line 14, and insert the following:

(e) PREVENTING DOUBLE CREDIT.—Section 452(d)(5) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A)—

(A) in clause (ii), by striking “and” at the end,

(B) in clause (iii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, and”, and

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

“(iv) subject to subparagraph (C), is not produced from a fuel for which a credit under this section is allowable.”, and

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

“(C) SPECIAL RULE.—In the case of any alcohol fuel produced by a taxpayer, if such taxpayer—

“(i) sells such fuel to an unrelated person for use by such person in the production of sustainable aviation fuel,

“(ii) makes an election (in such form and manner as the Secretary shall designate) under this subparagraph that such taxpayer will not claim a credit under this section with respect to the fuel described in clause (i), and

“(iii) provides written notice of such election to the producer of the sustainable aviation fuel,

subparagraph (A)(iv) shall not apply with respect to such sustainable aviation fuel.

“(D) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or

other guidance as the Secretary determines necessary to carry out the purposes of subparagraphs (A)(iv) and (C).”.

SA 2530. Mr. GRASSLEY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . EXPANSION OF PELL GRANT EXCLUSION FROM GROSS INCOME.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 117(b)(1) is amended by striking “received by an individual” and all that follows and inserting “received by an individual—

“(A) as a scholarship or fellowship grant to the extent the individual establishes that, in accordance with the conditions of the grant, such amount was used for qualified tuition and related expenses, or

“(B) as a Federal Pell Grant under section 401 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (as in effect on the date of the enactment of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act).”.

(b) NO ADJUSTMENT UNDER AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY AND LIFETIME LEARNING CREDITS.—Section 25A(g)(2)(A) is amended by inserting “(other than a Federal Pell Grant under section 401 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (as in effect on the date of the enactment of the One Big Beautiful Bill Act))” after “section 117”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2531. Mr. KELLY (for himself and Mr. WARNER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40005, strike subsection (a) and insert the following:

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 203 of title 51, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“§ 20306. Special appropriations for Mars missions, Artemis missions, and Moon to Mars program

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$9,995,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2032, to use as follows:

“(1) \$700,000,000, to be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026, for the procurement, using a competitively bid, firm fixed-price contract with a United States commercial provider (as defined in section 50101(7)), of a high-performance Mars telecommunications orbiter—

“(A) that—

“(i) is capable of providing robust, continuous communications for—

“(I) a Mars sample return mission, as described in section 432(3)(C) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Transition Authorization Act of 2017 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 115-10); and

“(II) future Mars surface, orbital, and human exploration missions;

“(ii) supports autonomous operations, on-board processing, and extended mission duration capabilities; and

“(iii) is selected from among the commercial proposals that—

“(I) received funding from the Administration in fiscal year 2024 or 2025 for commercial design studies for Mars Sample Return; and

“(II) proposed a separate, independently launched Mars telecommunication orbiter supporting an end-to-end Mars sample return mission; and

“(B) which shall be delivered to the Administration not later than December 31, 2028.

“(2) \$2,600,000,000 to meet the requirements of section 20302(a) using the program of record known, as of the date of the enactment of this section, as ‘Gateway’, and as described in section 10811(b)(2)(B)(iv) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20302 note; Public Law 117-167), of which not less than \$750,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, and 2028.

“(3) \$4,100,000,000 for expenses related to meeting the requirements of section 10812 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2022 (51 U.S.C. 20301; Public Law 117-167) for the procurement, transportation, integration, operation, and other necessary expenses of the Space Launch System for Artemis Missions IV and V, of which not less than \$1,025,000,000 shall be obligated for each of fiscal years 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(4) \$20,000,000 for expenses related to the continued procurement of the multi-purpose crew vehicle described in section 303 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18323), known as the ‘Orion’, for use with the Space Launch System on the Artemis IV Mission and reuse in subsequent Artemis Missions, of which not less than \$20,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026.

“(5) \$1,250,000,000 for expenses related to the operation of the International Space Station and for the purpose of meeting the requirement under section 503(a) of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 2010 (42 U.S.C. 18353(a)), of which not less than \$250,000,000 shall be obligated for such expenses for each of fiscal years 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, and 2029.

“(6) \$1,000,000,000 for infrastructure improvements at the manned spaceflight centers of the Administration, of which not less than—

“(A) \$120,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 12641 (53 Fed. Reg. 18816; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the State of Mississippi as the John C. Stennis Space Center);

“(B) \$250,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 11129 (28 Fed. Reg. 12787; relating to designating certain facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and of the Department of Defense, in the State of Florida, as the John F. Kennedy Space Center);

“(C) \$300,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in the Joint Resolution entitled ‘Joint Resolution to designate the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas, as the ‘Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center’ in honor of the late President’, approved February 17, 1973 (Public Law 93-8; 87 Stat. 7);

“(D) \$100,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the center described in Executive Order 10870 (25

Fed. Reg. 2197; relating to designating the facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration at Huntsville, Alabama, as the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center); and

“(E) \$30,000,000 shall be obligated not later than fiscal year 2026 for construction, revitalization, recapitalization, or other infrastructure projects and improvements at the Michoud Assembly Facility in New Orleans, Louisiana.

“(7) \$325,000,000 to fulfill contract number 80JSC024CA002 issued by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on June 26, 2024.

“(b) OBLIGATION OF FUNDS.—Funds appropriated under subsection (a) shall be obligated as follows:

“(1) Not less than 50 percent of the total funds in subsection (a) shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2028.

“(2) 100 percent of funds shall be obligated not later than September 30, 2029.

“(3) All associated outlays shall occur not later than September 30, 2034.”.

SA 2532. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike sections 70522 and 70523 and insert the following:

SEC. 70522. RESTRICTIONS ON CARBON OXIDE SEQUESTRATION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Q(f) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(10) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is—

“(A) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(B) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), determined without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATES.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

SA 2533. Mr. KELLY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 50305 and insert the following:

SEC. 50305. RESPONSIBLE STEWARDSHIP OF PUBLIC LANDS.

(a) NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

(A) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

(B) SERVICE.—The term “Service” means the National Park Service.

(2) NATIONAL PARK SERVICE STAFFING AND PERSONNEL.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, using funds previously appropriated to the Secretary for such purposes, the Secretary shall—

(A) take such actions as are necessary—

(i) to ensure that the units of the National Park System are fully staffed to ensure visitor safety and enjoyment and natural and cultural resource protection at the units of the National Park System; and

(ii) to ensure that all maintenance staff positions at the Service are filled; and

(B) reinstate any individuals who were involuntarily removed or otherwise terminated from employment with the Service during the period beginning on January 20, 2025, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) CONTINUATION OF AUTHORIZED NATIONAL PARK SERVICE PROJECTS.—The Secretary shall have the authority to continue to carry out any Service project for which funds are authorized or appropriated under—

(A) the Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Act (16 U.S.C. 6801 et seq.);

(B) the Great American Outdoors Act (Public Law 116–152; 134 Stat. 682);

(C) the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (Public Law 117–58; 135 Stat. 429); or

(D) Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 1818).

(b) BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

(A) BUREAU.—The term “Bureau” means the Bureau of Land Management.

(B) PUBLIC LANDS.—The term “public lands” has the meaning given the term in section 103 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (43 U.S.C. 1702).

(C) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

(2) BUREAU STAFFING AND PERSONNEL.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, using funds previously appropriated to the Secretary for such purposes, the Secretary shall—

(A) increase staffing necessary to sustain the health, diversity, and productivity of public lands to meet the needs of present and future generations; and

(B) reinstate any individuals who were involuntarily removed or otherwise terminated from employment with the Bureau during the period beginning on January 20, 2025, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act.

(3) CONTINUATION OF AUTHORIZED BUREAU PROJECTS.—The Secretary shall have the authority to continue to carry out any Bureau project for which funds are authorized or appropriated under—

(A) the Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Act (16 U.S.C. 6801 et seq.);

(B) the Great American Outdoors Act (Public Law 116–152; 134 Stat. 682);

(C) the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (Public Law 117–58; 135 Stat. 429); or

(D) Public Law 117–169 (commonly known as the “Inflation Reduction Act of 2022”) (136 Stat. 1818).

SA 2534. Mr. WELCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ SURVEYS AND REPORTS ON FARM- LAND OWNERSHIP, TENURE, AND TRANSITION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture shall develop surveys, collect information, and, not less frequently than once every 3 years, report regionally segmented statistical and economic analyses of data and trends in farmland ownership, tenure, and transition.

(b) SURVEY REQUIREMENTS.—Surveys designed to carry out this section shall, at a minimum, include questions concerning—

(1) owners of farmland that—

(A) are not operators on the farm; and

(B) lease land on the farm to operators on the farm;

(2) owners of farmland that—

(A) are operators on the farm; and

(B) lease land on the farm to other operators on the farm;

(3) all farmland leased by—

(A) owners described in paragraph (1); and

(B) owners described in paragraph (2);

(4) all farmland, including land owned by operators on farms that do not lease land on the farm;

(5) primary motivations among owners of farmland that are not operators on the farm for purchasing the farmland; and

(6) the extent to which there are farms and ranches on farmland and ranchland, respectively, with undivided interests and no identified administrative authority.

SA 2535. Mr. WELCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10106.

Strike section 10301 and insert the following:

SEC. 10301. REFERENCE PRICE.

Section 1111(19) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(19)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (O) as clauses (i) through (xv), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(2) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “The term” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the term”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price defined in that subparagraph multiplied by 1.05.”.

SA 2536. Mr. WELCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 3(u) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012(u)) (as amended by section 10101(a)), strike paragraph (3) and insert the following:

“(3) ALLOWABLE COST ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary—

“(A) shall—

“(i) make cost adjustments in the thrifty food plan for Hawaii and the urban and rural parts of Alaska to reflect the cost of food in Hawaii and urban and rural Alaska;

“(ii) make cost adjustments in the separate thrifty food plans for Guam and the Virgin Islands of the United States to reflect the cost of food in those States, but not to exceed the cost of food in the 50 States and the District of Columbia; and

“(iii) on October 1, 2025, and on each October 1 thereafter, adjust the cost of the thrifty food plan to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, for the most recent 12-month period ending in June; and

“(B) may make yearly cost adjustments to the thrifty food plan to reflect the cost of food in cities, counties, or regions where in the most recent year the cost of food at

home is at least 10 percent higher than the average cost of food at home based on the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers.

Strike section 10301 and insert the following:

SEC. 10301. REFERENCE PRICE.

Section 1111(19) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(19)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (O) as clauses (i) through (xv), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(2) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “The term” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the term”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price defined in that subparagraph multiplied by 1.05.”.

SA 2537. Mr. WELCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 3(u) of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012(u)) (as amended by section 10101(a)), strike paragraph (2) and insert the following:

“(2) HOUSEHOLD ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary shall make household adjustments using the following ratios of household size as a percentage of the maximum 4-person allotment:

“(A) For a 1-person household, at least 30 percent.

“(B) For a 2-person household, at least 55 percent.

“(C) For a 3-person household, at least 79 percent.

“(D) For a 4-person household, at least 100 percent.

“(E) For a 5-person household, at least 119 percent.

“(F) For a 6-person household, at least 143 percent.

“(G) For a 7-person household, at least 158 percent.

“(H) For an 8-person household, at least 180 percent.

“(I) For a household of 9 persons or more, an additional 22 percent per person.

Strike section 10301 and insert the following:

SEC. 10301. REFERENCE PRICE.

Section 1111(19) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(19)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (O) as clauses (i) through (xv), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(2) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “The term” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the term”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price defined in that subparagraph multiplied by 1.1.”.

SA 2538. Mr. WELCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill

H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70106 and insert the following:

SEC. 70106. EXTENSION AND ENHANCEMENT OF INCREASED ESTATE AND GIFT TAX EXEMPTION AMOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2010(c)(3) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking “\$5,000,000” and inserting “\$15,000,000 (or, in the case of a decedent whose income for the preceding taxable year was greater than \$100,000,000, \$5,000,000)”;

(2) in subparagraph (B)—
(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “2011” and inserting “2026”; and
(B) in clause (ii), by striking “calendar year 2010” and inserting “calendar year 2025”; and

(3) by striking subparagraph (C).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to estates of decedents dying and gifts made after December 31, 2025.

SA 2539. Mr. WELCH submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike sections 10201 and 10301 and insert the following:

SEC. 10301. REFERENCE PRICE.

Section 1111(19) of the Agricultural Act of 2014 (7 U.S.C. 9011(19)) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (O) as clauses (i) through (xv), respectively, and indenting appropriately;

(2) in the matter preceding clause (i) (as so redesignated), by striking “The term” and inserting the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subparagraph (B), the term”;

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) EFFECTIVENESS.—Effective beginning with the 2025 crop year, the reference prices defined in subparagraph (A) with respect to a covered commodity shall equal the reference price defined in that subparagraph multiplied by 1.05.”.

SA 2540. Mr. MULLIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . LIMITATION ON DRAWBACK OF TAXES PAID WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTITUTED MERCHANDISE.

Effective for claims filed on or after July 1, 2026, for purposes of drawback of internal revenue tax imposed under chapter 52 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the amount of drawback granted under such Code, or the Tariff Act of 1930, on the export or destruction of substituted merchandise may not exceed the amount of taxes paid (and not returned by refund, credit, or drawback) on the substituted merchandise.

SA 2541. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation

pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . LIMITATION OF TAX BENEFITS TO ELIGIBLE ALIENS.

(a) DEDUCTION FOR SENIORS.—Section 151(d)(5)(C), as added by this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(vi) DEDUCTION PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual who is an alien, such individual shall be treated as a qualified individual only if such individual is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(b) CHILD TAX CREDIT.—Section 24(h), as amended by this Act, is further amended—

(1) by striking “or, in the case of a joint return, the social security number of at least 1 spouse” in paragraph (7)(A)(i) and inserting “the social security numbers of both spouses, in the case of a joint return”; and

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

“(8) CREDIT PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of a taxpayer who is an alien, no credit shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(c) NO TAX ON TIPS.—Section 224, as added by this Act, is amended by redesignating subsections (g) and (h) as subsections (h) and (i), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (f) the following new subsection:

“(g) DEDUCTION PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual who is an alien, no deduction shall be allowed under this section unless such individual is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(d) NO TAX ON OVERTIME.—Section 225, as added by this Act, is amended by redesignating subsections (f) and (g) as subsections (g) and (h), respectively, and by inserting after subsection (e) the following new subsection:

“(f) DEDUCTION PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual who is an alien, no deduction shall be allowed under this section unless such individual is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(e) NO TAX ON CAR LOAN INTEREST.—Section 163(h)(4)(E), as added by this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iv) EXCLUSION PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of a taxpayer who is an alien, subparagraph (A) shall not apply unless the taxpayer is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(f) AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY AND LIFETIME LEARNING CREDITS.—Section 25A(g) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(9) CREDIT PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of a taxpayer who is an alien, this section shall apply only if the taxpayer is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(g) EARNED INCOME CREDIT.—Section 32(c)(1) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) CREDIT PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of an individual who is an alien, such individual shall be treated as an eligible individual only if such individual is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”.

(h) TRUMP ACCOUNTS CONTRIBUTION PILOT PROGRAM.—Section 6434, as added by this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(j) CREDIT PERMITTED ONLY FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—In the case of a taxpayer who is an alien, no credit shall be allowed under this section unless the taxpayer is an eligible alien (as defined in section 36B(e)(2)(B), without regard to clause (ii) thereof).”

(i) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2026.

SA 2542. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70120 and insert the following:

SEC. 70120. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF LIMITATION ON INDIVIDUAL DEDUCTIONS FOR CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES.

Section 164(b)(6) is amended by striking “, and before January 1, 2026”.

SA 2543. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 72001, strike “\$5,000,000,000,000” and insert “\$2,000,000,000,000”.

SA 2544. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70604.

SA 2545. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VII, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . LIMITATION ON DRAWBACK OF TAXES PAID WITH RESPECT TO SUBSTITUTED MERCHANDISE.

Effective for claims filed on or after July 1, 2026, for purposes of drawback of internal revenue tax imposed under chapter 52 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the amount of drawback granted under such Code, or the Tariff Act of 1930, on the export or destruction of substituted merchandise may not exceed the amount of taxes paid (and not returned by refund, credit, or drawback) on the substituted merchandise.

SA 2546. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14;

which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VIII, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . STUDENT ELIGIBILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 484(a)(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1091(a)(5)) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) be—

“(A) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(B) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.);

“(C) an alien who has been granted the status of Cuban and Haitian entrant, as defined in section 501(e) of the Refugee Education Assistance Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-422); or

“(D) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1612(b)(2)(G)); and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026-2027 and each subsequent award year, as determined under the Higher Education Act of 1965.

SA 2547. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VIII, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . STUDENT ELIGIBILITY.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 484(a)(5) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1091(a)(5)) is amended to read as follows:

“(5) be—

“(A) a citizen or national of the United States;

“(B) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.); or

“(C) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1612(b)(2)(G)); and”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE AND APPLICATION.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect on July 1, 2026, and shall apply with respect to award year 2026-2027 and each subsequent award year, as determined under the Higher Education Act of 1965.

SA 2548. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 722, strike line 5 and all that follows through line 20, and insert the following:

“(i) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.); or

“(ii) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (8 U.S.C. 1612(b)(2)(G)).”.

SA 2549. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 646, strike line 7 and all that follows through line 24, and insert the following:

“(ii) an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence as an immigrant as defined by sections 101(a)(15) and 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, excluding, among others, alien visitors, tourists, diplomats, and students who enter the United States temporarily with no intention of abandoning their residence in a foreign country; or

“(iii) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.”.

SA 2550. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Beginning on page 715, strike line 22 and all that follows through page 716, line 9, and insert the following:

“(2) an alien who is lawfully admitted for permanent residence under the Immigration and Nationality Act; or

“(3) an individual who lawfully resides in the United States in accordance with a Compact of Free Association referred to in section 402(b)(2)(G) of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

SA 2551. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 28, strike lines 14 through 20 and insert the following:

residence in a foreign country; or

“(C) an individual who lawfully resides in

SA 2552. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . INDIVIDUALS ENTITLED TO PART A OF MEDICARE BY REASON OF AGE ALLOWED TO CONTRIBUTE TO HEALTH SAVINGS ACCOUNTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 223(c)(1)(B) is amended by striking “and” at the end of clause (ii), by striking the period at the end of clause (iii) and inserting “, and”, and by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iv) entitlement to hospital insurance benefits under part A of title XVIII of the

Social Security Act by reason of section 226(a) of such Act.”.

(b) TREATMENT OF HEALTH INSURANCE PURCHASED FROM ACCOUNT.—Section 223(d)(2)(C)(iv) is amended by inserting “and who is not an eligible individual” after “who has attained the age specified in section 1811 of the Social Security Act”.

(c) COORDINATION WITH PENALTY ON DISTRIBUTIONS NOT USED FOR QUALIFIED MEDICAL EXPENSES.—Section 223(f)(4)(C) is amended by striking “Subparagraph (A)” and inserting “Except in the case of an eligible individual, subparagraph (A)”.

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 223(b)(7) is amended by inserting “(other than an entitlement to benefits described in subsection (c)(1)(B)(iv))” after “Social Security Act”.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to months beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2553. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 937 strike lines 4 through 11.

SA 2554. Mr. SCOTT of Florida (for himself, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. LEE, and Ms. LUMMIS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. —. GRANDFATHERING OF MEDICAID EXPANSION AND UNIFYING FMAP FOR EXPANSION STATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Title XIX of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1396 et seq.), as amended by section 71121(a), is amended—

(1) in section 1902 (42 U.S.C. 1396a)—

(A) in subsection (a)(10)(A)—

(i) in clause (i)(VIII), by inserting “and ending December 31, 2030,” after “2014.”;

(ii) in clause (ii)(XX), by inserting “and ending December 31, 2030,” after “2014.”; and

(iii) in clause (ii), by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(XXIV) beginning January 1, 2031—

“(aa) who are expansion enrollees (as defined in subsection (yy)(1)); or

“(bb) who are grandfathered expansion enrollees (as defined in subsection (yy)(2));”;

and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(yy) EXPANSION ENROLLEES.—For purposes of this subsection:

“(1) EXPANSION ENROLLEE.—The term ‘expansion enrollee’ means an individual—

“(A) who is under 65 years of age;

“(B) who is not pregnant;

“(C) who is not entitled to, or enrolled for, benefits under part A of title XVIII, or enrolled for benefits under part B of title XVIII;

“(D) who is not described in any of subclauses (I) through (VII) of subsection (a)(10)(A)(i); and

“(E) whose income (as determined under subsection (e)(14)) does not exceed 133 percent of the poverty line (as defined in section 2110(c)(5)) applicable to a family of the size involved.

“(2) GRANDFATHERED EXPANSION ENROLLEES.—The term ‘grandfathered expansion enrollee’ means an expansion enrollee who—

“(A) was enrolled under the State plan under this title (or under a waiver of such plan) as of December 31, 2030; and

“(B) does not have a break in eligibility for medical assistance under such State plan (or waiver) for more than one month after such date.

“(3) APPLICATION OF RELATED PROVISIONS.—Any reference in subsection (a)(10)(G), (k), or (gg) of this section or in section 1903, 1905(a), 1920(e), or 1937(a)(1)(B) to individuals described in subclause (VIII) of subsection (a)(10)(A)(i) shall be deemed to include a reference to expansion enrollees (including grandfathered expansion enrollees).”;

and

(2) in section 1905(y)(1) (42 U.S.C. 1396d(y)(1)), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A)—

(A) by inserting “and that has elected to cover newly eligible individuals before January 1, 2031” after “that is one of the 50 States or the District of Columbia”; and

(B) by inserting after “subclause (VIII) of section 1902(a)(10)(A)(i)” the following: “who, for periods after December 31, 2030, are grandfathered expansion enrollees (as defined in section 1902(yy)(2))”.

SA 2555. Mr. WARNER (for himself, Mr. KAINE, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, and Ms. ALSOBROOKS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 40007, insert the following:

SEC. 40007A. USE OF REVENUES FROM LEASE PAYMENTS FROM METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON AIRPORTS FOR AVIATION SAFETY IMPROVEMENTS AND OTHER PURPOSES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 49104(b) of title 49, United States Code, as amended by section 40007, is amended by striking paragraph (2) and inserting the following new paragraph:

“(2) FUNDING FOR AVIATION SAFETY IMPROVEMENTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In order to carry out the purposes described in subparagraph (B), in addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Transportation, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated for fiscal year 2025, \$63,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029.

“(B) PURPOSES DESCRIBED.—The purposes described in this subparagraph are the following:

“(i) To implement preliminary and final recommendations on any safety measures directed by the National Transportation Safety Board and the Secretary relating to the tragic mid-air collision between American Airlines Flight 5342 and United States Army Aviation Brigade Priority Air Transport 25 on January 29, 2025.

“(ii) To establish a permanent memorial for victims of such tragic mid-air collision and to provide for maintenance of such memorial.

“(iii) Subject to subparagraph (C), to undertake projects directly related to the safety and security of airports under the jurisdiction of the Airports Authority.

“(C) REQUIREMENTS.—In undertaking the projects under subparagraph (B)(iii), the Secretary, working with the Airports Authority, shall prioritize projects that improve safety for all current flight service located at Ronald Reagan Washington Airport, including

non-stop Part 121 flight service between Ronald Reagan Washington Airport and the airports primarily serving the following localities:

- “(i) Birmingham, AL.
- “(ii) Huntsville, AL.
- “(iii) Montgomery, AL.
- “(iv) Fayetteville, AR.
- “(v) Little Rock, AR.
- “(vi) Daytona Beach, FL.
- “(vii) Orlando, FL.
- “(viii) Panama City, FL.
- “(ix) Pensacola, FL.
- “(x) Sarasota, FL.
- “(xi) Tallahassee, FL.
- “(xii) Tampa, FL.
- “(xiii) West Palm Beach, FL.
- “(xiv) Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- “(xv) Fort Myers, FL.
- “(xvi) Fort Walton, FL.
- “(xvii) Jacksonville, FL.
- “(xviii) Key West, FL.
- “(xix) Miami, FL.
- “(xx) Cedar Rapids, IA.
- “(xxi) Des Moines, IA.
- “(xxii) Indianapolis, IN.
- “(xxiii) Wichita, KS.
- “(xxiv) Lexington, KY.
- “(xxv) Louisville, KY.
- “(xxvi) Baton Rouge, LA.
- “(xxvii) New Orleans, LA.
- “(xxviii) Bangor, ME.
- “(xxix) Portland, ME.
- “(xxx) Grand Rapids, MI.
- “(xxxi) Lansing, MI.
- “(xxxii) Traverse City, MI.
- “(xxxiii) Kansas City, MO.
- “(xxxiv) St. Louis, MO.
- “(xxxv) Jackson, MS.
- “(xxxvi) Omaha, NE.
- “(xxxvii) Asheville, NC.
- “(xxxviii) Charlotte, NC.
- “(xxxix) Greensboro, NC.
- “(xl) Raleigh, NC.
- “(xli) Wilmington, NC.
- “(xlii) Newark, NJ.
- “(xliii) Akron/Canton, OH.
- “(xliv) Cincinnati, OH.
- “(xlv) Cleveland, OH.
- “(xlvi) Columbus, OH.
- “(xlvii) Dayton, OH.
- “(xlviii) Oklahoma City, OK.
- “(xlix) Tulsa, OK.
- “(l) Philadelphia, PA.
- “(li) Pittsburgh, PA.
- “(lii) Providence, RI.
- “(liii) Charleston, SC.
- “(liv) Columbia, SC.
- “(lv) Greenville, SC.
- “(lvi) Hilton Head Island, SC.
- “(lvii) Myrtle Beach, SC.
- “(lviii) Memphis, TN.
- “(lix) Chattanooga, TN.
- “(lx) Knoxville, TN.
- “(lxi) Nashville, TN.
- “(lxii) Austin, TX.
- “(lxiii) Dallas/Ft. Worth, TX.
- “(lxiv) Dallas-Love Field, TX.
- “(lxv) Houston-Bush, TX.
- “(lxvi) Houston-Hobby, TX.
- “(lxvii) Salt Lake City, UT.
- “(lxviii) Norfolk, VA.
- “(lxix) Burlington, VT.
- “(lxx) Seattle, WA.
- “(lxxi) Madison, WI.
- “(lxxii) Milwaukee, WI.
- “(lxxiii) Charleston, WV.”.

(b) REDUCTION IN AI FUNDING.—Paragraph (5) of section 60102(b) of division F of Public Law 117–58 (47 U.S.C. 1702), as added by section 40012, is amended by striking “\$500,000,000” and inserting “\$437,000,000”.

SA 2556. Mr. WARNER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill

H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 40012 and insert the following:

SEC. 40012. PRESERVATION OF THE PUBLIC WIRELESS SUPPLY CHAIN INNOVATION FUND TRUST FUND TO SUPPORT AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS AND COUNTER CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY INFLUENCE.

(a) APPROPRIATION.— In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Commerce for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$500,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, to carry out the activities authorized by section 9202(a)(1) of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (47 U.S.C. 906(a)(1)).

(b) REDUCTIONS IN OTHER APPROPRIATIONS.—Notwithstanding section 20306(a) of title 51, United States Code, as added by section 40005(a)—

(1) the amount appropriated under such section 20306(a), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), shall be \$9,645,000,000;

(2) the amount made available under paragraph (6) of such section 20306(a), in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), shall be \$650,000,000;

(3) the amount required to be obligated under paragraph (6)(A) of such section 20306(a) shall be \$46,000,000;

(4) the amount required to be obligated under paragraph (6)(B) of such section 20306(a) shall be \$50,000,000; and

(5) the amount required to be obligated under paragraph (6)(C) of such section 20306(a) shall be \$24,000,000.

SA 2557. Mr. KING (for himself, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, and Ms. HIRONO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 50305.

SA 2558. Mr. KING submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 71117.

SA 2559. Mr. KING submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 1181(10)(C) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 0001(a)), strike “\$2,729,500,000” and insert “\$1,729,500,000”.

In section 1181(10)(C) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 0001(a)), strike “; and”.

In section 1181(10)(D) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 0001(a)), insert “and” after the semicolon.

In section 1181(10) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 0001(a)), add at the end the following:

“(E) \$1,000,000,000 is provided for Coast Guard Small Boat Stations conducting search and rescue and other Coast Guard missions;

SA 2560. Mrs. SHAHEEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by her to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . BUREAU OF PRISONS RETENTION INCENTIVE FUNDING.

Of the amounts appropriated to the Bureau of Prisons for staffing and recruitment, there is appropriated to the Director of the Bureau of Prisons for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, amounts necessary for the continuation of retention incentives and bonuses for facilities that received such retention incentives and bonuses prior to March 2025.

SA 2561. Mrs. SHAHEEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70523 and insert the following:

SEC. . REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO COST-SHARING FOR CERTAIN INSULIN PRODUCTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Part D of title XXVII of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300gg–111 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 2799A–11. REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO COST-SHARING FOR CERTAIN INSULIN PRODUCTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—For plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2026, a group health plan or health insurance issuer offering group or individual health insurance coverage shall provide coverage of selected insulin products, and with respect to such products, shall not—

“(1) apply any deductible; or

“(2) impose any cost-sharing requirements in excess of, per 30-day supply—

“(A) for any applicable plan year beginning before January 1, 2027, \$35; or

“(B) for any plan year beginning on or after January 1, 2027, the lesser of—

“(i) \$35; or

“(ii) the amount equal to 25 percent of the negotiated price of the selected insulin product net of all price concessions received by or on behalf of the plan or issuer, including price concessions received by or on behalf of third-party entities providing services to the plan or issuer, such as pharmacy benefit management services or third party administrators.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) SELECTED INSULIN PRODUCTS.—The term ‘selected insulin products’ means, for any plan year beginning on or after January 1, 2026, at least one of each dosage form (such as vial, pen, or inhaler dosage forms) of each different type (such as rapid-acting, short-acting, intermediate-acting, long-acting, and pre-mixed) of insulin, when such form is licensed and marketed, as selected by the group health plan or health insurance issuer.

“(2) INSULIN.—The term ‘insulin’ means insulin that is licensed under subsection (a) or (k) of section 351 and continues to be marketed pursuant to such licensure.

“(c) OUT-OF-NETWORK PROVIDERS.—Nothing in this section requires a plan or issuer that

has a network of providers to provide benefits for selected insulin products described in this section that are delivered by an out-of-network provider, or precludes a plan or issuer that has a network of providers from imposing higher cost-sharing than the levels specified in subsection (a) for selected insulin products described in this section that are delivered by an out-of-network provider.

“(d) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Subsection (a) shall not be construed to require coverage of, or prevent a group health plan or health insurance coverage from imposing cost-sharing other than the levels specified in subsection (a) on, insulin products that are not selected insulin products, to the extent that such coverage is not otherwise required and such cost-sharing is otherwise permitted under Federal and applicable State law.

“(e) APPLICATION OF COST-SHARING TOWARDS DEDUCTIBLES AND OUT-OF-POCKET MAXIMUMS.—Any cost-sharing payments made pursuant to subsection (a)(2) shall be counted toward any deductible or out-of-pocket maximum that applies under the plan or coverage.

“(f) OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—A group health plan or health insurance issuer offering group or individual health insurance coverage shall not impose, directly or through an entity providing pharmacy benefit management services, any prior authorization or other medical management requirement, or other similar conditions, on selected insulin products, except as clinically justified for safety reasons, to ensure reasonable quantity limits and as specified by the Secretary.”.

(b) NO EFFECT ON OTHER COST-SHARING.—Section 1302(d)(2) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18022(d)(2)) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) SPECIAL RULE RELATING TO INSULIN COVERAGE.—For plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2027, the exemption of coverage of selected insulin products (as defined in section 2799A–11(b) of the Public Health Service Act) from the application of any deductible pursuant to section 2799A–11(a)(1) of such Act, section 726(a)(1) of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974, or section 9826(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall not be considered when determining the actuarial value of a qualified health plan under this subsection.”.

(c) COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INSULIN PRODUCTS UNDER CATASTROPHIC PLANS.—Section 1302(e) of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (42 U.S.C. 18022(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(4) COVERAGE OF CERTAIN INSULIN PRODUCTS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1)(B)(i), a health plan described in paragraph (1) shall provide coverage of selected insulin products, in accordance with section 2799A–11 of the Public Health Service Act, before an enrolled individual has incurred, during the plan year, cost-sharing expenses in an amount equal to the annual limitation in effect under subsection (c)(1) for the plan year.

“(B) TERMINOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)—

“(i) the term ‘selected insulin products’ has the meaning given such term in section 2799A–11(b) of the Public Health Service Act; and

“(ii) the requirements of section 2799A–11 of such Act shall be applied by deeming each reference in such section to ‘individual health insurance coverage’ to be a reference to a plan described in paragraph (1).”.

(d) ERISA.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart B of part 7 of subtitle B of title I of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1185 et

seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 726. REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO COST-SHARING FOR CERTAIN INSULIN PRODUCTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—For plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2026, a group health plan or health insurance issuer offering group health insurance coverage shall provide coverage of selected insulin products, and with respect to such products, shall not—

“(1) apply any deductible; or
“(2) impose any cost-sharing requirements in excess of, per 30-day supply—

“(A) for any applicable plan year beginning before January 1, 2027, \$35; or

“(B) for any plan year beginning on or after January 1, 2027, the lesser of—

“(i) \$35; or

“(ii) the amount equal to 25 percent of the negotiated price of the selected insulin product net of all price concessions received by or on behalf of the plan or issuer, including price concessions received by or on behalf of third-party entities providing services to the plan or issuer, such as pharmacy benefit management services or third party administrators.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) SELECTED INSULIN PRODUCTS.—The term ‘selected insulin products’ means, for any plan year beginning on or after January 1, 2026, at least one of each dosage form (such as vial, pen, or inhaler dosage forms) of each different type (such as rapid-acting, short-acting, intermediate-acting, long-acting, and pre-mixed) of insulin, when such form is licensed and marketed, as selected by the group health plan or health insurance issuer.

“(2) INSULIN.—The term ‘insulin’ means insulin that is licensed under subsection (a) or (k) of section 351 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262) and continues to be marketed pursuant to such licensure.

“(c) OUT-OF-NETWORK PROVIDERS.—Nothing in this section requires a plan or issuer that has a network of providers to provide benefits for selected insulin products described in this section that are delivered by an out-of-network provider, or precludes a plan or issuer that has a network of providers from imposing higher cost-sharing than the levels specified in subsection (a) for selected insulin products described in this section that are delivered by an out-of-network provider.

“(d) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Subsection (a) shall not be construed to require coverage of, or prevent a group health plan or health insurance coverage from imposing cost-sharing other than the levels specified in subsection (a) on, insulin products that are not selected insulin products, to the extent that such coverage is not otherwise required and such cost-sharing is otherwise permitted under Federal and applicable State law.

“(e) APPLICATION OF COST-SHARING TOWARDS DEDUCTIBLES AND OUT-OF-POCKET MAXIMUMS.—Any cost-sharing payments made pursuant to subsection (a)(2) shall be counted toward any deductible or out-of-pocket maximum that applies under the plan or coverage.

“(f) OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—A group health plan or health insurance issuer offering group health insurance coverage shall not impose, directly or through an entity providing pharmacy benefit management services, any prior authorization or other medical management requirement, or other similar conditions, on selected insulin products, except as clinically justified for safety reasons, to ensure reasonable quantity limits and as specified by the Secretary.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents in section 1 of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1001 et seq.) is amended by inserting after

the item relating to section 725 the following:

“Sec. 726. Requirements with respect to cost-sharing for certain insulin products.”.

(e) INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter B of chapter 100 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 9826. REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO COST-SHARING FOR CERTAIN INSULIN PRODUCTS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—For plan years beginning on or after January 1, 2026, a group health plan shall provide coverage of selected insulin products, and with respect to such products, shall not—

“(1) apply any deductible; or
“(2) impose any cost-sharing requirements in excess of, per 30-day supply—

“(A) for any applicable plan year beginning before January 1, 2027, \$35; or

“(B) for any plan year beginning on or after January 1, 2027, the lesser of—

“(i) \$35; or

“(ii) the amount equal to 25 percent of the negotiated price of the selected insulin product net of all price concessions received by or on behalf of the plan, including price concessions received by or on behalf of third-party entities providing services to the plan, such as pharmacy benefit management services or third party administrators.

“(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) SELECTED INSULIN PRODUCTS.—The term ‘selected insulin products’ means, for any plan year beginning on or after January 1, 2026, at least one of each dosage form (such as vial, pen, or inhaler dosage forms) of each different type (such as rapid-acting, short-acting, intermediate-acting, long-acting, and pre-mixed) of insulin, when such form is licensed and marketed, as selected by the group health plan.

“(2) INSULIN.—The term ‘insulin’ means insulin that is licensed under subsection (a) or (k) of section 351 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262) and continues to be marketed pursuant to such licensure.

“(c) OUT-OF-NETWORK PROVIDERS.—Nothing in this section requires a plan that has a network of providers to provide benefits for selected insulin products described in this section that are delivered by an out-of-network provider, or precludes a plan that has a network of providers from imposing higher cost-sharing than the levels specified in subsection (a) for selected insulin products described in this section that are delivered by an out-of-network provider.

“(d) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Subsection (a) shall not be construed to require coverage of, or prevent a group health plan from imposing cost-sharing other than the levels specified in subsection (a) on, insulin products that are not selected insulin products, to the extent that such coverage is not otherwise required and such cost-sharing is otherwise permitted under Federal and applicable State law.

“(e) APPLICATION OF COST-SHARING TOWARDS DEDUCTIBLES AND OUT-OF-POCKET MAXIMUMS.—Any cost-sharing payments made pursuant to subsection (a)(2) shall be counted toward any deductible or out-of-pocket maximum that applies under the plan.

“(f) OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—A group health plan shall not impose, directly or through an entity providing pharmacy benefit management services, any prior authorization or other medical management requirement, or other similar conditions, on selected insulin products, except as clinically justified for safety reasons, to ensure reasonable quantity limits and as specified by the Secretary.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents for subchapter B of chapter 100 of such Code, as amended by this Act, is further amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 9827. Requirements with respect to cost-sharing for certain insulin products.”.

SEC. ____ APPLICATION TO RETIREE AND CERTAIN SMALL GROUP PLANS.

(a) ERISA.—Section 732(a) of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1191a(a)) is amended by striking “section 711” and inserting “sections 711 and 726”.

(b) IRC.—The Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

(1) in section 9831(a), by adding at the end the following flush text:

“Paragraph (2) shall not apply to the requirements under sections 9811 and 9826.”; and

(2) in section 4980D(d)(1), by striking “section 9811” and inserting “sections 9811 and 9826”.

SEC. ____ ADMINISTRATION.

(a) IMPLEMENTATION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Secretary of Labor, and the Secretary of the Treasury may implement the provisions of, including the amendments made by, this title for plan years that begin on or after January 1, 2026, and end not later than January 1, 2029, by subregulatory guidance, program instruction, or otherwise.

(b) NON-APPLICATION OF THE PAPERWORK REDUCTION ACT.—Chapter 35 of title 44, United States Code (commonly referred to as the “Paperwork Reduction Act of 1995”), shall not apply to the provisions of, including the amendments made by, this title.

SEC. ____ FULL REBATE ON INSULIN PASS-THROUGH TO PLAN.

Part A of title XXVII of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300gg et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 2729A. FULL REBATE ON INSULIN PASS-THROUGH TO PLAN.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—A pharmacy benefits manager, a third-party administrator of a group health plan, a health insurance issuer offering group health insurance coverage, or an entity providing pharmacy benefits management services under such health plan or health insurance coverage shall remit 100 percent of rebates, fees, alternative discounts, and all other remuneration received from a pharmaceutical manufacturer, distributor or any other third party, that are related to utilization of insulin under such health plan or health insurance coverage, to the group health plan.

“(b) FORM AND MANNER OF REMITTANCE.—Such rebates, fees, alternative discounts, and other remuneration shall be—

“(1) remitted to the group health plan in a timely fashion after the period for which such rebates, fees, or other remuneration is calculated, and in no case later than 90 days after the end of such period;

“(2) fully disclosed and enumerated to the group health plan sponsor; and

“(3) available for audit by the plan sponsor, or a third-party designated by a plan sponsor no less than once per plan year.”.

SEC. ____ ENSURING TIMELY ACCESS TO GENERICS.

Section 505(q) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 355(q)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1)—
(A) in subparagraph (A)(i), by inserting “, 10.31,” after “10.30”;

(B) in subparagraph (E)—
(i) by striking “application and” and inserting “application or”;

(ii) by striking “If the Secretary” and inserting the following:

“(i) IN GENERAL.—If the Secretary”; and

(iii) by striking the second sentence and inserting the following:

“(ii) PRIMARY PURPOSE OF DELAYING.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—In determining whether a petition was submitted with the primary purpose of delaying an application, the Secretary may consider the following factors:

“(aa) Whether the petition was submitted in accordance with paragraph (2)(B), based on when the petitioner knew or reasonably should have known the relevant information relied upon to form the basis of such petition.

“(bb) Whether the petitioner has submitted multiple or serial petitions or supplements to petitions raising issues that reasonably could have been known to the petitioner at the time of submission of the earlier petition or petitions.

“(cc) Whether the petition was submitted close in time to a known, first date upon which an application under subsection (b)(2) or (j) of this section or section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act could be approved.

“(dd) Whether the petition was submitted without relevant data or information in support of the scientific positions forming the basis of such petition.

“(ee) Whether the petition raises the same or substantially similar issues as a prior petition to which the Secretary has responded substantively already, including if the subsequent submission follows such response from the Secretary closely in time.

“(ff) Whether the petition requests changing the applicable standards that other applicants are required to meet, including requesting testing, data, or labeling standards that are more onerous or rigorous than the standards the Secretary has determined to be applicable to the listed drug, reference product, or petitioner’s version of the same drug.

“(gg) The petitioner’s record of submitting petitions to the Food and Drug Administration that have been determined by the Secretary to have been submitted with the primary purpose of delay.

“(hh) Other relevant and appropriate factors, which the Secretary shall describe in guidance.

“(II) GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may issue or update guidance, as appropriate, to describe factors the Secretary considers in accordance with subclause (I).”;

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(iii) REFERRAL TO THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.—The Secretary shall establish procedures for referring to the Federal Trade Commission any petition or supplement to a petition that the Secretary determines was submitted with the primary purpose of delaying approval of an application. Such procedures shall include notification to the petitioner by the Secretary.”;

(D) by striking subparagraph (F);

(E) by redesignating subparagraphs (G) through (I) as subparagraphs (F) through (H), respectively; and

(F) in subparagraph (H), as so redesignated, by striking “submission of this petition” and inserting “submission of this document”;

(2) in paragraph (2)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) through (C) as subparagraphs (C) through (E), respectively;

(B) by inserting before subparagraph (C), as so redesignated, the following:

“(A) IN GENERAL.—A person shall submit a petition to the Secretary under paragraph (1) before filing a civil action in which the person seeks to set aside, delay, rescind, withdraw, or prevent submission, review, or approval of an application submitted under subsection (b)(2) or (j) of this section or sec-

tion 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act. Such petition and any supplement to such a petition shall describe all information and arguments that form the basis of the relief requested in any civil action described in the previous sentence.

“(B) TIMELY SUBMISSION OF CITIZEN PETITION.—A petition and any supplement to a petition shall be submitted within 60 days after the person knew, or reasonably should have known, the information that forms the basis of the request made in the petition or supplement.”;

(C) in subparagraph (C), as so redesignated—

(i) in the heading, by striking “WITHIN 150 DAYS”;

(ii) in clause (i), by striking “during the 150-day period referred to in paragraph (1)(F),”;

(iii) by amending clause (ii) to read as follows:

“(ii) on or after the date that is 151 days after the date of submission of the petition, the Secretary approves or has approved the application that is the subject of the petition without having made such a final decision.”;

(D) by amending subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, to read as follows:

“(D) DISMISSAL OF CERTAIN CIVIL ACTIONS.—

“(i) PETITION.—If a person files a civil action against the Secretary in which a person seeks to set aside, delay, rescind, withdraw, or prevent submission, review, or approval of an application submitted under subsection (b)(2) or (j) of this section or section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act without complying with the requirements of subparagraph (A), the court shall dismiss without prejudice the action for failure to exhaust administrative remedies.

“(ii) TIMELINESS.—If a person files a civil action against the Secretary in which a person seeks to set aside, delay, rescind, withdraw, or prevent submission, review, or approval of an application submitted under subsection (b)(2) or (j) of this section or section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act without complying with the requirements of subparagraph (B), the court shall dismiss with prejudice the action for failure to timely file a petition.

“(iii) FINAL RESPONSE.—If a civil action is filed against the Secretary with respect to any issue raised in a petition timely filed under paragraph (1) in which the petitioner requests that the Secretary take any form of action that could, if taken, set aside, delay, rescind, withdraw, or prevent submission, review, or approval of an application submitted under subsection (b)(2) or (j) of this section or section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act before the Secretary has taken final agency action on the petition within the meaning of subparagraph (C), the court shall dismiss without prejudice the action for failure to exhaust administrative remedies.”; and

(E) in clause (iii) of subparagraph (E), as so redesignated, by striking “as defined under subparagraph (2)(A)” and inserting “within the meaning of subparagraph (C)”;

(3) in paragraph (4)—

(A) by striking “EXCEPTIONS” and all that follows through “This subsection does” and inserting “EXCEPTIONS.—This subsection does”;

(B) by striking subparagraph (B); and

(C) by redesignating clauses (i) and (ii) as subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and adjusting the margins accordingly.

SEC. —. EXPEDITING COMPETITIVE BIOSIMILAR COMPETITION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 351(k) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 262(k)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(10) EXPEDITING COMPETITIVE BIOSIMILAR COMPETITION.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary may, at the request of the sponsor of an application under this subsection for a biosimilar biological product that is designated as a competitive biosimilar therapy pursuant to subsection (b), expedite the development and review of such application under this subsection.

“(B) DESIGNATION PROCESS.—

“(i) REQUEST.—The sponsor of an application under this subsection may request the Secretary to designate the drug as a competitive biosimilar therapy. A request for such designation may be made concurrently with, or at any time prior to, the submission of a biosimilar biological product license application under this subsection.

“(ii) CRITERIA.—A biological product is eligible for designation as a competitive biosimilar therapy under this paragraph if the Secretary determines that there is inadequate biosimilar competition.

“(iii) DESIGNATION.—Not later than 60 calendar days after the receipt of a request under clause (i), the Secretary may—

“(I) determine whether the biosimilar biological product that is the subject of the request meets the criteria described in clause (ii); and

“(II) if the Secretary finds that such product meets such criteria, designate the biosimilar biological product as a competitive biosimilar therapy.

“(C) ACTIONS.—In expediting the development and review of an application under subparagraph (A), the Secretary may, as requested by the applicant, take actions including the following:

“(i) Hold meetings with the sponsor and the review team throughout the development of the biosimilar biological product prior to submission of the application under this subsection.

“(ii) Provide timely advice to, and interactive communication with, the sponsor regarding the development of the drug to ensure that the development program to gather the data necessary for approval is as efficient as practicable.

“(iii) Involve senior managers and experienced review staff, as appropriate, in a collaborative, coordinated review of such application, including with respect to biological product-device combination products and other complex products.

“(iv) Assign a cross-disciplinary project lead—

“(I) to facilitate an efficient review of the development program and application, including manufacturing inspections; and

“(II) to serve as a scientific liaison between the review team and the applicant.

“(D) INSPECTIONS.—With respect to an application described in subparagraph (A), in the case of an inspection report that finds approval of such biological product is dependent upon remediation of a facility, if the applicant attests that necessary changes have been made to the facility, the Secretary shall expedite reinspection of such facility, including establishing a set timeline to reinspect the facility or make a determination about the response of the applicant and whether to approve the application.

“(E) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of licensure under this subsection with respect to a biosimilar biological product for which the development and review is expedited under this paragraph, the holder of the license of such biosimilar biological product shall report to the Secretary on whether the biosimilar biological product has been marketed in interstate commerce since the date of such licensure.

“(F) INADEQUATE BIOSIMILAR COMPETITION.—In this paragraph, the term ‘inadequate biosimilar competition’ means, with

respect to a biological product, there are fewer than 3 licensed biological products on the list published under paragraph (9)(A) (not including biological products on the discontinued section of such list) that are biosimilar biological products with the same reference product.”.

SEC. ____ . INSULIN COMPETITION REPORT.

Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, in collaboration with the Administrator for the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services and the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, shall—

(1) complete a study to determine the extent of, and causes of, delays in getting insulin products to market, and the market dynamics and extent biosimilar biological product development and competition could increase, or is increasing, the number of biological products approved and available to patients, including by examining barriers to—

(A) placement of biosimilar biological products on health insurance formularies;

(B) market entry of insulin product in the United States, as compared to other highly developed nations; and

(C) patient and provider education around biosimilar biological products; and

(2) submit a report to Congress that describes the results of the study conducted pursuant to paragraph (1) and recommended policy solutions.

SA 2562. Mrs. SHAHEEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 145, line 23, strike “and”.

On page 146, line 3, strike the semicolon and insert “; and”.

On page 146, between lines 3 and 4, insert the following:

“(E) \$424,500,000 is provided for recapitalizing and repairing Coast Guard stations in States with not more than 1 Coast Guard stations, with priority given to facilities damaged by storms and those most in need of recapitalization.

SA 2563. Mrs. SHAHEEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title II, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS TO REDUCE THE WORKFORCE AT PUBLIC SHIPYARDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—None of the funds appropriated by this Act may be used to reduce the workforce at public shipyards, including probationary employees.

(b) EXEMPTION.—The workforce at public shipyards and any other positions at a public shipyard not specified in subsection (c) shall be exempt from any workforce reductions related to spending cuts, reprogramming of funds, or the probationary status of employees.

(c) WORKFORCE AT PUBLIC SHIPYARDS DEFINED.—In this section, the term “workforce at public shipyards” includes any of the following positions at a public shipyard:

- (1) Welders.
- (2) Pipefitters.

(3) Shipfitters.

(4) Radiological technicians and engineers.

(5) Engineers and engineer technicians.

(6) Apprentices.

(7) Positions supporting a workforce development pipeline.

(8) Positions supporting nuclear maintenance and refueling.

(9) Mechanics.

(10) Painters and blasters.

(11) Positions supporting maintenance and operations of infrastructure.

(12) Positions supporting implementation of the Shipyard Infrastructure Optimization Program.

SA 2564. Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself, Mr. WELCH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. BENNET, Mr. GALLEGRO, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. KELLY, and Mr. BOOKER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

CHAPTER 7—ADDITIONAL TAX PROVISIONS

SEC. 70701. REPEAL OF TERMINATION OF CERTAIN CLEAN ENERGY CREDITS.

The amendments made by sections 70505, 70506, 70507, and 70508 are repealed and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied as if such amendments had not been enacted.

SEC. 70702. ESTABLISHMENT OF 39.6 PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (G) and by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

“(F) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), in prescribing the tables under this subsection for purposes of paragraph (3)(B)—

“(i) the excess of taxable income over \$10,000,000, if any, shall be taxed at a rate of 39.6 percent, and

“(ii) paragraph (3)(B)(i) shall be applied with respect to such \$10,000,000 amount by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2017’.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2565. Mr. VAN HOLLEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40008, strike “40001”.

SA 2566. Mr. VAN HOLLEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40008, strike “40003, and 40004” and insert “and 40003”.

SA 2567. Mr. VAN HOLLEN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 pro-

posed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70608.

SA 2568. Mr. VAN HOLLEN (for himself and Mr. WELCH) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 50402(b)(2), strike subparagraph (A).

In section 50402(b)(2), redesignate subparagraphs (B) through (H) as subparagraphs (A) through (G), respectively.

SA 2569. Mr. VAN HOLLEN (for himself, Mr. MARKEY, and Mr. SANDERS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60002 (relating to repeal of greenhouse gas reduction fund).

SA 2570. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title II, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS FOR CLASSIFIED PROGRAMS.

None of the funds appropriated by this title may be made available for classified programs.

SA 2571. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROHIBITION ON EXPORT OF ENERGY RESOURCES EXTRACTED FROM PUBLIC LANDS AND WATERS.

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, energy resources extracted from public lands and public waters of the United States impacted by any lease sale required by this Act may not be exported.

SA 2572. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 50306 and insert the following:

SEC. 50306. ENSURING SUFFICIENT NATIONAL PARK SERVICE STAFFING.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of the Interior for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available through September 30, 2029, \$150,000,000 to hire employees for units of the National Park System and national scenic trails and components of the National Trails System administered by the Secretary of the Interior (acting through the Director of the National Park Service).

SA 2573. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In paragraph (2) of section 17(a) of the Mineral Leasing Act (30 U.S.C. 226(a)) (as amended by section 50101(d)(1)), strike subparagraph (A) and insert the following:

“(A) LEASE TERMS AND CONDITIONS; TRIBAL STIPULATIONS OR MITIGATION REQUIREMENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—A lease issued by the Secretary under this section with respect to an applicable parcel of land made available for leasing under paragraph (1)—

“(I) shall be subject to the terms and conditions of the approved resource management plan; and

“(II) subject to clause (ii), may not require any stipulations or mitigation requirements not included in the approved resource management plan.

“(ii) TRIBAL STIPULATIONS OR MITIGATION REQUIREMENTS.—Any stipulations or mitigation requirements developed through consultation with any applicable Indian tribe but not included in an approved resource management plan shall be included as a lease term or condition.

SA 2574. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN FOOD ITEMS FROM DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to a food item if the duties are estimated to result in an increase in the final sale price of the food item that exceeds the increase that would occur under a projected annual inflation rate of 2 percent.

(b) FOOD ITEM DEFINED.—In this section, the term “food item” means an item included in the “foods, feeds, and beverages” principle end-use commodity category referred to in the International Trade Application Programming Interface of the Bureau of the Census.

SA 2575. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill

H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ DETERRING FOREIGN BRIBERY OF UNITED STATES OFFICIALS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This section may be cited as the “Deterring Foreign Bribery of United States Officials Act”.

(b) GLOBAL MAGNITSKY HUMAN RIGHTS ACCOUNTABILITY ACT SANCTIONS.—Section 1263(a)(3) of the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 10102(a)(3)) is amended by inserting after “bribery” the following: “(including directly or indirectly, corruptly giving, offering, or promising anything of value to a public official or an individual who has been selected to be a public official)”.

(c) BRIBERY OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND WITNESSES.—Section 201 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (2), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (3), by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(4) the term ‘foreign official’ means—

“(A)(i) any official or employee of a foreign government or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof; or

“(ii) any senior foreign political figure, as defined in section 1010.605 of title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulation;

“(B) any official or employee of a public international organization; and

“(C) any person acting in an official capacity for or on behalf of—

“(i) a government, department, agency, or instrumentality described in subparagraph (A)(i); or

“(ii) a public international organization; or

“(D) any person acting in an unofficial capacity for or on behalf of—

“(i) a government, department, agency, or instrumentality described in subparagraph (A)(i); or

“(ii) a public international organization; and

“(5) the term ‘public international organization’ means—

“(A) an organization that is designated by Executive order pursuant to section 1 of the International Organizations Immunities Act (22 U.S.C. 288); or

“(B) any other international organization that is designated by the President by Executive order for the purposes of this section, effective as of the date of publication of such order in the Federal Register.”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(f) APPLICABILITY.—The prohibitions under paragraphs (1) and (3) of subsection (b) and paragraphs (1)(A) and (2) of subsection (c) shall apply with respect to conduct prohibited under those provisions by any foreign official.”.

(d) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—Section 201 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by subsection (c) of this section, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(g) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—No person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished for any offense under this section unless the indictment is found or the information is instituted within 10 years after the latest date of the violation upon which the indictment or information is based.”.

(e) REPORTING.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this section, and each year thereafter, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report that describes, with respect to each violation of

section 201 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by this section, by a foreign official, as defined in section 201 of title 18, United States Code—

(1) each violation that was investigated by the Department of Justice during the 1-year period preceding the date on which the report is submitted; and

(2) each violation that is being investigated by the Department of Justice as of the date on which the report is submitted, except that such report may exclude classified information or information that could compromise an ongoing law enforcement or national security effort.

SA 2576. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ EXEMPTION FOR BABY ITEMS FROM DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to baby items.

(b) BABY ITEM DEFINED.—The term “baby item” means—

(1) an item in the “infants’ and toddlers’ apparel” and “baby food and formula” expenditure categories in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics;

(2) an accessory or equipment required to maintain the storage of breast milk, baby formula, or baby food; or

(3) a durable infant or toddler product, as defined in section 104 of the Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act of 2008 (15 U.S.C. 2056a).

SA 2577. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ EXEMPTION FOR COUNTRIES THAT ARE MEMBERS OF THE FIVE EYES INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT AND REVIEW COUNCIL FROM DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARATION.

Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply to articles imported from countries that are members of the Five Eyes Intelligence Oversight and Review Council.

SA 2578. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14;

which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN CONSUMER GOODS FROM DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to a consumer good if the duties are estimated to result in an increase in the final sale price of the good that exceeds the increase that would occur under a projected annual inflation rate of 2 percent.

(b) CONSUMER GOOD DEFINED.—In this section, the term “consumer good” means—

(1) an item included in the “consumer goods” principle end-use commodity category referred to in the International Trade Application Programming Interface of the Bureau of the Census; and

(2) an intermediate input included in the “capital goods” or “industrial supplies” principle end-use commodity category referred to in the International Trade Application Programming Interface of the Bureau of the Census if the intermediate input is used for the production of a good in the United States for final sale to United States consumers.

SA 2579. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 142, line 14, strike “\$24,593,500,000” and insert “\$24,559,500,000”.

On page 146, line 4, strike “\$2,200,000,000” and insert “\$2,166,000,000”.

Beginning on page 165, strike line 19 and all that follows through page 166, line 17.

On page 167, strike lines 12 through 18.

SA 2580. Mr. SCHATZ (for himself, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. WELCH, Mr. LUJAN, and Ms. ALSOBROOKS) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . EXEMPTION FROM DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARATION FOR GOODS THAT WOULD INCREASE CONSUMER COSTS FOR RURAL AND LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to goods that are estimated to result in an increase in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers, that exceeds a projected annual inflation rate of 2 percent, as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, specifically for rural and low-income communities.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) LOW-INCOME COMMUNITY.—The term “low-income community” has the meaning given that term in section 45D(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(2) RURAL.—The term “rural” has the meaning given that term in section 520 of the Housing Act of 1949 (42 U.S.C. 1490).

SA 2581. Mr. SCHATZ submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . EXEMPTION FOR MEDICINE AND MEDICAL PRODUCTS FROM DUTIES IMPOSED PURSUANT TO NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Duties imposed pursuant to the national emergency declared in Executive Order 14257 (90 Fed. Reg. 15041; relating to regulating imports with a reciprocal tariff to rectify trade practices that contribute to large and persistent annual United States goods trade deficits) shall not apply with respect to medicine and medical products.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) MEDICAL PRODUCT.—The term “medical product” means—

(A) personal protective equipment, as defined by the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, which may include protective clothing, helmets, gloves, face shields, goggles, facemasks or respirators, or other equipment designed to protect the wearer from injury or the spread of infection or illness; or

(B) a device, as defined in section 201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

(2) MEDICINE.—The term “medicine” has the meaning given the term “drug” in section 201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

SA 2582. Ms. ERNST submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . CHARGING LABOR ORGANIZATIONS FOR USE OF FEDERAL RESOURCES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter IV of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after section 7135 the following:

“§ 7136. Charging labor organizations for use of Federal resources

“(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

“(1) AGENCY BUSINESS.—The term ‘agency business’ means work performed by employees on behalf of an agency or under the direction and control of the agency.

“(2) AGENCY RESOURCES PROVIDED FOR UNION USE.—The term ‘agency resources provided for union use’—

“(A) means the resources of an agency, other than the time of employees in a duty status, that such agency provides to labor representatives for purposes pertaining to matters covered by this chapter, including agency office space, parking space, equipment, and reimbursement for expenses incurred while on union time or otherwise performing non-agency business; and

“(B) does not include any resource to the extent that the resource is used for agency business.

“(3) LABOR ORGANIZATION.—Notwithstanding section 7103, the term ‘labor organization’ means a labor organization recognized as an exclusive representative of employees of an agency under this chapter or as a representative of agency employees under any system established by the Transportation Security Administration Administrator pursuant to section 111(d) of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (49 U.S.C. 44935 note), except that the term does not include a labor organization, or a subordinate body of a labor organization such as a bargaining council or local chapter, not less than 51 percent of the members of which are employees who are subject to mandatory separation under section 8335 or 8425.

“(4) HOURLY RATE OF PAY.—The term ‘hourly rate of pay’ means the total cost to an agency of employing an employee in a pay period or pay periods, including wages, salary, and other cash payments, agency contributions to employee health and retirement benefits, employer payroll tax payments, paid leave accruals, and the cost to the agency for other benefits, divided by the number of hours that employee worked in that pay period or pay periods.

“(5) LABOR REPRESENTATIVE.—The term ‘labor representative’ means an employee of an agency serving in any official or other representative capacity for a labor organization (including as any officer or steward of a labor organization) that is the exclusive representative of employees of such agency under this chapter or is the representative of employees under any system established by the Transportation Security Administration Administrator pursuant to section 111(d) of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act (49 U.S.C. 44935 note).

“(6) UNION TIME.—The term ‘union time’ means the time an employee of an agency who is a labor representative for a labor organization spends performing non-agency business while on duty, either in service of that labor organization or otherwise acting in the capacity as an employee representative, including official time authorized under section 7131.

“(b) FEES FOR USE OF AGENCY RESOURCES.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of each agency shall charge each labor organization recognized as an exclusive representative of employees of that agency a fee each calendar quarter for the use of the resources of that agency during that quarter.

“(2) FEE CALCULATION.—The amount of the fee the head of an agency charges a labor organization under paragraph (1) with respect to a calendar quarter shall be equal to the amount that is the sum of—

“(A) the value of the union time of each labor representative for that labor organization while employed by that agency in that quarter; and

“(B) the value of agency resources provided for union use to that labor organization by that agency in that quarter.

“(3) TIMING.—

“(A) NOTICE.—Not later than 30 days after the end of each calendar quarter, the head of each agency shall submit to each labor organization charged a fee by that agency head under paragraph (1) with respect to that calendar quarter a notice stating the amount of that fee.

“(B) DUE DATE.—Payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) is due not later than 60 days after the date on which the labor organization charged the fee receives a notice under subparagraph (A) with respect to that fee.

“(4) PAYMENT.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) shall be made to the head of the agency that charged the fee.

“(B) TRANSFER TO GENERAL FUND.—The head of an agency shall transfer each payment of a fee charged under paragraph (1) that the agency head receives to the general fund of the Treasury.

“(C) VALUE DETERMINATIONS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The head of an agency charging a labor organization a fee under subsection (b) shall determine the value of union time used by labor representatives and the value of agency resources provided for union use for the purposes of paragraph (2) of that subsection in accordance with this subsection.

“(2) VALUES.—For the purposes of paragraph (2) of subsection (b), with respect to a fee charged to a labor organization by the head of an agency under paragraph (1) of that subsection—

“(A) the value of the union time of a labor representative during a calendar quarter is equal to amount that is the product of the hourly rate of pay of that labor representative paid by that agency and the number of hours of union time of that labor representative during that calendar quarter during which that labor representative was on duty as an employee of that agency; and

“(B) that agency head shall determine the value of agency resources provided for union use during a calendar quarter using rates established by the General Services Administration, where applicable, or to the extent that those rates are inapplicable to the use of those resources, the market rate for the use of those resources, except that with respect to resources used for both agency business and for purposes pertaining to matters covered by this chapter, only the value of the portion of the use of those resources for the business of that labor organization shall be included.

“(3) PAYMENT REQUIRED.—The head of an agency may not forgive, reimburse, waive, or in any other manner reduce any fee charged under this section.”

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for subchapter IV of chapter 71 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 7135 the following: “7136. Charging labor organizations for use of Federal resources.”

SA 2583. Mr. CURTIS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70512 and insert the following:

SEC. 70512. TERMINATION AND RESTRICTIONS ON CLEAN ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—Section 45Y(d) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “The amount of” and inserting “Subject to paragraph (4), the amount of”, and

(2) by striking paragraph (3) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

“(3) APPLICABLE YEAR.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘applicable year’ means calendar year 2032.

“(4) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply with respect to any applicable facility placed in service after December 31, 2027.

“(B) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a qualified facility which—

“(i) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in sec-

tion 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(ii) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins).”

(b) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45Y is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(E) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The term ‘qualified facility’ shall not include any facility for which construction begins after December 31, 2025 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in subsection (d)(4)(B), after June 16, 2025), if the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”

(2) in subsection (g), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(13) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year if the taxpayer is—

“(i) a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), or

“(ii) a foreign-influenced entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(D), without regard to clause (i)(II) thereof).

“(B) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which section 7701(a)(51)(D)(i)(II) is determined to apply for any taxable year, no credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for such taxable year if such determination relates to a qualified facility described in subsection (b)(1).”

(c) DEFINITIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 7701(a) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(51) PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—

“(i) DEFINITION.—The term ‘prohibited foreign entity’ means a specified foreign entity or a foreign-influenced entity.

“(ii) DETERMINATION.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subclause (II), for any taxable year, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity or foreign-influenced entity shall be made as of the last day of such taxable year.

“(II) INITIAL TAXABLE YEAR.—For purposes of the first taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph, the determination as to whether an entity is a specified foreign entity described in clauses (i) through (iv) of subparagraph (B) shall be made as of the first day of such taxable year.

“(B) SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITY.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘specified foreign entity’ means—

“(i) a foreign entity of concern described in subparagraph (A), (B), (D), or (E) of section 9901(8) of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 15 U.S.C. 4651),

“(ii) an entity identified as a Chinese military company operating in the United States in accordance with section 1260H of the William M. (Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021 (Public Law 116-283; 10 U.S.C. 113 note),

“(iii) an entity included on a list required by clause (i), (ii), (iv), or (v) of section 2(d)(2)(B) of Public Law 117-78 (135 Stat. 1527),

“(iv) an entity specified under section 154(b) of the National Defense Authorization

Act for Fiscal Year 2024 (Public Law 118-31; 10 U.S.C. note prec. 4651), or

“(v) a foreign-controlled entity.

“(C) FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (B), the term ‘foreign-controlled entity’ means—

“(i) the government (including any level of government below the national level) of a covered nation,

“(ii) an agency or instrumentality of a government described in clause (i),

“(iii) a person who is a citizen or national of a covered nation, provided that such person is not an individual who is a citizen, national, or lawful permanent resident of the United States,

“(iv) an entity or a qualified business unit (as defined in section 989(a)) incorporated or organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a covered nation, or

“(v) an entity (including subsidiary entities) controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by an entity described in clause (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv).

“(D) FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘foreign-influenced entity’ means an entity—

“(I) with respect to which, during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the direct authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity owns at least 25 percent of such entity,

“(cc) one or more specified foreign entities own in the aggregate at least 40 percent of such entity, or

“(dd) at least 15 percent of the debt of such entity has been issued, in the aggregate, to 1 or more specified foreign entities, or

“(II) which, during the previous taxable year, made a payment to a specified foreign entity pursuant to a contract, agreement, or other arrangement which entitles such specified foreign entity (or an entity related to such specified foreign entity) to exercise effective control over—

“(aa) any qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer), or

“(bb) with respect to any eligible component produced by the taxpayer (or any person related to the taxpayer)—

“(AA) the extraction, processing, or recycling of any applicable critical mineral, or

“(BB) the production of an eligible component which is not an applicable critical mineral.

“(ii) EFFECTIVE CONTROL.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—

“(aa) GENERAL RULE.—Subject to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means 1 or more agreements or arrangements similar to those described in subclauses (II) and (III) which provide 1 or more contractual counterparties of a taxpayer with specific authority over key aspects of the production of eligible components, energy generation in a qualified facility, or energy storage which are not included in the measures of control through authority, ownership, or debt held which are described in clause (i)(I).

“(bb) GUIDANCE.—The Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this clause, including the establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions described in subparagraph (C) and subclauses (II) and (III) of this clause through a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(II) APPLICATION OF RULES PRIOR TO ISSUANCE OF GUIDANCE.—During any period prior to the date that the guidance described

in subclause (I)(bb) is issued by the Secretary, for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means the unrestricted contractual right of a contractual counterparty to—

“(aa) determine the quantity or timing of production of an eligible component produced by the taxpayer,

“(bb) determine the amount or timing of activities related to the production of electricity undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer or the storage of electrical energy in energy storage technology of the taxpayer,

“(cc) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a production unit of the taxpayer that produces eligible components,

“(dd) determine which entity may purchase or use the output of a qualified facility of the taxpayer,

“(ee) restrict access to data critical to production or storage of energy undertaken at a qualified facility of the taxpayer, or to the site of production or any part of a qualified facility or energy storage technology of the taxpayer, to the personnel or agents of such contractual counterparty, or

“(ff) on an exclusive basis, maintain, repair, or operate any plant or equipment which is necessary to the production by the taxpayer of eligible components or electricity.

“(III) LICENSING AND OTHER AGREEMENTS.—

“(aa) IN GENERAL.—In addition to subclause (II), for purposes of clause (i)(II), the term ‘effective control’ means, with respect to a licensing agreement for the provision of intellectual property or any other contract, agreement, or other arrangement entered into with a contractual counterparty which is related to such licensing agreement and to a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or the production of an eligible component, any of the following:

“(AA) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to specify or otherwise direct 1 or more sources of components, subcomponents, or applicable critical minerals utilized in a qualified facility, energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(BB) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct the operation of any qualified facility, any energy storage technology, or any production unit that produces an eligible component.

“(CC) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to limit the taxpayer’s utilization of intellectual property related to the operation of a qualified facility or energy storage technology, or in the production of an eligible component.

“(DD) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to receive royalties under the licensing agreement or any similar agreement (or payments under any related agreement) beyond the 10th year of the agreement (including modifications or extensions thereof).

“(EE) A contractual right retained by the contractual counterparty to direct or otherwise require the taxpayer to enter into an agreement for the provision of services for a duration longer than 2 years (including any modifications or extensions thereof).

“(FF) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement does not provide the licensee with all the technical data, information, and know-how necessary to enable the licensee to produce the eligible component or components subject to the contract, agreement, or other arrangement without further involvement from the contractual counterparty or a specified foreign entity.

“(GG) Such contract, agreement, or other arrangement was entered into (or modified) on or after June 16, 2025.

“(bb) EXCEPTION.—

“(AA) IN GENERAL.—Item (aa) shall not apply in the case of a bona fide purchase or sale of intellectual property.

“(BB) BONA FIDE PURCHASE OR SALE.—For purposes of item (aa), any purchase or sale of intellectual property where the agreement provides that ownership of the intellectual property reverts to the contractual counterparty after a period of time shall not be considered a bona-fide purchase or sale.

“(IV) PERSONS RELATED TO THE TAXPAYER.—For purposes of subclauses (I), (II), and (III), the term ‘taxpayer’ shall include any person related to the taxpayer.

“(V) CONTRACTUAL COUNTERPARTY.—For purposes of this clause, the term ‘contractual counterparty’ means an entity with which the taxpayer has entered into a contract, agreement, or other arrangement.

“(iii) GUIDANCE.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue such guidance as is necessary to carry out the purposes of this subparagraph, including establishment of rules to prevent entities from evading, circumventing, or abusing the application of the restrictions against impermissible technology licensing arrangements with specified foreign entities, such as through temporary transfers of intellectual property, retention by a specified foreign entity of a reversionary interest in transferred intellectual property, or otherwise.

“(E) PUBLICLY TRADED ENTITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—

“(I) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (C)(v) shall not apply in the case of any entity the securities of which are regularly traded on—

“(aa) a national securities exchange which is registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission,

“(bb) the national market system established pursuant to section 11A of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934, or

“(cc) any other exchange or other market which the Secretary has determined in guidance issued under section 1296(e)(1)(A)(ii) has rules adequate to carry out the purposes of part VI of subchapter P of chapter 1 of subtitle A.

“(II) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY RULES.—Subparagraph (D)(i)(I) shall not apply in the case of any entity—

“(aa) the securities of which are regularly traded in a manner described in subclause (I), or

“(bb) for which not less than 80 percent of the equity securities of such entity are owned directly or indirectly by an entity which is described in item (aa).

“(III) EXCLUSION OF EXCHANGES OR MARKETS IN COVERED NATIONS.—Subclause (I)(cc) shall not apply with respect to any exchange or market which—

“(aa) is incorporated or organized under the laws of a covered nation, or

“(bb) has its principal place of business in a covered nation.

“(ii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-CONTROLLED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(I), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-controlled entity under subparagraph (C)(v) if such entity is controlled (as determined under subparagraph (G)) by—

“(I) 1 or more specified foreign entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (B)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in clause (iii)(I)(bb), or

“(II) 1 or more foreign-controlled entities (as determined without regard to subparagraph (C)(v)) that are each required to report their beneficial ownership pursuant to a rule described in such clause.

“(iii) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN-INFLUENCED ENTITY REQUIREMENTS FOR PUBLICLY TRADED COMPANIES.—In the case of an entity described in clause (i)(II), such entity shall be deemed to be a foreign-influenced entity under subparagraph (D)(i)(I) if—

“(I) during the taxable year—

“(aa) a specified foreign entity has the authority to appoint a covered officer of such entity,

“(bb) a single specified foreign entity required to report its beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 (or, in the case of an exchange or market described in clause (i)(I)(cc), an equivalent rule) owns not less than 25 percent of such entity, or

“(cc) 1 or more specified foreign entities that are each required to report their beneficial ownership under Rule 13d-3 of the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934 own, in the aggregate, not less than 40 percent of such entity, or

“(II) such entity has issued debt, as part of an original issuance, in excess of 15 percent of its publicly-traded debt to 1 or more specified foreign entities.

“(F) COVERED OFFICER.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term ‘covered officer’ means, with respect to an entity—

“(i) a member of the board of directors, board of supervisors, or equivalent governing body,

“(ii) an executive-level officer, including the president, chief executive officer, chief operating officer, chief financial officer, general counsel, or senior vice president, or

“(iii) an individual having powers or responsibilities similar to those of officers or members described in clause (i) or (ii).

“(G) DETERMINATION OF CONTROL.—For purposes of subparagraph (C)(v), the term ‘control’ means—

“(i) in the case of a corporation, ownership (by vote or value) of more than 50 percent of the stock in such corporation,

“(ii) in the case of a partnership, ownership of more than 50 percent of the profits interests or capital interests in such partnership, or

“(iii) in any other case, ownership of more than 50 percent of the beneficial interests in the entity.

“(H) DETERMINATION OF OWNERSHIP.—For purposes of this section, section 318(a)(2) shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of stock in a corporation. Similar principles shall apply for purposes of determining ownership of interests in any other entity.

“(I) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERAL.—The term ‘applicable critical mineral’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(6).

“(ii) COVERED NATION.—The term ‘covered nation’ has the same meaning given such term under section 4872(f)(2) of title 10, United States Code.

“(iii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ has the same meaning given such term under section 45X(c)(1).

“(iv) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(v) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1), and

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3).

“(vi) RELATED.—The term ‘related’ shall have the same meaning given such term under sections 267(b) and 707(b).

“(J) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of applying any provision under this

paragraph, the beginning of construction with respect to any property shall be determined pursuant to rules similar to the rules under Internal Revenue Service Notice 2013-29 and Internal Revenue Service Notice 2018-59 (as well as any subsequently issued guidance clarifying, modifying, or updating either such Notice), as in effect on January 1, 2025.

“(K) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including rules to prevent the circumvention of any rules or restrictions with respect to prohibited foreign entities.

“(52) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity’ means—

“(i) with respect to any qualified facility or energy storage technology, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (B), or

“(ii) with respect to any facility which produces eligible components, a material assistance cost ratio which is less than the threshold percentage applicable under subparagraph (C).

“(B) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(i) in the case of a qualified facility the construction of which begins—

“(I) after June 16, 2025, and before January 1, 2026, 37.5 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2026, 40 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2027, 45 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2028, 50 percent,

“(V) during calendar year 2029, 55 percent,

and

“(VI) after December 31, 2029, 60 percent,

and

“(ii) in the case of energy storage technology the construction of which begins—

“(I) during calendar year 2026, 55 percent,

“(II) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(III) during calendar year 2028, 65 percent,

“(IV) during calendar year 2029, 70 percent,

and

“(V) after December 31, 2029, 75 percent.

“(C) THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the threshold percentage shall be—

“(I) in the case of any solar energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(3)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 60 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

“(II) in the case of any wind energy component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(4)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 85 percent,

and

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 90 percent,

“(III) in the case of any inverter described in subparagraphs (B) through (G) of section 45X(c)(2) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 50 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 55 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 60 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 65 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 70 percent,

“(IV) in the case of any qualifying battery component (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(5)(A)) which is sold—

“(aa) during calendar year 2026, 60 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2027, 65 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2028, 70 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2029, 80 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2029, 85 percent,

and

“(V) subject to clause (ii), in the case of any applicable critical mineral (as such term is defined in section 45X(c)(6)) which is sold—

“(aa) after December 31, 2025, and before January 1, 2030, 0 percent,

“(bb) during calendar year 2030, 25 percent,

“(cc) during calendar year 2031, 30 percent,

“(dd) during calendar year 2032, 40 percent,

and

“(ee) after December 31, 2032, 50 percent.

“(ii) ADJUSTED THRESHOLD PERCENTAGE FOR APPLICABLE CRITICAL MINERALS.—Not later than December 31, 2027, the Secretary shall issue threshold percentages for each of the applicable critical minerals described in section 45X(c)(6), which shall—

“(I) apply in lieu of the threshold percentage determined under clause (i)(V) for each calendar year, and

“(II) equal or exceed the threshold percentage which would otherwise apply with respect to such applicable critical mineral under such clause for such calendar year, taking into account—

“(aa) domestic geographic availability,

“(bb) supply chain constraints,

“(cc) domestic processing capacity needs,

and

“(dd) national security concerns.

“(D) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO.—

“(i) QUALIFIED FACILITIES AND ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, minus

“(bb) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are—

“(AA) incorporated into the qualified facility or energy storage technology upon completion of construction, and

“(BB) mined, produced, or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(ii) ELIGIBLE COMPONENTS.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the term ‘material assistance cost ratio’ means the amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the quotient of—

“(I) an amount equal to—

“(aa) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component, minus

“(bb) with respect to an eligible component, the total direct material costs that are paid or incurred (within the meaning of section 461 and any regulations issued under section 263A) by the taxpayer for production of such eligible component that are attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, divided by

“(II) the amount described in subclause (I)(aa).

“(iii) SAFE HARBOR TABLES.—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—Not later than December 31, 2026, the Secretary shall issue safe harbor tables (and such other guidance as deemed necessary) to—

“(aa) identify the percentage of total direct costs of any manufactured product

“(bb) identify the percentage of total direct

“(cc) identify the percentage of total direct

“(dd) identify the percentage of total direct

“(ee) identify the percentage of total direct

“(ff) identify the percentage of total direct

“(gg) identify the percentage of total direct

“(hh) identify the percentage of total direct

“(ii) identify the percentage of total direct

“(iii) identify the percentage of total direct

“(iv) identify the percentage of total direct

“(v) identify the percentage of total direct

“(vi) identify the percentage of total direct

“(vii) identify the percentage of total direct

“(viii) identify the percentage of total direct

“(ix) identify the percentage of total direct

which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity,

“(bb) identify the percentage of total direct material costs of any eligible component which is attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(cc) provide all rules necessary to determine the appropriate amount of a taxpayer’s material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity within the meaning of this paragraph or as such term is used in section 5000E-1.

“(II) SAFE HARBORS PRIOR TO ISSUANCE.—For purposes of this paragraph, prior to the date on which the Secretary issues the safe harbor tables described in subclause (I), and for construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology which begins on or before the date which is 60 days after the date of issuance of such tables, a taxpayer may—

“(aa) use the tables included in Internal Revenue Service Notice 2025-08 to establish the percentage of the total direct costs of any listed eligible component and any manufactured product, and

“(bb) rely on a certification by the supplier of the manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component—

“(AA) of the total direct costs or the total direct material costs, as applicable, of such product or component that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(BB) that such product or component was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(III) EXCEPTION.—Notwithstanding subclauses (I) and (II)—

“(aa) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that a manufactured product or eligible component was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, the taxpayer shall treat all direct costs with respect to such manufactured product, or all direct material costs with respect to such eligible component, as attributable to a prohibited foreign entity, and

“(bb) if the taxpayer knows (or has reason to know) that the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) pertaining to a manufactured product or eligible component is inaccurate, the taxpayer may not rely on such certification.

“(IV) CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.—In a manner consistent with Treasury Regulation section 1.45X-4(c)(4)(i) (as in effect on the date of enactment of this paragraph), the certification referred to in subclause (II)(bb) shall—

“(aa) include—

“(AA) the supplier’s employer identification number, or

“(BB) any such similar identification number issued by a foreign government,

“(bb) be signed under penalties of perjury,

“(cc) be retained by the supplier and the taxpayer for a period of not less than 6 years and shall be provided to the Secretary upon request, and

“(dd) be from the supplier from which the taxpayer purchased any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, materials, or subcomponents of an eligible component, stating either—

“(AA) that such property was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity and that the supplier is not aware that any prior supplier in the chain of production of that property is a prohibited foreign entity,

“(BB) for purposes of section 45X, the total direct material costs for each component, constituent element, material, or subcomponent that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(CC) for purposes of section 45Y or section 48E, the total direct costs attributable to all manufactured products that were not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity.

“(iv) EXISTING CONTRACT.—Upon the election of the taxpayer (in such form and manner as the Secretary shall designate), in the case of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component which is—

“(I) acquired by the taxpayer, or manufactured or assembled by or for the taxpayer, pursuant to a binding written contract which was entered into prior to June 16, 2025, and

“(II)(aa) placed into service before January 1, 2030 (or, in the case of an applicable facility, as defined in section 45Y(d)(4)(B), before January 1, 2028), or

“(bb) in the case of a constituent element, material, or subcomponent, used in a product sold before January 1, 2030,

the cost to the taxpayer with respect to such product, component, element, material, or subcomponent shall not be included for purposes of determining the material assistance cost ratio under this subparagraph.

“(v) ANTI-CIRCUMVENTION RULES.—The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to prevent circumvention of the rules under this subparagraph, including prevention of—

“(I) any abuse of the exception provided under clause (iv) through the stockpiling of any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component during any period prior to the application of the requirements under this paragraph, or

“(II) any evasion with respect to the requirements of this subparagraph where the facts and circumstances demonstrate that the beginning of construction of a qualified facility or energy storage technology has not in fact occurred.

“(E) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph—

“(i) ELIGIBLE COMPONENT.—The term ‘eligible component’ means—

“(I) any property described in section 45X(c)(1), or

“(II) any component which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(ii) ENERGY STORAGE TECHNOLOGY.—The term ‘energy storage technology’ has the same meaning given such term under section 48E(c)(2).

“(iii) MANUFACTURED PRODUCT.—The term ‘manufactured product’ means—

“(I) a manufactured product which is a component of a qualified facility, as described in section 45Y(g)(11)(B) and any guidance issued thereunder, or

“(II) any product which is identified by the Secretary pursuant to regulations or guidance issued under subparagraph (G).

“(iv) QUALIFIED FACILITY.—The term ‘qualified facility’ means—

“(I) a qualified facility, as defined in section 45Y(b)(1),

“(II) a qualified facility, as defined in section 48E(b)(3), and

“(III) any qualified interconnection property (as defined in section 48E(b)(4)) which is part of the qualified investment with respect to a qualified facility (as described in section 48E(b)(1)).

“(F) BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.—Rules similar to the rules under paragraph (51)(J) shall apply for purposes of this paragraph.

“(G) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this paragraph, including—

“(i) identification of components or products for purposes of clauses (i) and (iii) of subparagraph (E), and

“(ii) for purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), rules to address facilities which produce more than one eligible component.”.

(d) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR CERTAIN WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—Section 45Y is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(h) DENIAL OF CREDIT FOR WIND AND SOLAR LEASING ARRANGEMENTS.—No credit shall be determined under this section with respect to any production of electricity during the taxable year with respect to property described in paragraph (1) or (4) of section 25D(d) (as applied by substituting ‘lessee’ for ‘taxpayer’) if the taxpayer rents or leases such property to a third party during such taxable year.”.

(e) EMISSIONS RATES TABLES.—Section 45Y(b)(2)(C) is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) EXISTING STUDIES.—For purposes of clause (i), in determining greenhouse gas emissions rates for types or categories of facilities for the purpose of determining whether a facility satisfies the requirements under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall consider studies published on or before the date of enactment of this clause which demonstrate a net lifecycle greenhouse gas emissions rate which is not greater than zero using widely accepted lifecycle assessment concepts, such as concepts described in standards developed by the International Organization for Standardization.”.

(f) NUCLEAR ENERGY COMMUNITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 45(b)(11) is amended—

(A) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (ii)(II), by striking “or” at the end,

(ii) in clause (iii)(II), by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or”;

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

“(iv) for purposes of any qualified facility which is an advanced nuclear facility, a metropolitan statistical area which has (or, at any time during the period beginning after December 31, 2009, had) 0.17 percent or greater direct employment related to the advancement of nuclear power, including employment related to—

“(I) an advanced nuclear facility,

“(II) advanced nuclear power research and development,

“(III) nuclear fuel cycle research, development, or production, including mining, enrichment, manufacture, storage, disposal, or recycling of nuclear fuel, and

“(IV) the manufacturing or assembly of components used in an advanced nuclear facility.”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) ADVANCED NUCLEAR FACILITIES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause (ii), for purposes of subparagraph (B)(iv), the term ‘advanced nuclear facility’ means any nuclear facility the reactor design for which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2).

“(ii) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of clause (i), a facility shall be deemed to have a reactor design which is approved in the manner described in section 45J(d)(2) if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has authorized construction and issued a site-specific construction permit or combined license with respect to such facility.”.

(2) NONAPPLICATION FOR CLEAN ELECTRICITY INVESTMENT CREDIT.—Section 48E(a)(3)(A)(i) is amended by inserting “, as applied without regard to clause (iv) thereof” after “section 45(b)(11)(B)”.

(g) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Paragraph (1) of section 48D(c) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) is not a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)), and”.

(2) Section 45Y(b)(1) is amended—

(A) by redesignating subparagraph (D) as subparagraph (E), and

(B) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DETERMINATION OF CAPACITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (C), additions of capacity of a facility shall be determined in any reasonable manner, including based on—

“(i) determinations by, or reports to, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (including interconnection agreements), the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, or any similar entity, reflecting additions of capacity,

“(ii) determinations or reports reflecting additions of capacity made by an independent professional engineer,

“(iii) reports to, or issued by, regional transmission organizations or independent system operators reflecting additions of capacity, or

“(iv) any other method or manner provided by the Secretary.”.

(h) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 6418(g) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF CREDITS TO SPECIFIED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—With respect to any eligible credit described in clause (iii), (iv), (vi), (vii), (viii), or (xi) of subsection (f)(1)(A), an eligible taxpayer may not elect to transfer any portion of such credit to a taxpayer that is a specified foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(B)).”.

(i) EXTENSION OF PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS FOR ERRORS RELATING TO DETERMINING OF MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—Section 6501 is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p), and

(2) by inserting after subsection (n) the following new subsection:

“(o) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM A PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITY.—In the case of a deficiency attributable to an error with respect to the determination under section 7701(a)(52) for any taxable year, such deficiency may be assessed at any time within 6 years after the return for such year was filed.”.

(j) IMPOSITION OF ACCURACY-RELATED PENALTIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 6662 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(m) SUBSTANTIAL UNDERSTATEMENT OF INCOME TAX DUE TO DISALLOWANCE OF APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxpayer for which there is a disallowance of an applicable energy credit for any taxable year, for purposes of determining whether there is a substantial understatement of income tax for such taxable year, subsection (d)(1) shall be applied—

“(A) in subparagraphs (A) and (B), by substituting ‘1 percent’ for ‘10 percent’ each place it appears, and

“(B) without regard to subparagraph (C).

“(2) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘disallowance of an applicable energy credit’ means the disallowance of a credit under section 45X, 45Y, or 48E by reason of overstating the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)) with respect to any qualified facility, energy storage technology, or facility which produces eligible components.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 6417(d)(6) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(D) DISALLOWANCE OF AN APPLICABLE ENERGY CREDIT.—In the case of an applicable entity which made an election under subsection (a) with respect to an applicable credit for which there is a disallowance described in section 6662(m)(2), subparagraph (A) shall apply with respect to any excessive payment resulting from such disallowance.”.

(K) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after section 6695A the following new section:

“SEC. 6695B. PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.

“(a) IMPOSITION OF PENALTY.—If—

“(1) a person—

“(A) provides a certification described in clause (iii)(II)(bb) of section 7701(a)(52)(D) with respect to any manufactured product, eligible component, or constituent element, material, or subcomponent of an eligible component, and

“(B) knows, or reasonably should have known, that the certification would be used in connection with a determination under such section,

“(2) such certification is inaccurate or false with respect to—

“(A) whether such property was produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity, or

“(B) the total direct costs or total direct material costs of such property that was not produced or manufactured by a prohibited foreign entity that were provided on such certification, and

“(3) the inaccuracy or falsity described in paragraph (2) resulted in the disallowance of an applicable energy credit (as defined in section 6662(m)(2)) and an understatement of income tax (within the meaning of section 6662(d)(2)) for the taxable year in an amount which exceeds the lesser of—

“(A) 5 percent of the tax required to be shown on the return for the taxable year, or

“(B) \$100,000,

then such person shall pay a penalty in the amount determined under subsection (b).

“(b) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—The amount of the penalty imposed under subsection (a) on any person with respect to a certification shall be equal to the greater of—

“(1) 10 percent of the amount of the underpayment (as defined in section 6664(a)) solely attributable to the inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2), or

“(2) \$5,000.

“(c) EXCEPTION.—No penalty shall be imposed under subsection (a) if the person establishes to the satisfaction of the Secretary that any inaccuracy or falsity described in subsection (a)(2) is due to a reasonable cause and not willful neglect.

“(d) DEFINITIONS.—Any term used in this section which is also used in section 7701(a)(52) shall have the meaning given such term in such section.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 6696 is amended—

(i) in the heading, by striking “AND 6695A” and inserting “6695A, AND 6695B”;

(ii) in subsections (a), (b), and (e), by striking “and 6695A” each place it appears and inserting “6695A, and 6695B”;

(iii) in subsection (c), by striking “or 6695A” and inserting “6695A, or 6695B”, and

(iv) in subsection (d)—

(I) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(or, in the case of any penalty under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “assessed within 3 years”, and

(II) in paragraph (2), by inserting “(or, in the case of any claim for refund of an over-

payment of any penalty assessed under section 6695B, 6 years)” after “filed within 3 years”.

(B) The table of sections for part I of subchapter B of chapter 68 is amended by inserting after item relating to section 6695A the following new item:

“Sec. 6695B. Penalty for substantial misstatements on certification provided by supplier.”.

(1) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES

“Sec. 5000E-1. Imposition of tax.

“SEC. 5000E-1. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an applicable facility for which there is a material assistance cost ratio violation, a tax is hereby imposed for the taxable year in which such facility is placed in service in the amount determined under subsection (d) with respect to such facility.

“(b) APPLICABLE FACILITY.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable facility’ means a facility owned by the taxpayer—

“(1) which—

“(A) uses wind to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(1), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), or

“(B) uses solar energy to produce electricity (within the meaning of such term as used in section 45(d)(4), as determined without regard to any requirement under such section with respect to the date on which construction of property begins), and

“(2) either—

“(A) the construction of which begins after the date of the enactment of this section and before January 1, 2028, and which is placed in service after December 31, 2027, or

“(B) the construction of which begins after December 31, 2027, and before January 1, 2036.

“(c) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE COST RATIO VIOLATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘material assistance cost ratio violation’ means, with respect to an applicable facility, that the construction of such facility includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).

“(d) AMOUNT OF TAX.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount determined under this subsection with respect to any applicable facility shall be equal to the applicable percentage of the amount equal to the product of—

“(A) the amount (expressed in percentage points) by which the threshold percentage (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(B)(i)) exceeds the material assistance cost ratio (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)), multiplied by

“(B) the total direct costs to the taxpayer attributable to all manufactured products (including components) which are incorporated into the applicable facility upon completion of construction (as determined under section 7701(a)(52)(D)(i)(I)).

“(2) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the applicable percentage shall be—

“(A) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (A) of subsection (b)(1), 30 percent, or

“(B) in the case of a facility described in subparagraph (B) of such subsection, 50 percent.

“(e) RULE OF APPLICATION.—For purposes of this section, with respect to the application of section 7701(a)(52) or any provision

thereof, such section shall be applied by substituting ‘applicable facility’ for ‘qualified facility’ each place it appears.

“(f) REGULATIONS AND GUIDANCE.—The Secretary may prescribe such regulations and guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this section, including—

“(1) identifying an applicable facility of the taxpayer,

“(2) determining a material assistance cost ratio violation of the taxpayer, and

“(3) application of the rules to specific fact patterns in a manner that is consistent with the purposes of this section.”.

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters for subtitle D is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 50A the following new item:

“CHAPTER 50B—MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES”.

(m) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), (4), and (5), the amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (b)(1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(3) EXCISE TAX ON FACILITIES THAT RECEIVE MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (1) shall apply to facilities for which construction begins after June 16, 2025.

(4) PENALTY FOR SUBSTANTIAL MISSTATEMENTS ON CERTIFICATION PROVIDED BY SUPPLIER.—The amendments made by subsection (k) shall apply to certifications provided after December 31, 2025.

(5) TERMINATION FOR WIND AND SOLAR FACILITIES.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to facilities the construction of which begins after the date of enactment of this Act.

SA 2584. Mr. VAN HOLLEN (for himself, Ms. ALSOBROOKS, Mr. KAINE, and Mr. WARNER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 90103 and insert the following:

SEC. 90103. APPROPRIATION FOR INVESTIGATIONS OF WASTE, FRAUD, AND ABUSE BY THE GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Government Accountability Office for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$100,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for investigations of waste, fraud, and abuse.

SA 2585. Mr. VAN HOLLEN (for himself, Ms. ALSOBROOKS, Mr. KAINE, and Mr. WARNER) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 90103.

SA 2586. Mr. DURBIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr.

THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section __0003 and insert the following:

SEC. __0003. AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL STAFFING AND MODERNIZATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—For the purpose of the acquisition, construction, sustainment, improvement, and operation of facilities and equipment necessary to improve or maintain aviation safety, and for personnel expenses related to such facilities and equipment, in addition to amounts otherwise made available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to remain available until September 30, 2029—

(1) \$2,640,000,000 for air traffic control tower and terminal radar approach control facility replacement, of which not less than \$240,000,000 shall be available for Contract Tower Program air traffic control tower replacement and airport sponsor owned air traffic control tower replacement;

(2) \$2,000,000,000 for air route traffic control center replacement;

(3) \$3,000,000,000 for radar systems replacement;

(4) \$4,750,000,000 for telecommunications infrastructure and systems replacement;

(5) \$500,000,000 for runway safety projects, airport surface surveillance projects, and to carry out section 347 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(6) \$550,000,000 for unstaffed infrastructure sustainment and replacement;

(7) \$300,000,000 to carry out section 619 of the FAA Reauthorization Act of 2024;

(8) \$260,000,000 to carry out section 44745 of title 49, United States Code; and

(9) \$1,000,000,000 for air traffic controller recruitment, retention, training, and advanced training technologies.

(b) QUARTERLY REPORTING.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, and every 90 days thereafter, the Administrator shall submit to Congress a report that describes any expenditures under this section.

SA 2587. Mr. DURBIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. __. PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF PATRIOTIC ARTWORK IN FEDERAL BUILDINGS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ADMINISTRATOR.—The term “Administrator” means the Administrator of General Services.

(2) PATRIOTIC ARTWORK.—The term “patriotic artwork” means artwork acquired and owned or managed by the Fine Arts Collection of the General Services Administration.

(3) PUBLIC BUILDING.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The term “public building” means a building described in subparagraphs (A) and (B) of section 3301(a)(5) of title 40, United States Code.

(B) INCLUSIONS.—The term “public building” includes any building described in subparagraph (A) that is—

(i) leased by the Federal Government; or

(ii) located in a foreign country.

(b) PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF PATRIOTIC ARTWORK.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Administrator shall—

(1) ensure that not fewer than 30 dedicated employees of the General Services Administration are available to track, maintain, and protect patriotic artwork in public buildings; and

(2) establish a process for the disposition or lease of patriotic artwork.

SA 2588. Mr. DURBIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 100051, add the following:

(13) DACA APPLICATIONS.—Processing applications for deferred action pursuant to the final rule of the Department of Homeland Security entitled “Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals” (87 Fed. Reg. 53152 (August 30, 2022)).

(14) LIMITATION.—None of the funds appropriated under this section may be expended to remove an alien who appears to be prima facie eligible for relief pursuant to “Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals” (87 Fed. Reg. 53152 (August 30, 2022)), unless such alien has been convicted of any of the following offenses (excluding any offense for which an essential element is the alien’s immigration status, any offense involving civil disobedience without violence, and any minor traffic offense):

- (A) A felony offense.
- (B) A significant misdemeanor offense.
- (C) 3 misdemeanor offenses not arising out of the same act of misconduct.

SA 2589. Mr. DURBIN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VIII, insert the following:

SEC. 8 __. NO FUNDING FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH 90/10 RULE.

None of the funds made available under this title may be used to provide Federal education assistance to a student to attend an institution of higher education that derives less than ten percent of such institution’s revenues from sources other than Federal Funds that are disbursed or delivered to or on behalf of a student to be used to attend such institution.

SA 2590. Mr. SCHUMER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title II, insert the following:

SEC. __. PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS TO PROCURE OR MODIFY FOREIGN AIRCRAFT FOR PRESIDENTIAL AIRLIFT.

None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act may be made available for the procurement, modification, restoration, or maintenance of an aircraft previously owned by a foreign government, an entity controlled by a foreign government, or a representative of a foreign government for the purposes of providing presidential airlift options.

SA 2591. Mr. SCHUMER (for himself, Ms. WARREN, and Mr. REED) submitted

an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. __. PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS TO PROCURE OR MODIFY FOREIGN AIRCRAFT FOR PRESIDENTIAL AIRLIFT.

None of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act may be made available—

(1) for the procurement, modification, restoration, or maintenance of an aircraft previously owned by a foreign government, an entity controlled by a foreign government, or a representative of a foreign government for the purposes of providing presidential airlift options; or

(2) to support any entity, project, or contract in which the President or the family of the President has a direct or indirect financial interest.

SA 2592. Mr. WYDEN (for himself and Mr. MERKLEY) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 50302(a)(3), add the following:

(D) USE OF PROCEEDS.—Of the monies derived from a timber sale contract entered into to meet the requirements under this paragraph and deposited in the general fund of the Treasury, 25 percent shall be distributed in accordance with the Act of May 23, 1908 (commonly known as the “Forest Reserve Revenue Act of 1908”) (35 Stat. 260, chapter 192; 16 U.S.C. 500).

At the end of section 50302(b)(3), add the following:

(D) USE OF PROCEEDS.—Amounts derived from a contract entered into to meet the requirements under this paragraph on land subject to the Act of August 28, 1937 (50 Stat. 874, chapter 876; 43 U.S.C. 2601 et seq.), or the Act of May 24, 1939 (53 Stat. 753, chapter 144; 43 U.S.C. 2621 et seq.), shall be distributed in accordance with those Acts.

SA 2593. Ms. COLLINS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. __. 39.6 PERCENT INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (G) and by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

“(F) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), in prescribing the tables under this subsection for purposes of paragraph (3)(B)—

“(i) the excess, if any, of taxable income over—

“(I) \$50,000,000, in the case of married individuals filing joint returns and surviving spouses, and

“(II) \$25,000,000, in any other case, shall be taxed at a rate of 39.6 percent, and “(ii) paragraph (3)(B)(i) shall be applied with respect to such \$50,000,000 and \$25,000,000 amounts by substituting ‘2025’ for ‘2017.’”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SEC. _____ ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR RURAL HEALTH TRANSFORMATION PROGRAM.

Section 2105(h)(1)(A) of the Social Security Act, as added by section 71401(a), is amended—

(1) in clause (i), by striking “\$10,000,000,000” and inserting “\$22,500,000,000”; and
(2) in clause (ii), by striking “\$10,000,000,000” and inserting “\$22,500,000,000”.

SA 2594. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ EXTENSION OF DELAY ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEGATIVE OPTION RULE.

The Federal Trade Commission shall not, prior to September 30, 2034, implement, administer, or enforce the provisions of the final rule published by the Federal Trade Commission on November 15, 2024, and titled “Negative Option Rule” (89 Fed. Reg. 90476).

SA 2595. Mr. LEE submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ MORATORIUM ON IMPLEMENTATION OF CERTAIN RULES RELATING TO THE BUDGET.

(a) OFFICE OF INFORMATION AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$25,000,000, to remain available through September 30, 2034, for necessary expenses to delay the implementation, administration, and enforcement of budgetary rules, including expenses relating to the appointment and training of personnel, the development of programmatic documents, the procurement of technical services, the purchase of new equipment, and oversight of agency compliance.

(b) GUIDANCE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs shall update Circular A-4 of the Office of Management and Budget for the purpose of carrying out this section.

(2) EFFECT AND CONTENTS.—The updates under paragraph (1) shall—

(A) take effect on October 1, 2026;

(B) remain in effect through September 30, 2034; and

(C) include guidance requiring agencies to delay, until October 1, 2034, the implementation, administration, and enforcement of any budgetary rule.

(c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) BUDGETARY RULE.—The term “budgetary rule” means a proposed rule or a final rule that has not been implemented that—

(A) has a budgetary effect that would increase Federal outlays by not less than \$100,000,000 during any of fiscal years 2025 through 2034, relative to the baseline of the Office of Management and Budget prepared in accordance with section 257 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (2 U.S.C. 907); and

(B) was not required by a provision of Federal statute.

(2) RULE.—The term “rule”—

(A) has the meaning given the term in section 551 of title 5, United States Code;

(B) includes a guidance document; and

(C) does not include—

(i) any rule of particular applicability, including a rule that approves or prescribes for the future rates, wages, prices, services, or allowances thereof, corporate or financial structures, reorganizations, mergers, or acquisitions thereof, or accounting practices or disclosures bearing on any of the foregoing;

(ii) any rule relating to agency management or personnel; or

(iii) any rule of agency organization, procedure, or practice that does not substantially affect the rights or obligations of non-agency parties.

(d) ADJUSTMENT FOR INFLATION.—The amount described in subsection (c)(1)(A) shall be annually adjusted for inflation to reflect the change in the Chained Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor for the applicable year.

(e) EXCLUSION.—The requirements of this section shall not apply to any rulemaking promulgated in relation to the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program established under title II of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 401 et seq.).

SA 2596. Mr. BOOKER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40003(a), insert the following after paragraph (12):

(12-A) \$1,000,000,000 for air traffic controller recruitment, retention, training, and advanced training technologies.

SA 2597. Mr. BOOKER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 40003(a), strike paragraphs (1) and (2) and insert the following:

(1) \$9,500,000,000 for telecommunications infrastructure modernization and systems upgrades, with priority given to regions with repeated instances of a complete failure of the telecommunication system between TRACON facilities and approaching aircraft;

(2) \$6,000,000,000 for radar systems replacement, with priority given to the regions described in paragraph (1);

SA 2598. Mr. BOOKER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill

H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of subtitle A of title VII, insert the following:

CHAPTER 7—RAISE ACT

SEC. 70701. SHORT TITLE.

This chapter may be cited as the “Respect, Advancement, and Increasing Support for Educators Act of 2025” or the “RAISE Act of 2025”.

SEC. 70702. REFUNDABLE TEACHER TAX CREDIT.

(a) ALLOWANCE OF TAX CREDIT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subpart C of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after section 36B the following new section:

“SEC. 36C. TEACHER TAX CREDIT.

“(a) CREDIT ALLOWED.—In the case of an individual who is an eligible educator during school years ending with or within the taxable year, there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed by this chapter an amount equal to the sum of—

“(1) \$1,000, plus

“(2) in the case of an eligible educator who is employed at a qualifying school, the applicable amount.

“(b) APPLICABLE AMOUNT.—For purposes of subsection (a), the applicable amount is the amount which bears the same ratio (not to exceed one) to \$14,000 (\$9,000, in the case of any early childhood educator without a bachelor’s degree) as—

“(1) the number of percentage points by which the student poverty ratio for such qualifying school exceeds 39 percent, bears to

“(2) 36 percentage points.

“(c) ELIGIBLE EDUCATOR.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘eligible educator’ means—

“(A) any elementary or secondary teacher, and

“(B) any early childhood educator.

“(2) ELEMENTARY OR SECONDARY TEACHER.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘elementary or secondary teacher’ means an individual who—

“(i) is a teacher of record who provides direct classroom teaching (or classroom-type teaching in a nonclassroom setting) in a public elementary school or a public secondary school for not less than 75 percent of the normal or statutory number of hours of work for a full-time teacher over a complete school year (as determined by the State in which the school is located),

“(ii) meets the applicable requirements for State certification and licensure in the State in which such school is located in the subject area in which the individual is the teacher of record, and

“(iii) has met the requirements of clauses (i) and (ii) for a period of not less than 1 year before the first day of the taxable year.

“(B) TEACHER OF RECORD.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘teacher of record’ means a teacher who has been assigned the responsibility for specified pupils’ learning in a grade, subject, or course as reflected on the school’s official record of attendance.

“(3) EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATOR.—The term ‘early childhood educator’ means an individual who—

“(A) has a Child Development Associate credential (or an equivalent credential), or has an associate’s degree or higher,

“(B) meets the applicable requirements for State certification, licensure, or permitting under State law for early childhood education,

“(C) has primary responsibility for the learning and development of children in an

early childhood education program (as defined in section 103 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1003)) for not less than 75 percent of the normal or statutory number of hours of work for a full-time teacher over a complete program year, as determined by the Secretary of Health and Human Services, and

“(D) has met the requirements of subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) for a period of not less than 1 year before the first day of the taxable year.

“(d) QUALIFYING SCHOOL.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘qualifying school’ means, with respect to any school year—

“(A) a public elementary school or a public secondary school that—

“(i) is served by a local educational agency that is eligible in such year for assistance pursuant to part A of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6311 et seq.), or

“(ii) is served by an educational service agency, or a location operated by an educational service agency, that is eligible, for the year in which the determination is made, for assistance under part A of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6311 et seq.),

“(B) an elementary school or secondary school that is funded by the Bureau of Indian Education, or

“(C) an early childhood education program (as defined in section 103 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1003)) that serves children who receive, or are eligible for, services for which financial assistance is provided in accordance with the Child Care and Development Block Grant of 1990 (42 U.S.C. 9857 et seq.) or the child and adult care food program established under section 17 of the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act (42 U.S.C. 1766).

“(2) ESEA DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection, the terms ‘educational service agency’, ‘elementary school’, ‘local educational agency’, ‘secondary school’, and ‘State educational agency’ have the meanings given such terms in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 7801).

“(e) STUDENT POVERTY RATIO.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘student poverty ratio’ means—

“(A) with respect to any qualifying school described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of subsection (d)(1), the ratio (expressed as a percentage) of—

“(i) the total number of children served at such qualifying school meeting at least one measure of poverty described in section 1113(a)(5) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6313(a)(5)), to

“(ii) the total number of children served at such qualifying school, and

“(B) with respect to any qualifying school described in subsection (d)(1)(C), the ratio (expressed as a percentage) of—

“(i) the total number of children attending such qualifying school who are eligible for services under the Child Care and Development Block Grant of 1990 (42 U.S.C. 9857 et seq.) or for the child and adult care food program established under section 17 of the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act (42 U.S.C. 1766), to

“(ii) the total number of children attending such qualifying school.

“(2) DETERMINATION OF RATIO.—In determining the student poverty ratio with respect to a qualifying school under paragraph (1)(A), the Secretary shall use the same measure of poverty as is used for purposes of determining the allocation of funds under part A of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6311 et seq.) with respect to the qualifying school.

“(f) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any taxable year beginning after 2026, each of the dollar amounts in subsections (a) and (b) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any increase determined under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$50, such increase shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$50.”.

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The table of sections for subpart C of part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 36B the following new item:

“Sec. 36C. Teacher tax credit.”.

(B) Section 6211(b)(4)(A) is amended by inserting “36C,” after “36B,”.

(C) Section 1324(b)(2) of title 31, United States Code, is amended by inserting “36C,” after “36B,”.

(b) INFORMATION SHARING.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of Education shall—

(A) collect such information as necessary for purposes of determining whether a school is a qualifying school (as defined in section 36C of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as added by subsection (a)) and the appropriate amount of tax credit under such section; and

(B) provide such information to the Secretary of the Treasury (or the Secretary’s delegate).

(2) INFORMATION FOR THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION.—As a condition of receiving Federal funds and if requested by the Secretary of Education, each qualifying school shall collect and submit to the Secretary of Education such information as may be necessary to enable the Secretary of Education to carry out paragraph (1).

(c) SUPPLEMENTATION OF FUNDS.—

(1) ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.—A State educational agency or local educational agency (as such terms are defined in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 7801)) shall not reduce or adjust any teacher pay or teacher loan forgiveness program due to the eligibility of teachers within the jurisdiction of such agency for the tax credit under section 36C of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986. Each State educational agency and local educational agency (as so defined), upon request by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall demonstrate that the methodology used to allocate teacher pay and teacher loan forgiveness (if applicable) to qualifying schools (as defined in section 36C(d) of such Code) ensures that each such school receives the same State and local funds for teacher compensation it would receive if the credit under such section 36C had not been enacted.

(2) EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION.—An agency or other entity that funds, licenses, or regulates an early childhood education program (as defined in section 103 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1003)) shall not reduce or adjust any teacher pay or teacher loan forgiveness program, or permit such a reduction or adjustment in the early childhood education program, due to the eligibility of teachers within the jurisdiction of such agency for the tax credit under section 36C of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986. Each such agency or entity, upon request by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall demonstrate that the methodology used to allocate teacher pay and teacher loan forgiveness (if applicable) to such early childhood education programs ensures that each such

program receives the same State and local funds for teacher compensation it would receive if the credit under such section 36C had not been enacted.

(d) EMPLOYER LIMITATIONS.—

(1) PROHIBITION OF USE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.—An employer that engages in collective bargaining with employees who are eligible educators, as defined in section 36C(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall not include the amount of the teacher tax credit under section 36C of such Code in determining the amount of salary or other compensation provided to any employee under the collective bargaining agreement.

(2) PROHIBITION OF USE AS PUNISHMENT OR RETRIBUTION.—An employer of an eligible educator, as defined in section 36C of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall not change the work assignment or location of the eligible educator if one of the primary reasons for the change is to—

(A) prevent the eligible educator from receiving a teacher tax credit under section 36C of such Code; or

(B) reduce the amount of the teacher tax credit that the eligible educator will receive.

(3) ENFORCEMENT.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Federal Labor Relations Authority shall have the authority to investigate and enforce any alleged violation of this section in the same manner, and subject to the same procedures, as would apply to an allegation of an unfair labor practice under section 7118 of title 5, United States Code.

(4) DEFINITION.—In this subsection—

(A) the term “affecting commerce” has the meaning given the term in section 2 of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. 152);

(B) the term “employee” means an employee of an employer who is employed in a business of an employer that affects commerce; and

(C) the term “employer” means a person, including a State or political subdivision of a State, engaged in a business affecting commerce.

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70703. INCREASE IN AND EXPANSION OF DEDUCTION FOR EXPENSES OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

(a) INCREASE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (D) of section 62(a)(2) is amended by striking “\$250” and inserting “\$500”.

(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 62(d)(3) is amended—

(A) by striking “2015” and inserting “2026”;

(B) by striking “the \$250 amount” and inserting “each of the dollar amounts”; and

(C) by striking “2014” in subparagraph (B) thereof and inserting “2025”.

(b) EXPANSION TO EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATORS.—Section 62(d)(1)(A) is amended—

(1) by striking “who is a kindergarten” and inserting “who is—

“(i) a kindergarten”;

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting “, or”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(ii) an early childhood educator (as defined in section 200 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1021)) in an early childhood education program (as defined in section 103 of such Act (20 U.S.C. 1003)) for at least 1,020 hours during a year.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to amounts paid or incurred in taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70704. MANDATORY FUNDING TO SUPPORT LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES THAT MAINTAIN OR INCREASE TEACHER SALARIES.

Section 2003 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6603) is amended—

(1) in the section heading, by striking “AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS” and inserting “FUNDING”; and

(2) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the following:

“(a) APPROPRIATIONS FOR PART A.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appropriated, and there are appropriated, out of any funds not otherwise appropriated—

“(A) for fiscal year 2026, \$5,200,000,000 to carry out part A; and

“(B) for fiscal year 2027 and each succeeding fiscal year, the amount appropriated under this paragraph for the preceding year, increased by a percentage equal to the annual percentage increase in the Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers published by the Department of Labor for the most recent calendar year.

“(2) RESERVATION FOR TEACHER SALARY INCENTIVE GRANTS.—

“(A) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

“(i) ELIGIBLE LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AGENCY.—The term ‘eligible local educational agency’ means a local educational agency that, for the preceding school year, maintained or increased the salary schedule for all teachers employed by the local educational agency.

“(ii) TEACHER SALARY INCENTIVE RESERVATION.—The term ‘teacher salary incentive reservation’ means, for each fiscal year, the amount that is 20 percent of the amount by which the funds appropriated under paragraph (1) for the fiscal year exceeds \$2,200,000,000.

“(B) IN GENERAL.—For each fiscal year for which the total amount appropriated under paragraph (1) is greater than \$2,200,000,000, the Secretary shall, after making any reservations under section 2101(a), reserve and use the teacher salary incentive reservation to award grants, based on allotments under subparagraph (C), to eligible local educational agencies for purposes described in subparagraph (E).

“(C) ALLOTMENTS.—An allotment under this subparagraph for a fiscal year to an eligible local educational agency shall bear the same relationship to the teacher salary incentive reservation as the number of children counted under section 1124(c) who are served by the local educational agency bears to the total number of such children counted under such section served by all eligible local educational agencies that submitted an application under subparagraph (D).

“(D) APPLICATION.—An eligible local educational agency desiring an allotment under this paragraph shall submit to the Secretary an application at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the Secretary may require.

“(E) USE OF FUNDS.—A local educational agency receiving an allotment under subparagraph (C) may use the allotment to carry out one or more of the following:

“(i) Comprehensive teacher or school leader preparation programs described in subsection (d), (e), or (f) of section 202 of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

“(ii) Support for teachers to earn certifications or credentials in high-need fields or advanced credentials, such as certification or credentialing by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

“(iii) Teacher leadership programs.

“(iv) Induction or mentoring programs for new teachers, principals, or other school leaders.

“(v) High-quality research-based professional development.

“(vi) Other activities approved by the Secretary that—

“(I) promote and strengthen the teaching profession; and

“(II) attract, retain, and diversify the educator workforce; or

“(III) advance the skills and efficacy of the educator workforce.

“(F) SUPPLEMENT, NOT SUPPLANT.—A local educational agency receiving an allotment under subparagraph (C) shall use the allotment to supplement, and not supplant, any State funds or efforts to raise teacher pay.”.

SA 2599. Mr. BOOKER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10303(b).

Strike sections 10306 through 10308 and insert the following:

SEC. 1. REINSTATEMENT OF LOCAL FOOD COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—There is appropriated to the Secretary of Agriculture, out of amounts in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$866,000,000 for fiscal year 2026, to remain available until expended, for the immediate reinstatement of each cooperative agreement entered into with a State, territory, or Tribal government under a local food cooperative agreement program that was terminated during the period beginning on March 1, 2025, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) ALLOCATION.—The Secretary of Agriculture shall allocate and immediately transfer the amount made available by subsection (a) for cooperative agreements among States, territories, and Tribal governments described in that subsection by prorating the amounts originally allocated to the States, territories, and Tribal governments under the cooperative agreements that were terminated during the period described in that subsection.

(c) CANCELLATION.—The Secretary of Agriculture shall not cancel any cooperative agreement in effect as of the date of enactment of this Act or reinstated under this section under a local food cooperative agreement program for any reason other than fraud or malfeasance.

(d) LOCAL FOOD COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT PROGRAM DEFINED.—In this section, the term “local food cooperative agreement program” means—

(1) the Local Food Purchase Assistance Cooperative Agreement Program Plus authorized by section 5(c) of the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act (15 U.S.C. 714c(c)) (or any successor similar program authorized by that section, such as the Local Food Purchase Assistance Cooperative Agreement Program 2025); and

(2) the Local Food for Schools Cooperative Agreement Program authorized by that section (or any successor similar program authorized by that section, such as the Local Food for Schools Cooperative Agreement Program 2025).

SA 2600. Mr. SCHIFF submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 10104.

SA 2601. Mr. SCHIFF (for himself and Ms. HIRONO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of subtitle A of title IX, add the following:

SEC. 90008. RESTRICTION ON IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT AT FARMS.

No funds made available under this title may be used by any Federal, State, or local agency to carry out an immigration enforcement operation at a farm unless executing a judicial warrant of a violent criminal.

SA 2602. Mrs. BLACKBURN (for herself and Mr. CRUZ) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 40012 and insert the following:

SEC. 40012. SUPPORT FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE UNDER THE BROADBAND EQUITY, ACCESS, AND DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 60102 of division F of Public Law 117–58 (47 U.S.C. 1702) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) through (N) as subparagraphs (F) through (R), respectively;

(B) by redesignating subparagraph (A) as subparagraph (D);

(C) by inserting before subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(A) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE.—The term ‘artificial intelligence’ has the meaning given the term in section 5002 of the National Artificial Intelligence Initiative Act of 2020 (15 U.S.C. 9401).

“(B) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE MODEL.—The term ‘artificial intelligence model’ means a software component of an information system that implements artificial intelligence technology and uses computational, statistical, or machine-learning techniques to produce outputs from a defined set of inputs.

“(C) ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM.—The term ‘artificial intelligence system’ means any data system, software, hardware, application, tool, or utility that operates, in whole or in part, using artificial intelligence.”;

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (D), as so redesignated, the following:

“(E) AUTOMATED DECISION SYSTEM.—The term ‘automated decision system’ means any computational process derived from machine learning, statistical modeling, data analytics, or artificial intelligence that issues a simplified output, including a score, classification, or recommendation, to materially influence or replace human decision making.”; and

(E) by striking subparagraph (O), as so redesignated, and inserting the following:

“(O) PROJECT.—The term ‘project’ means an undertaking by a subgrantee under this section to construct and deploy infrastructure for the provision of—

“(i) broadband service; or

“(ii) artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems.”;

(2) in subsection (b), by adding at the end the following:

“(5) APPROPRIATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 2025.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any amounts otherwise appropriated to the Program, there is appropriated to the Assistant Secretary for fiscal year 2025, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$500,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2030, to carry out the Program.

“(B) SET-ASIDE FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE INFRASTRUCTURE MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—Of the amount appropriated under subparagraph (A), \$25,000,000 shall be used by the Assistant Secretary for the purpose of negotiating master services agreements on behalf of subgrantees of an eligible entity or political subdivision to enable access to quantity purchasing and licensing discounts for the construction, acquisition, and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems funded under this section.”;

(3) in subsection (f)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (7); and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following:

“(6) the construction and deployment of infrastructure for the provision of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; and”;

(4) in subsection (g)(3), by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) may, in addition to other authority under applicable law, deobligate grant funds awarded to an eligible entity that—

“(i) violates paragraph (2);

“(ii) demonstrates an insufficient level of performance, or wasteful or fraudulent spending, as defined in advance by the Assistant Secretary; or

“(iii) if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is not in compliance with subsection (q) or (r); and”;

(5) in subsection (j)(1)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (iii), by striking “and” at the end;

(ii) by redesignating clause (iv) as clause (v); and

(iii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(C) in subparagraph (C)—

(i) by redesignating clauses (iv) and (v) as clauses (v) and (vi), respectively; and

(ii) by inserting after clause (iii) the following:

“(iv) certifies that the eligible entity, if obligated any funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A), is in compliance with subsections (q) and (r); and”;

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(p) RECEIPT OF FUNDS CONDITIONED ON TEMPORARY PAUSE AND EFFICIENCIES.—On and after the date of enactment of this subsection, no funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) may be obligated to an eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof

that is not in compliance with subsections (q) and (r).

“(q) TEMPORARY PAUSE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), no eligible entity or political subdivision thereof to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection may enforce, during the 5-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this subsection, any law or regulation of that eligible entity or a political subdivision thereof limiting, restricting, or otherwise regulating artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems entered into interstate commerce.

“(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Paragraph (1) may not be construed to prohibit the enforcement of any law or regulation—

“(A)(i) the primary purpose and effect of which is to—

“(I) remove legal impediments to, or facilitate the deployment or operation of, an artificial intelligence model, artificial intelligence system, or automated decision system; or

“(II) streamline licensing, permitting, routing, zoning, procurement, or reporting procedures related to the adoption or deployment of artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems; or

“(i) that does not impose any substantive design, performance, data-handling, documentation, civil liability, taxation, fee, or other requirement on artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems unless that requirement is imposed under—

“(I) Federal law; or

“(II) a generally applicable law or regulation, such as a law or regulation pertaining to unfair or deceptive acts or practices, child online safety, child sexual abuse material, rights of publicity, protection of a person's name, image, voice, or likeness and any necessary documentation for enforcement, or a body of common law, that may address, without undue or disproportionate burden, artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, or automated decision systems to reasonably effectuate the broader underlying purposes of the law or regulation; and

“(B) that does not impose a fee or bond unless—

“(i) the fee or bond is reasonable and cost-based; and

“(ii) under the fee or bond, artificial intelligence models, artificial intelligence systems, and automated decision systems are treated in the same manner as other models and systems that perform comparable functions.

“(r) MASTER SERVICES AGREEMENTS.—An eligible entity, or political subdivision thereof, to which funds made available under subsection (b)(5)(A) are obligated on or after the date of enactment of this subsection shall certify to the Assistant Secretary either that—

“(1) each subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision is utilizing applicable master services agreements negotiated using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B); or

“(2) each contract, license, purchase order, or services agreement entered into, procured, or made by a subgrantee of the eligible entity or political subdivision for purposes described in subsection (b)(5)(B) is at least as cost-effective as the terms of executable master services agreements, as applicable, negotiated by the Assistant Secretary using amounts made available under subsection (b)(5)(B).”.

(b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 60102(a)(1) of division F of Public Law 117–58 (47 U.S.C. 1702(a)(1)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(i)”;

(2) in subparagraph (D), by striking “a project” and inserting “a project described in subsection (a)(2)(O)(i)”.

SA 2603. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike paragraphs (8) and (9) of section 40003(a) and insert the following:

(8) \$1,000,000,000 to support the modernization and replacement of FAA air traffic control towers (in this subsection referred to as “ATCT”) and terminal radar approach control facilities (in this subsection referred to as “TRACONS”), including the analysis and identification of TRACONS for modernization and replacement, and other appropriate activities for carrying out the establishment of brand new TRACONS;

SA 2604. Mr. LUJÁN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title II, insert the following:

SEC. 2. PROHIBITION ON FUNDING FOR UPGRADING THE AIR FORCE ONE FLEET.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, none of the funds made available under this title may be used to upgrade a plane gifted by the government of Qatar for use by the United States Government in the Air Force One fleet.

SA 2605. Mr. LUJÁN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. . REPEAL OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS.

(a) INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1986.—The amendments made by the following provisions of this Act are repealed, and the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 shall be applied as if such amendments had not been enacted:

(1) Section 70506 (relating to termination of residential energy credit).

(2) Section 70512 (relating to phase-out and restrictions on clean electricity production credit).

(3) Section 70513 (relating to phase-out and restrictions on clean electricity investment credit).

(4) Section 70514 (relating to phase-out and restrictions on advanced manufacturing production credit).

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The repeals made by this section shall take effect as if included in the enactment of the section to which they relate.

SA 2606. Mr. LUJÁN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to

amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike sections 60004, 60005, and 60012.

SA 2607. Mr. LUJÁN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60002 (relating to repeal of greenhouse gas reduction fund).

SA 2608. Mr. LUJÁN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70105 and insert the following:

SEC. 70105. MODIFICATION OF 199A DEDUCTION.

(a) DEDUCTION ALLOWED FOR FIRST \$25,000 OF QUALIFIED BUSINESS INCOME.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 199A(b)(1) is amended to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘combined qualified business income amount’ means, with respect to any taxable year, an amount equal to the lesser of—

“(A) the sum of the taxpayer’s qualified business income for each qualified trade or business carried on by the taxpayer, or

“(B) \$25,000.”

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) Section 199A(a)(2) is amended by striking “20 percent of”.

(B) Section 199A(b) is amended by striking paragraph (2).

(b) CONSOLIDATED TAXPAYER LEVEL ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME LIMITATION.—Section 199A(b), as amended by subsection (a), is amended—

(1) by striking paragraph (3), and

(2) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph:

“(2) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME LIMITATION.—The combined qualified business income of the taxpayer for the taxable year shall be reduced (but not below zero) by so much of the amount by which the adjusted gross income of the taxpayer exceeds \$200,000 (\$400,000 in the case of a joint return).”

(c) SIMPLIFICATION WITH RESPECT TO LOSS CARRYOVER.—Section 199(c) is amended by striking paragraph (2).

(d) OTHER CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1)(A) Section 199A(b) is amended by striking paragraph (4).

(B) Section 199A(g)(1)(B)(ii) is amended to read as follows:

“(ii) W-2 WAGES.—For purposes of this subparagraph—

“(I) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘W-2 wages’ means, with respect to any person for any taxable year of such person, the amounts described in paragraphs (3) and (8) of section 6051(a) paid by such person with respect to employment of employees by such person during the calendar year ending during such taxable year.

“(II) MUST BE PROPERLY ALLOCABLE TO DOMESTIC PRODUCTION GROSS RECEIPTS.—The W-2 wages of the taxpayer shall not include any amount which is not properly allocable to domestic production gross receipts for purposes of paragraph (3)(A).

“(III) RETURN REQUIREMENT.—Such term shall not include any amount which is not properly included in a return filed with the Social Security Administration on or before the 60th day after the due date (including extensions) for such return.”

(C) Section 199A(f)(1) is amended—

(i) by inserting “and” at the end of subparagraph (A)(i),

(ii) by striking “, and” at the end of subparagraph (A)(ii),

(iii) by striking clause (iii),

(iv) by striking “For purposes of clause (iii)” and all that follows through “For purposes of this subparagraph” and inserting “For purposes of this subparagraph”, and

(v) by striking subparagraph (B) and redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (B).

(2)(A) Section 199A(b) is amended by striking paragraph (5).

(B) Section 199A(g)(5) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(F) ACQUISITIONS, DISPOSITIONS, AND SHORT TAXABLE YEARS.—The Secretary shall provide for the application of this subsection in cases of a short taxable year or where the taxpayer acquires, or disposes of, the major portion of a trade or business or the major portion of a separate unit of a trade or business during the taxable year.”

(3) Section 199A(b) is amended by striking paragraph (6).

(4)(A) Section 199A(b) is amended by redesignating paragraph (7) as paragraph (3).

(B) Section 199A(b)(3) (as so redesignated) is amended by striking “under paragraph (2)” and inserting “under paragraph (1)(A)”.

(5) Section 199A(d) is amended to read as follows:

“(d) QUALIFIED TRADE OR BUSINESS.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified trade or business’ means any trade or business other than the trade or business of performing services as an employee.”

(6) Section 199A(e) is amended to read as follows:

“(e) TAXABLE INCOME DEFINED.—For purposes of this section, except as otherwise provided in subsection (g)(2)(B), taxable income shall be computed without regard to any deduction allowable under this section.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2609. Ms. CANTWELL (for herself and Mr. DURBIN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 40003(a)(2) and insert the following:

(2) \$3,000,000,000 for radar systems replacement, of which not less than \$150,000,000 shall be available to hire, train, and recruit airway transportation system specialists that support and repair air traffic control and navigation systems;

SA 2610. Ms. CANTWELL (for herself and Mr. DURBIN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike paragraphs (7), (8), and (9) of section 40003(a) and insert the following:

(7) \$1,900,000,000 for necessary actions to replace and construct new air route traffic control centers (in this subsection referred to as “ARTCCs”), of which not less than \$900,000,000 shall be available for airport traffic control tower (in this subsection referred to as “ATCT”) modernization and replacement: *Provided*, That not more than 2 percent of such amount is used for planning or administrative purposes;

(8) \$1,000,000,000 to support the modernization and replacement of terminal radar approach control facilities (in this subsection referred to as “TRACONS”), the analysis and identification of TRACONS for modernization and replacement, and other appropriate activities for carrying out the establishment of brand new TRACONS;

SA 2611. Ms. CANTWELL (for herself and Mr. DURBIN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike paragraphs (7), (8), and (9) of section 40003(a) and insert the following:

(7) \$1,900,000,000 for necessary actions to replace and construct new air route traffic control centers (in this subsection referred to as “ARTCCs”), of which not less than \$1,000,000,000 shall be available for air traffic controller hiring, retention, and training;

(8) \$1,000,000,000 to support the modernization and replacement of terminal radar approach control facilities (in this subsection referred to as “TRACONS”), the analysis and identification of TRACONS for modernization and replacement, and other appropriate activities for carrying out the establishment of brand new TRACONS;

SA 2612. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 1181 of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40001), in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “\$24,593,500,000” and insert “\$24,383,500,000”.

In section 1181(11) of title 14, United States Code (as added by section 40001), strike “\$2,200,000,000” and insert “\$1,990,000,000”.

Strike paragraph (8) of section 40003(a).

Strike section 40010.

SA 2613. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike subsection (c) of section 225 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as added by section 70202(a), and insert the following:

“(c) QUALIFIED OVERTIME COMPENSATION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘qualified overtime compensation’ means compensation that is paid to a taxpayer—

“(1) at a rate that is in excess of the regular rate at which the taxpayer is employed, and

“(2) for work for a single employer performed at a rate required pursuant to—

“(A) section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938,

“(B) an agreement that—

“(i) is a collective bargaining agreement or an agreement or understanding arrived at between the employer and the employee before performance of the work, and

“(ii) requires the work to be in excess of a maximum number of hours for a specified period of time that is not less than 40 hours for a 7-day work period, or

“(C)(i) an agreement or arrangement, including a collective bargaining agreement, between an employee who is a crewmember (including a flight crewmember), or labor organization representing such employees, and an employer who are covered by the Railway Labor Act that provides for premium pay for work beyond scheduled hours on duty or for hours on duty that exceed a monthly maximum, or

“(ii) any other agreement or arrangement, including a collective bargaining agreement, between an employee (or a labor organization representing employees) and an employer who are covered by the Railway Labor Act.”.

SA 2614. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 4002 and insert the following:

SEC. 4002. SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) ASSISTANT SECRETARY.—The term “Assistant Secretary” means the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

(2) COMMISSION.—The term “Commission” means the Federal Communications Commission.

(3) COVERED BAND.—The term “covered band”—

(A) except as provided in subparagraph (B), means the band of frequencies between 1.3 gigahertz and 10.5 gigahertz; and

(B) does not include—

(i) the band of frequencies between 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal;

(ii) the band of frequencies between 3.55 gigahertz and 3.7 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal;

(iii) the band of frequencies between 5.925 gigahertz and 7.125 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal; or

(iv) the band of frequencies between 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz for purposes of auction, reallocation, modification, or withdrawal.

(4) FULL-POWER COMMERCIAL LICENSED USE CASES.—The term “full-power commercial licensed use cases” means flexible use wireless broadband services with base station power levels sufficient for high-power, high-density, and wide-area commercial mobile services, consistent with the service rules under part 27 of title 47, Code of Federal Regulations, or any successor regulations, for wireless broadband deployments throughout the covered band.

(b) GENERAL AUCTION AUTHORITY.—

(1) AMENDMENT.—Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and

inserting the following: “complete a system of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034, except that, with respect to the electromagnetic spectrum—

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 3.55 gigahertz and 3.7 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(C) between the frequencies of 5.925 gigahertz and 7.125 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(D) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply.”.

(2) SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses through systems of competitive bidding, before the expiration of the general auction authority of the Commission under section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by paragraph (1) of this subsection, for not less than 300 megahertz, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz.

(c) IDENTIFICATION FOR REALLOCATION.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Assistant Secretary, in consultation with the Commission, shall identify 500 megahertz of frequencies in the covered band for reallocation to non-Federal use, shared Federal and non-Federal use, or a combination thereof, for full-power commercial licensed use cases, that—

(A) as of the date of enactment of this Act, are allocated for Federal use; and

(B) shall be in addition to the 300 megahertz of frequencies for which the Commission grants licenses under subsection (b)(2).

(2) SCHEDULE.—The Assistant Secretary shall identify the frequencies under paragraph (1) according to the following schedule:

(A) Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify not less than 200 megahertz of frequencies within the covered band.

(B) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Assistant Secretary shall identify any remaining bandwidth required to be identified under paragraph (1).

(3) REQUIRED ANALYSIS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—In determining under paragraph (1) which specific frequencies within the covered band to reallocate, the Assistant Secretary shall determine the feasibility of the reallocation of frequencies.

(B) REQUIREMENTS.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall assess net revenue potential, relocation or sharing costs, as applicable, and the feasibility of reallocating specific frequencies, with the goal of identifying the best approach to maximize net proceeds of systems of competitive bidding for the Treasury, consistent with section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)).

(d) AUCTIONS.—The Commission shall grant licenses for the frequencies identified for reallocation under subsection (c) through systems of competitive bidding in accordance with the following schedule:

(1) Not later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bidding for not less than 200 megahertz of the frequencies.

(2) Not later than 8 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall, after notifying the Assistant Secretary, complete 1 or more systems of competitive bid-

ding for any frequencies identified under subsection (c) that remain to be auctioned after compliance with paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(e) LIMITATION.—The President shall modify or withdraw any frequency proposed for reallocation under this section not later than 60 days before the commencement of a system of competitive bidding scheduled by the Commission with respect to that frequency, if the President determines that such modification or withdrawal is necessary to protect the national security of the United States.

SA 2615. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 4002 and insert the following:

SEC. 4002. SPECTRUM AUCTIONS.

Section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)) is amended by striking “grant a license or permit under this subsection shall expire March 9, 2023” and all that follows and inserting the following: “complete a system of competitive bidding under this subsection shall expire September 30, 2034.”.

SA 2616. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 4002(b)(2), strike “, including by completing a system of competitive bidding not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act for not less than 100 megahertz in the band between 3.98 gigahertz and 4.2 gigahertz”.

SA 2617. Mr. BARRASSO submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place in title VII, insert the following:

SEC. ____ EXPANDING AND CLARIFYING THE EXCLUSION FOR ORPHAN DRUGS UNDER THE DRUG PRICE NEGOTIATION PROGRAM.

Section 1192(e) of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1320f-1(e)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) TREATMENT OF FORMER ORPHAN DRUGS.—In calculating the amount of time that has elapsed with respect to the approval of a drug or licensure of a biological product under subparagraph (A)(ii) and subparagraph (B)(ii), respectively, the Secretary shall not take into account any period during which such drug or product was a drug described in paragraph (3)(A).”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)(A)—

(A) by striking “only one rare disease or condition” and inserting “one or more rare diseases or conditions”; and

(B) by striking “such disease or condition” and inserting “one or more rare diseases or conditions (as such term is defined in section

526(a)(2) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act)".

SA 2618. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 40002(c)(3), add the following:

(C) CERTIFICATION.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall certify that reallocation of any specific frequencies identified for commercial use would not negatively impact the primary mission of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

SA 2619. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by section 40002(b)(1), strike subparagraphs (A) and (B) and insert the following:

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(C) in any band of frequencies of which the National Aeronautics and Space Administration is the primary user, such authority shall not apply.”.

SA 2620. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 40002(c)(3), add the following:

(C) CERTIFICATION.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall certify that reallocation of any specific frequencies identified for commercial use would not negatively impact the primary mission of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

SA 2621. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by section 40002(b)(1), strike subparagraphs (A) and (B) and insert the following:

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(C) in any band of frequencies of which the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is the primary user, such authority shall not apply.”.

SA 2622. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 40002(c)(3), add the following:

(C) CERTIFICATION.—In conducting the analysis under subparagraph (A), the Assistant Secretary shall certify that reallocation of any specific frequencies identified for commercial use would not negatively impact the primary mission of the Coast Guard.

SA 2623. Ms. CANTWELL submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 309(j)(11) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(11)), as amended by section 40002(b)(1), strike subparagraphs (A) and (B) and insert the following:

“(A) between the frequencies of 3.1 gigahertz and 3.45 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply;

“(B) between the frequencies of 7.4 gigahertz and 8.4 gigahertz, such authority shall not apply; and

“(C) in any band of frequencies of which the Coast Guard is the primary user, such authority shall not apply.”.

SA 2624. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . PROTECTION OF MEDICAID BENEFICIARIES.

The provisions of, and the amendments made by, chapters 1 and 2 of subtitle B title VII of this Act shall not take effect, and no funds shall be expended to implement such provisions and amendments, until the date on which the Administrator of the Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services certifies that implementation of such provisions and amendments shall not result in any individuals who are eligible for medical assistance under a State plan under title XIX of the Social Security Act or under a waiver of such plan as of the date of enactment of this Act losing benefits under such a State plan or waiver.

SA 2625. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . REFUND TIMELINE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6402 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(C) REQUIRED TIMELINE FOR REFUNDS TO CERTAIN TAXPAYERS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxpayer who files a simple return electronically, the Secretary shall pay any refund of an overpayment due to such taxpayer not later than

3 weeks after the date such return is accepted.

“(2) SIMPLE RETURN.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘simple return’ means a return—

“(A) which includes only income reported on Forms W-2, SSA-1099, 1099-G, 1099-INT, 1099-R, and, in the case of Alaska residents reporting the Alaska Permanent Fund Dividend, 1099-MISC, and

“(B) which does not include income in excess of—

“(i) in the case of a joint return—

“(I) \$250,000 in the aggregate, and

“(II) \$200,000 for either spouse (\$168,600, if the individual has wages from more than 1 employer),

“(ii) \$200,000 (\$168,600, if the individual has wages from more than 1 employer) in the case of a head of a household (as defined in section 2(b)), and

“(iii) \$125,000, in any other case.

A return shall not fail to be treated as a simple return solely because such return includes a claim of the credit under section 21, 24, 25A, 25B, or 32, or a deduction under section 219 or 221.”.

(b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Treasury such sums as are necessary to carry out the purposes of the amendment made by subsection (a).

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall apply to returns for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SA 2626. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . MODIFICATION OF RATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by striking subparagraphs (A) through (D) and by inserting before subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraphs:

“(A) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS FILING JOINT RETURNS AND SURVIVING SPOUSES.—The following table shall be applied in lieu of the table contained in subsection (a):

“If taxable income is:	The tax is:
Not over \$19,050	8% of taxable income.
Over \$19,050 but not over \$77,400 ..	\$1,524, plus 9% of the excess over \$19,050.
Over \$77,400 but not over \$165,000 ..	\$6,775.50, plus 18% of the excess over \$77,400.
Over \$165,000 but not over \$315,000 ..	\$22,543.50, plus 22% of the excess over \$165,000.
Over \$315,000 but not over \$400,000 ..	\$55,543.50, plus 32% of the excess over \$315,000.
Over \$400,000 but not over \$600,000 ..	\$82,743.50, plus 36% of the excess over \$400,000.
Over \$600,000	\$154,743.50, plus 39.6% of the excess over \$600,000.

“(B) HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS.—The following table shall be applied in lieu of the table contained in subsection (b):

“If taxable income is:	The tax is:
Not over \$13,600	8% of taxable income.
Over \$13,600 but not over \$51,800 ..	\$1,088, plus 9% of the excess over \$13,600.
Over \$51,800 but not over \$82,500 ..	\$4,526, plus 18% of the excess over \$51,800.
Over \$82,500 but not over \$157,500 ..	\$10,052, plus 22% of the excess over \$82,500.
Over \$157,500 but not over \$200,000 ..	\$26,552, plus 32% of the excess over \$157,500.
Over \$200,000 but not over \$500,000 ..	\$40,152, plus 36% of the excess over \$200,000.
Over \$500,000	\$148,152, plus 39.6% of the excess over \$500,000.

“(C) UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS OTHER THAN SURVIVING SPOUSES AND HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS.—The following table shall be applied in lieu of the table contained in subsection (c):

Table with 2 columns: 'If taxable income is:' and 'The tax is:'. Rows show income brackets and corresponding tax rates (e.g., 'Not over \$9,525 ... 8% of taxable income.').

“(D) MARRIED INDIVIDUALS FILING SEPARATE RETURNS.—The following table shall be applied in lieu of the table contained in subsection (d):

Table with 2 columns: 'If taxable income is:' and 'The tax is:'. Rows show income brackets and corresponding tax rates (e.g., 'Not over \$9,525 ... 8% of taxable income.').

(b) MODIFICATION OF INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—Section 1(j)(3)(B)(i), as amended by section 70101, is further amended to read as follows:

“(i) subsection (f)(3) shall be applied—“(I) solely for purposes of determining the dollar amounts at which any rate bracket higher than 12 percent ends and at which any rate bracket higher than 22 percent begins, except as provided in subclause (II), by substituting ‘calendar year 2017’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof, and

“(II) in the case of any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2025, solely for purposes of determining the dollar amounts at which the 36-percent rate bracket ends and the 39.6-percent rate bracket begins, by substituting ‘calendar year 2024’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2627. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . EXPANSION OF DENIAL OF DEDUCTION FOR CERTAIN EXCESSIVE EMPLOYEE REMUNERATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—(1) EXPANSION.—Section 162(m) is amended—

(A) by striking “applicable employee remuneration” each place it appears in paragraphs (1), (4), and (5)(E) and inserting “applicable remuneration”;

(B) by striking “covered employee” each place it appears and inserting “covered individual”;

(C) by striking “employee” each place it appears in paragraph (1) and subparagraphs (A), (C)(ii), and (E) of paragraph (4) and inserting “individual”.

(2) COVERED INDIVIDUAL.—Paragraph (3) of section 162(m) is amended to read as follows:

“(3) COVERED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘covered individual’ means—

“(A) any individual who performs services (directly or indirectly) for the taxpayer (or any predecessor) for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2024, or

“(B) any employee—

“(i) who was the principal executive officer or principal financial officer of the taxpayer (or any predecessor) at any time during any preceding taxable year beginning after December 31, 2016, and before January 1, 2025, or who was an individual acting in such a capacity, or

“(ii) the total compensation of whom for any taxable year described in clause (i) was required to be reported to shareholders under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 by reason of such individual being among the 3 highest compensated officers for the taxable year (other than any individual described in clause (i)).

Such term shall include any employee who would be described in subparagraph (B)(ii) if the reporting described in such subparagraph were required as so described.”

(3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) The heading for section 162(m) is amended by striking “EMPLOYEE”.

(B) The heading for section 162(m)(4) is amended by striking “EMPLOYEE”.

(b) MODIFICATION OF DEFINITION OF PUBLICLY HELD CORPORATION.—Section 162(m)(2) is amended—

(1) by inserting “, with respect to any taxable year,” after “means”, and

(2) by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) that was required to file reports under section 15(d) of such Act (15 U.S.C. 78o(d)) at any time during the 3-taxable year period ending with such taxable year.”

(c) REGULATORY AUTHORITY.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 162(m) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(7) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary may prescribe such guidance, rules, or regulations as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations—

“(A) with respect to reporting, and

“(B) to prevent avoidance of the purposes of this section by providing compensation through a pass-through or other entity.”

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (6) of section 162(m) is amended by striking subparagraph (H).

(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2024.

SA 2628. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . AUDITS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter A of chapter 78 is amended by inserting after section 7606 the following new section:

“SEC. 7607. AUDITS.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—

“(1) AUDIT REQUIREMENT.—The Internal Revenue Service shall not initiate any audit for a taxable year of a taxpayer whose taxable income for the preceding taxable year was not in excess of the threshold amount unless audits have been completed of—

“(A) all corporations whose taxable income for the preceding taxable year was in excess of \$10,000,000, and

“(B) all taxpayers other than corporations whose taxable income for the preceding taxable year was in excess of \$5,000,000.

“(2) THRESHOLD AMOUNT.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the threshold amount is—

“(A) \$200,000 in the case of a joint return,

“(B) \$150,000 in the case of a head of a household (as defined in section 2(b)), and

“(C) \$100,000 in any other case.

“(b) ADJUSTMENT FOR INFLATION.—In the case of a return for any taxable year beginning after December 31, 2026, each of the dollar amounts in subsection (a)(2) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(1) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(2) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2025’ for ‘calendar year 2016’ in subparagraph (A)(ii) thereof.

If any amount as increased under the preceding sentence is not a multiple of \$100, such amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.”

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for subchapter A of chapter 78 is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 7606 the following new item:

“Sec. 7607. Audits.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to returns for taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2629. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 87001, strike “for the procurement” and all that follows through the period at the end and insert “for Federal/State partnership grants awarded pursuant to section 7 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 956).”

SA 2630. Mr. REED (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . FUNDING TO INCREASE THE TOTAL MAXIMUM FEDERAL PELL GRANT AWARD PER STUDENT.

Section 401(b)(5)(A)(i) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(5)(A)(i)) is amended by inserting “for award years 2024–2025 and 2025–2026, and \$6,060 for award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year” after “\$1,060”.

SA 2631. Mr. REED (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ . FUNDING TO INCREASE THE TOTAL MAXIMUM FEDERAL PELL GRANT AWARD PER STUDENT.

Section 401(b)(5)(A)(i) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(5)(A)(i))

is amended by inserting “for award years 2024–2025 and 2025–2026, and \$3,560 for award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year” after “\$1,060”.

SA 2632. Mr. REED (for himself, Ms. HIRONO, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ FUNDING TO INCREASE THE TOTAL MAXIMUM FEDERAL PELL GRANT AWARD PER STUDENT.

Section 401(b)(5)(A)(i) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1070a(b)(5)(A)(i)) is amended by inserting “for award years 2024–2025 and 2025–2026, and \$2,060 for award year 2026–2027 and each subsequent award year” after “\$1,060”.

SA 2633. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70411.

SA 2634. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 60025 (relating to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts).

SA 2635. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70413.

SA 2636. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of section 82002, add the following:

(C) ELIMINATING INTEREST ACCRUAL DURING CERTAIN FEDERAL STUDENT LOAN DEFERMENTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 455(f) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1087e(f)) is amended—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “, and interest—” and all that follows through the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting “, and interest shall not accrue.”;

(B) in paragraph (4)(A), by striking “, and interest—” and all that follows through the period at the end of clause (ii), and inserting “and interest shall not accrue.”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(9) INTEREST ACCRUAL DURING CERTAIN 6-MONTH PERIODS OF DEFERMENT FOR FEDERAL DIRECT PLUS LOANS.—

“(A) PARENT BORROWERS.—In the case of a Federal Direct PLUS Loan made under this part to a parent borrower and for which the parent has received a deferral pursuant to section 428B(d)(1)(B)(i), interest shall not accrue with respect to such loan during such period.

“(B) GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL STUDENT BORROWERS.—In the case of a Federal Direct PLUS Loan made under this part to a graduate or professional student borrower and for which the student has received a deferral pursuant to section 428B(d)(1)(B)(ii), interest shall not accrue with respect to such loan during such period.”.

(2) APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by this subsection shall not apply to any loan made prior to the date of enactment of this Act.

SA 2637. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 40008 and insert the following:

SEC. 40008. PROHIBITION ON USE OF FUNDS TO ELIMINATE NATIONAL OCEANIC AND ATMOSPHERIC ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS THAT PROVIDE DATA AND SERVICES TO PROTECT LIFE AND PROPERTY FROM NATURAL DISASTERS.

None of the funds appropriated by this Act may be used to eliminate programs of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration that provide data and services to protect life and property from natural disasters.

SA 2638. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 30002.

SA 2639. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 30003.

SA 2640. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70436.

SA 2641. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of chapter 5 of subtitle A of title VII, insert the following:

SEC. 705 ____ DELAY IN EFFECT UNTIL CERTIFICATION OF LOWER ELECTRICITY PRICES.

Notwithstanding any other provision of this chapter, the amendments made by this chapter shall not take effect until after the date on which the Comptroller General certifies that the enactment of such amendments will not increase electricity prices for any American household.

SA 2642. Mr. REED submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. ____ APPROPRIATIONS FOR A LOW-INCOME HOME ENERGY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Secretary of Health and Human Services for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000,000, to remain available until expended, to carry out the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Act of 1981 (42 U.S.C. 8621 through 8630), including to help low-income households afford the higher energy costs projected to be caused by this Act, and to provide for sufficient staff of the Department of Health and Human Services to oversee the distribution of funding under the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Act of 1981.

SA 2643. Mr. BENNET (for himself, Mr. WARNOCK, Mr. KELLY, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Ms. ROSEN, and Mr. GALLEGO) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike sections 70514 and 70515 and insert the following:

SEC. 70514. RESTRICTIONS ON ADVANCED MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION CREDIT.

(a) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—Section 45X is amended—

(1) in subsection (c)(1), by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) MATERIAL ASSISTANCE FROM PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—In the case of taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this subparagraph, the term ‘eligible component’ shall not include any property which includes any material assistance from a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(52)).”.

(2) in subsection (d), by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(5) RESTRICTIONS RELATING TO PROHIBITED FOREIGN ENTITIES.—No credit shall be determined under subsection (a) for any taxable year beginning after the date of enactment of this paragraph if the taxpayer is a prohibited foreign entity (as defined in section 7701(a)(51)(A)).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 70515. ESTABLISHMENT OF 39.6 PERCENT INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RATE BRACKET.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1(j)(2) is amended by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (G) and by inserting after subparagraph (E) the following new subparagraph:

“(F) 39.6 PERCENT RATE BRACKET.—Notwithstanding subparagraphs (A) through (E), in prescribing the tables under this subsection for purposes of paragraph (3)(B)—

“(i) the excess of taxable income over \$10,000,000, if any, shall be taxed at a rate of 39.6 percent, and

“(ii) paragraph (3)(B)(i) shall be applied with respect to such \$10,000,000 amount by substituting ‘2024’ for ‘2017.’”

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2644. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 20004(b), strike “to remain available until September 30, 2029, \$3,300,000,000 for grants and purchase commitments made pursuant to the Industrial Base Fund established under section 4817 of title 10, United States Code” and insert “\$3,300,000,000 for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative”.

SA 2645. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Res. Con. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 24, strike line 1 and all that follows through line 22 on page 25 and insert the following:

“(B) STATE COST SHARE.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Beginning in fiscal year 2030, if the payment error rate of a State as determined under clause (ii) is—

“(I) less than 6 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 100 percent, and the State share shall be 0 percent;

“(II) equal to or greater than 6 percent but less than 8 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 95 percent, and the State share shall be 5 percent;

“(III) equal to or greater than 8 percent but less than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 90 percent, and the State share shall be 10 percent; and

“(IV) equal to or greater than 10 percent, the Federal share of the cost of the allotment described in paragraph (1) for that State in a fiscal year shall be 85 percent, and the State share shall be 15 percent.

“(ii) ELECTIONS.—

“(I) FISCAL YEAR 2030.—For fiscal year 2030, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), a State may elect to use the payment error rate of the State from fiscal year 2027 or 2028.

“(II) FISCAL YEAR 2031 AND THEREAFTER.—For fiscal year 2031 and each fiscal year thereafter, to calculate the applicable State share under clause (i), the Secretary shall use the payment error rate of the State for

the third fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which the State share is being calculated.

SA 2646. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 70120 and insert the following:

SEC. 70120. LIMITATION ON INDIVIDUAL DEDUCTIONS FOR CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES, ETC AND ADDRESSING SALT WORKAROUNDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) LIMITATION.—Section 275 is amended by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection (c) and by inserting after subsection (a) the following new subsection:

“(b) LIMITATION ON INDIVIDUAL DEDUCTIONS FOR CERTAIN STATE AND LOCAL TAXES, ETC.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an individual, no deduction shall be allowed for—

“(A) any disallowed foreign real property taxes,

“(B) any specified taxes to the extent that such taxes for such taxable year in the aggregate exceed \$10,000 (\$5,000 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return), and

“(C) any pass-through entity taxes to the extent that such taxes for the taxable year in the aggregate exceed the sum of—

“(i) the excess (if any) of the amount applicable to such individual under subparagraph (B) over the amount of the individual’s specified taxes, plus

“(ii) the greater of—

“(I) \$40,000 (\$20,000 in the case of a married individual filing a separate return), or

“(II) 50 percent of the pass-through entity taxes of the taxpayer.

(2) DISALLOWED FOREIGN REAL PROPERTY TAX.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘disallowed foreign real property tax’ means any tax which—

“(A) is a foreign real property tax described in section 164(a)(1), and

“(B) is not an excepted tax.

(3) SPECIFIED TAX.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘specified tax’ means—

“(A) any tax which—

“(i) is described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of section 164(a) (determined without regard to any election under section 164(b)(5)) or is taken into account under section 164(b)(5), and

“(ii) is not an excepted tax, a pass-through entity tax, or a disallowed foreign real property tax,

“(B) any amount which is paid or accrued by a tenant-stockholder (as defined in section 216(b)(2)) to a cooperative housing corporation and represents such tenant-stockholder’s proportionate share of taxes described in section 216(a)(1) (other than an excepted tax), and

“(C) any substitute payment.

(4) EXCEPTED TAX.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘excepted tax’ means—

“(A) any tax described in section 164(a)(3) imposed by the authority of a foreign country or by a possession of the United States or a political subdivision thereof, and

“(B) any tax described in paragraph (1) or (2) of section 164(a), or section 216, which is paid or accrued in carrying on a trade or business or an activity described in section 212.

(5) SUBSTITUTE PAYMENT.—For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘substitute payment’ means any amount (other than a tax described in paragraph (3)(A)) paid, in-

curred, or accrued to any jurisdiction referred to in section 164(b)(2) (other than a possession of the United States or a political subdivision thereof) if, under the laws of one or more such jurisdictions, one or more persons would (if the assumptions described in subparagraphs (B) and (C) applied) be entitled to specified tax benefits the aggregate dollar value of which equals or exceeds 25 percent of such amount.

“(B) ASSUMPTION REGARDING DOLLAR VALUE OF TAX BENEFITS.—The assumption described in this subparagraph is that the dollar value of a specified tax benefit is—

“(i) in the case of a credit or refund, the amount of such credit or refund,

“(ii) in the case of a deduction or exclusion, 15 percent of the amount of such deduction or exclusion, and

“(iii) in any other case, an amount determined in such manner as the Secretary may provide consistent with the principles of clauses (i) and (ii).

“(C) ASSUMPTION REGARDING STATUS OF PARTNERS OR SHAREHOLDERS.—The assumption described in this subparagraph is, in the case of any amount referred to in subparagraph (A) which is paid, incurred, or accrued by a partnership or S corporation, that all of the partners or shareholders of such partnership or S corporation, respectively, are individuals who are residents of the jurisdiction or jurisdictions providing the specified tax benefits (and possess such other characteristics as the laws of such jurisdictions may require for entitlement to such benefits).

“(D) SPECIFIED TAX BENEFIT.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘specified tax benefit’ means any benefit which—

“(i) is determined with respect to the amount referred to in subparagraph (A), and

“(ii) is allowed against, or determined by reference to, a tax described in paragraph (3)(A) or section 164(b)(5).

“(E) EXCEPTION FOR NON-DEDUCTIBLE PAYMENTS.—To the extent that a deduction for an amount described in subparagraph (A) is not allowed under this chapter (determined without regard to this subsection, section 170(b)(1), section 703(a), section 704(d), section 1363(b), and section 1366(d)), the term ‘substitute payment’ shall not include such amount.

“(F) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN WITHHOLDING TAXES.—To the extent provided in regulations issued by the Secretary, the term ‘substitute payment’ shall not include an amount withheld on behalf of another person if all of such amount is included in the gross income of such person (determined under this chapter).

“(6) PASS-THROUGH ENTITY TAX.—For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘pass-through entity tax’ means—

“(A) the taxpayer’s distributive share of any tax described in section 702(a)(6)(B), plus

“(B) the taxpayer’s pro rata share of any such taxes taken into account under section 1366(a)(1).

“(7) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this subsection, including regulations or other guidance—

“(A) to treat as a tax described in paragraph (3) of section 164(a) any tax that is, in substance, based on general tax principles, described in such paragraph,

“(B) to treat as a substitute payment any amount that, in substance, substitutes for a specified tax, and

“(C) to otherwise prevent the avoidance of the purposes of this subsection.”

(2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 216(a)(1) is amended by inserting “(other than disallowed foreign real property taxes (as defined in section 275(b)(2)))” after “under section 164”.

(b) STATE AND LOCAL INCOME TAXES PAID BY PARTNERSHIPS AND S CORPORATIONS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SEPARATELY BY PARTNERS AND SHAREHOLDERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 702(a)(6) is amended to read as follows:

“(6)(A) taxes, described in section 901, paid or accrued to foreign countries or to possessions of the United States,

“(B) pass-through entity taxes,

“(C) specified taxes (within the meaning of section 275(b)), and

“(D) taxes described in section 275(b)(2).”

(2) RULES RELATING TO SEPARATELY STATED TAXES.—Section 702 is amended by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (e) and by inserting after subsection (c) the following new subsection:

“(d) RULES RELATING TO TAXES.—

“(1) PASS-THROUGH ENTITY TAX.—For purposes of subsection (a)(6)(B)—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘pass-through entity tax’ means any tax which is described in section 164(a)(3) (other than an excepted tax (as defined in section 275(b)(4)) to the extent that such tax is paid or accrued in carrying on a trade or business (other than the performance of services as an employee) or an activity described in section 212.

“(B) EXCEPTION FOR JURISDICTIONS WITH INCOME TAXES.—The term ‘pass-through entity tax’ shall not include any tax described in subparagraph (A) if—

“(i) such tax is imposed for a taxable year beginning after the date that is 18 months after the date of the enactment of this subsection,

“(ii) the jurisdiction imposing the tax also imposes an income tax on individuals, and

“(iii) the tax liability for such tax by any pass-through entity would exceed 102 percent of the liability for the tax described in clause (i) imposed on an unmarried individual with net income (as determined under the rules of the jurisdiction imposing the tax) equal to the net income of the pass-through entity.

“(C) EXCEPTION FOR JURISDICTIONS WITHOUT INCOME TAXES.—The term ‘pass-through entity tax’ shall not include any tax described in subparagraph (A) if—

“(i) the jurisdiction imposing the tax does not also impose an income tax on individuals, and

“(ii) such tax would be a substitute payment (as defined in section 275(b)(5)) if, for purposes of applying section 275(b)(5)(A), section 275(b)(3)(A) were applied—

“(I) by substituting ‘paragraph (1) or (2) of section 164(a)’ for ‘paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of section 164(a)’ in clause (i) thereof, and

“(II) without regard to the phrase ‘, a pass-through entity tax,’ in clause (ii) thereof.

“(2) TREATMENT OF SUBSTITUTE PAYMENTS.—Any substitute payment (as defined in section 275(b)(5)) shall be taken into account under subsection (a)(6)(C) and not under any other paragraph of subsection (a).

“(3) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out, and prevent the avoidance of, the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance—

“(A) providing for whether and to what extent a tax is described in paragraph (1)(A), and

“(B) for preventing the treatment of any tax which is described in paragraph (1)(A) but not described in paragraph (1)(B) as a pass-through entity tax if the principal purpose of either such tax or the rates of such tax is to avoid the purposes of section 275(b).”

(3) DISALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION TO PARTNERSHIPS.—Section 703(a)(2)(B) is amended to read as follows:

“(B) any deduction under this chapter with respect to taxes or payments described in section 702(a)(6).”

(4) LIMITATION ON ALLOWANCES OF LOSSES.—Section 704(d)(2) is amended to read as follows:

“(2) CARRYOVERS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Any excess of such loss over such basis (determined after application of paragraph (3)) shall be taken into account (including for purposes of section 705) at the end of the partnership year in which such excess is repaid to the partnership.

“(B) TREATMENT.—Any item of loss carried forward under subparagraph (A) shall retain the character of such item.

“(C) ALLOCATION.—The amount of the excess described in subparagraph (A) shall be allocated to the partner’s distributive share of each item of separately stated and non-separately stated loss taken into account under paragraph (1), apportioned in the ratio that the amount of each item of loss bears to the total of all such losses. For the purposes of the preceding sentence, the total losses for the taxable year shall be the sum of the partner’s distributive share of such losses for the current year and the partner’s losses carried forward under this paragraph from prior years.

“(D) SPECIAL RULE FOR NONDEDUCTIBLE SPECIFIED TAXES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except in the case of a partnership or corporation, the lesser of the amount described in clause (ii)(I), or the applicable percentage of nondeductible specified taxes, of a partner shall be separately carried forward under subparagraph (A) and shall not be allowed as a deduction in any taxable year.

“(ii) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the applicable percentage with respect to any partner of a partnership is the ratio (expressed as a percentage) of—

“(I) the amount described in section 702(a)(6)(C) with respect to the partner of such partnership, to

“(II) the amount described in clause (iii)(I) which is attributable to partnerships for which there is an excess under subparagraph (A) and to S corporations for which there is an excess under section 1366(d)(1).

“(iii) NONDEDUCTIBLE SPECIFIED TAXES.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the nondeductible specified taxes for any taxable year is the excess (if any) of—

“(I) the sum of the aggregate amounts described in section 702(a)(6)(C) with respect to the partner for all partnerships plus the aggregate amounts so described which are a separately stated item under section 1366(a)(1)(A) with respect to the shareholder for all S corporations, over

“(II) the amount of specified taxes (as defined in section 275(b)(3)) allowable under this chapter for the taxable year, reduced by the amount of any such taxes taken into account under subclause (I).

For purposes of subclause (II), the determination of the amount of such taxes so allowable shall be made after the application of section 275(b)(1)(B), after the application of this subsection and 1366(d) to items of loss and deduction other than such taxes but before their application to such taxes, and before the application of section 68.”

(5) S CORPORATIONS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—For corresponding provisions related to S corporations which apply by reason of the amendments made by paragraphs (1) through (3), see sections 1366(a)(1) and 1363(b)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(B) LOSS CARRYOVERS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 1366(d)(2) is amended by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN SPECIFIED TAXES.—

“(i) IN GENERAL.—Except in the case of a partnership or corporation, the lesser of the amount described in clause (ii)(I), or the applicable percentage of nondeductible specified taxes, of a shareholder shall be separately carried forward under subparagraph (A) and shall not be allowed as a deduction in any taxable year.

“(ii) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the applicable percentage with respect to any shareholder of an S corporation is the ratio (expressed as a percentage) of—

“(I) the amount taken into account under section 704(d)(2)(D)(iii)(I) which are separately stated items under subsection (a)(1)(A) with respect to such shareholder of such S corporation, to

“(II) the amount described in section 704(d)(2)(D)(iii)(I) which is attributable to S corporations for which there is an excess under subparagraph (A) and to partnerships for which there is an excess under section 704(d)(2)(A).

“(iii) NONDEDUCTIBLE SPECIFIED TAXES.—For purposes of this subparagraph, the term ‘nondeductible specified taxes’ has the meaning given such term under section 704(d)(2)(D)(iii).”

(ii) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1366(d)(2)(A) is amended by striking “subparagraph (B)” and inserting “subparagraph (B) or (C)”.

(6) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(A) ALTERNATIVE MINIMUM TAX.—Section 56(b)(1)(A)(ii) is amended by inserting “or for any substitute payment (as defined in section 275(b)(5))” before the period at the end.

(B) ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME.—Section 62(a)(1) is amended by inserting “or with respect to any specified tax (as defined in section 275(b)(3))” after “this subchapter”.

(c) ADDITION TO TAX FOR STATE AND LOCAL TAX ALLOCATION MISMATCH.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Part I of subchapter A of chapter 68, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 6660. STATE AND LOCAL TAX ALLOCATION MISMATCH.

“(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any covered individual, there shall be added to the tax imposed under section 1 for the taxable year an amount equal to the product of—

“(1) the highest rate of tax in effect under such section for such taxable year, multiplied by

“(2) the sum of the State and local tax allocation mismatches for such taxable year with respect to each partnership specified tax payment with respect to which such individual is a covered individual.

“(b) COVERED INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘covered individual’ means, with respect to any partnership specified tax payment, any individual (or estate or trust) who—

“(1) is entitled (directly or indirectly) to one or more specified tax benefits with respect to such payment, and

“(2) takes into account (directly or indirectly) any item of income, gain, deduction, loss, or credit of the partnership (including guaranteed payments) which made such payment.

“(c) STATE AND LOCAL TAX ALLOCATION MISMATCH.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘State and local tax allocation mismatch’ means, with respect to any partnership specified tax payment, the excess (if any) of—

“(A) the aggregate dollar value of the specified tax benefits of the covered individual with respect to such payment, over

“(B) the amount of such payment taken into account by such individual under section 702(a) (without regard to sections 275(b) and 704(d)).

“(2) TAXABLE YEAR OF INDIVIDUAL IN WHICH MISMATCH TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.—In the case of any partnership specified tax payment paid, incurred, or accrued in any taxable year of the partnership, the State and local tax allocation mismatch determined under paragraph (1) with respect to such payment shall be taken into account under subsection (a) by the covered individual for the taxable year of such individual in which such individual takes into account the items referred to in subsection (b)(2) which are determined with respect to such partnership taxable year.

“(d) DETERMINATION OF DOLLAR VALUE OF SPECIFIED TAX BENEFITS.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Except in the case of a covered individual who elects the application of paragraph (3) for any taxable year, the dollar value of any specified tax benefit shall be the sum of—

“(A) the aggregate increase in tax liability (and reduction in credit or refund) for taxes described in section 275(b)(3)(A) for the taxable year and all prior taxable years that would result if such specified tax benefit were not taken into account with respect to such taxes, plus

“(B) the deemed value of any carryforward of such specified tax benefit (including any tax attribute derived from such benefit) to any subsequent taxable year.

“(2) DEEMED VALUE OF CARRYFORWARDS.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the deemed value of any carryforward is—

“(A) in the case of a credit or refund, the amount of such credit or refund,

“(B) in the case of a deduction or exclusion, the product of—

“(i) the highest rate of tax which may be imposed on individuals under the tax referred to in subsection (e)(4)(B) with respect to the specified tax benefit, multiplied by

“(ii) the amount of such deduction or exclusion, and

“(C) in any other case, an amount determined in such manner as the Secretary may provide consistent with the principles of subparagraphs (A) and (B).

“(3) ELECTION OF SIMPLIFIED METHOD.—In the case of a covered individual who elects the application of this paragraph for any taxable year, the dollar value of any specified tax benefit shall be determined under the assumptions described in section 275(b)(5)(B).

“(e) OTHER DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of this section—

“(1) PARTNERSHIP SPECIFIED TAX PAYMENT.—The term ‘partnership specified tax payment’ means any specified tax and any pass-through entity tax paid, incurred, or accrued by a partnership.

“(2) PASS-THROUGH ENTITY TAX.—The term ‘pass-through entity tax’ has the meaning given such term by section 275(b)(6).

“(3) SPECIFIED TAX.—The term ‘specified tax’ has the meaning given such term by section 275(b)(3).

“(4) SPECIFIED TAX BENEFIT.—The term ‘specified tax benefit’ means any benefit which—

“(A) is determined with respect to a partnership specified tax payment, and

“(B) is allowed against, or determined by reference to, a tax described in section 275(b)(3)(A).

“(f) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary shall issue such regulations or other guidance as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this section, including regulations or other guidance preventing avoidance of the addition to tax prescribed by this section through partnership allocations that

achieve similar tax reductions as a State and local tax allocation mismatch.”

(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for part I of subchapter A of chapter 68, as amended by the preceding provisions of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 6660. State and local tax allocation mismatch.”

(d) LIMITATION ON CAPITALIZATION OF SPECIFIED TAXES.—Section 275, as amended by the preceding provisions of this section, is amended by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d) and by inserting after subsection (b) the following new subsection:

“(c) LIMITATIONS ON CAPITALIZATION OF SPECIFIED TAXES.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this chapter, in the case of an individual, specified taxes, pass-through entity taxes, and disallowed foreign real property taxes (as such terms are defined in subsection (b)) shall not be treated as chargeable to capital account.”

(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 2025.

SA 2647. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 895, strike lines 20 through 23 and insert the following:

(c) EXCEPTION.—The fee described in this section shall not apply to—

(1) any alien who was ordered removed in absentia if such order was rescinded pursuant to section 240(b)(5)(C) (8 U.S.C. 1229a(b)(5)(C)); or

(2) an individual determined to be an unaccompanied alien child (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))) who did not have a legal representative on file with the court at the time the removal order was entered.

SA 2648. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 840, between lines 18 and 19, insert the following:

(d) EXCEPTION.—The fees under this subtitle shall not apply to an individual determined to be an unaccompanied alien child (as defined in section 462(g) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 279(g))).

On page 899, between lines 6 and 7, insert the following:

SEC. 100019. UNACCOMPANIED ALIEN CHILDREN CAPACITY.

(a) APPROPRIATION.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Refugee Resettlement for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$3,000,000,000 to remain available until September 30, 2029, for use as described in subsection (b).

(b) USE OF FUNDS.—The funds made available under subsection (a) shall be used for the Office of Refugee Resettlement pursuant to section 235 of the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008 (8 U.S.C. 1232), of which not less than \$750,000,000 shall be used for unaccompanied children’s legal services, post-release services, and child advocates.

SA 2649. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

On page 835, line 5, insert “, of which \$90,000,000 shall be available to hire, train, and deploy licensed child welfare professionals at border facilities as part of the Department of Homeland Security Office of Health Security (OHS) Child Well-Being Program” before the period at the end.

SA 2650. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Beginning on page 853, strike line 1 and all that follows through page 854, line 5.

SA 2651. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

SEC. _____ . FEMA INVESTMENT IN FIRE-PRONE STATES.

The Administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency shall enhance investment in wildfire recovery, resilient rebuilding, and pre-disaster mitigation in fire-prone States.

SA 2652. Mr. BENNET submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 100054(2), add at the end the following: “Amounts appropriated under this section for the purposes described in this paragraph shall be directed to border States and to States along drug trafficking routes in the interior of the United States that are being affected by drug-related crime.”

SA 2653. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike section 90103 and insert the following:

SEC. 90103. APPROPRIATION FOR THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET AND FOR STATE AND LOCAL CYBERSECURITY GRANT PROGRAM FUNDING.

(a) OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.—In addition to amounts otherwise available, there is appropriated to the Office of Management and Budget for fiscal year 2025, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$1,000,000, to remain available until September 30, 2029, for purposes of finding budget and accounting efficiencies in the executive branch.

(b) CYBERSECURITY GRANT PROGRAMS.—In addition to amounts otherwise available,

there is appropriated to the Department of Homeland Security for fiscal year 2026, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, \$99,000,000, to remain available until expended, for grants to State, local, Tribal, and territorial governments for improvement to cybersecurity and critical infrastructure, as authorized by section 2220A of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 665g).

SA 2654. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 90004(b), strike “None” and insert the following:

(1) **SURVEILLANCE TOWERS.**—None
At the end of section 90004(b), add the following:

(2) **MASS SURVEILLANCE OF UNITED STATES PERSONS.**—None of the funds made available under subsection (a) may be used to purchase, operate, or modify technology that enables the systematic, indiscriminate, or wide-scale monitoring, surveillance, or tracking of United States persons.

SA 2655. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the end of subtitle A of title IX, add the following:

SEC. 90008. COMPLIANCE WITH THE BUY AMERICAN ACT.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—In accordance with applicable law and not less than 75 percent of the amounts appropriated by this title shall be expended in compliance with chapter 83 of title 41, United States Code (commonly known as the “Buy American Act”).

(b) **FURTHER LIMITATION.**—All amounts appropriated by this title that are not expended in compliance with the Buy American Act may not be paid to any entity that is based in the foreign adversary countries of the People’s Republic of China, the Russian Federation, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

SA 2656. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 100051, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—Subject to subsection (b), in addition

At the end of section 100051, add the following:

(b) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement and provide a warrant when required.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers

who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

In section 100052, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—Subject to subsection (b), in addition

At the end of section 100052, add the following:

(b) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement and provide a warrant when required.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

In section 100054, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—Subject to subsection (b), in addition

At the end of section 100054, add the following:

(b) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement and provide a warrant when required.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

At the end of section 100055, add the following:

(e) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under this section may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement and provide a warrant when required.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

SA 2657. Mr. PETERS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed to amendment SA 2360 proposed by Mr. THUNE (for Mr. GRAHAM) to the bill H.R. 1, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of H. Con. Res. 14; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

In section 100051, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—Subject to subsection (b), in addition

At the end of section 100051, add the following:

(b) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

In section 100052, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—Subject to subsection (b), in addition

At the end of section 100052, add the following:

(b) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

In section 100054, in the matter preceding paragraph (1), strike “In addition” and insert the following:

(a) **APPROPRIATION.**—Subject to subsection (b), in addition

At the end of section 100054, add the following:

(b) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under subsection (a) may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

At the end of section 100055, add the following:

(e) **IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), none of the funds appropriated under this section may be used for immigration enforcement purposes unless all sworn law enforcement officers engaged in immigration enforcement operations clearly identify themselves as law enforcement.

(2) **EXCEPTION.**—The requirement set forth in paragraph (1) shall not apply to officers who are conducting undercover activities in the regular performance of their duties.

PRIVILEGES OF THE FLOOR

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following staff members from my staff and from Senator MERKLEY’s staff be given all-access floor passes for the consideration of the bill: Caitlin Wilson, Lillian Meadows, Scott Graber, Walker Truluck, and Taylor Reidy; and Democratic staff: Mike Jones, Melissa Kaplan-Pistiner, Joshua Smith, and Tyler Evilsizer.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 1:14 a.m., adjourned until Monday, June 30, 2025, at 9 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 29, 2025:

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be general

LT. GEN. ADRIAN L. SPAIN
IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE POSITION INDICATED UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 7037:

To be judge advocate general of the United States Army

MAJ. GEN. BOBBY L. CHRISTINE
IN THE MARINE CORPS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

LT. GEN. BENJAMIN T. WATSON

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM J. BOWERS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. DAVID L. ODOM

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. STEPHEN E. LISZEWSKI

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

LT. GEN. GREGORY L. MASIELLO

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. JAY M. BARGERON
IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY TO THE GRADE INDICATED WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 601:

To be vice admiral

VICE ADM. FREDERICK W. KACHER
REAR ADM. ELIZABETH S. OKANO
REAR ADM. CURT A. RENSHAW
REAR ADM. MICHAEL P. DONNELLY
REAR ADM. THOMAS M. HENDERSCHIEDT

IN THE AIR FORCE

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALEXANDER A. ADELEYE AND ENDING WITH NOAH C. WOOD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 28, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SARAHGRACE R. AGLUBAT AND ENDING WITH CASEY L. ZOELLICH, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 29, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LAURA A. ABBOTT AND ENDING WITH ANNE L. WILLEY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 29, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH HUGO D. ALARCON AND ENDING WITH NICHOLAS J. YIELDING, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 29, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BRETT D. BARNER AND ENDING WITH PETER S. VO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DANIEL A. AGADA AND ENDING WITH MARIO L. ZENTENO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH RODINANTHONYFIL R. ALARCON AND ENDING WITH LISA M. YEATER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LUCHEZAR A. ABBOTT AND ENDING WITH ALEXANDER B. ZIMA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH VICTOR A. ACOSTA AND ENDING WITH WILLIAM D. YAU, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DUSTIN C. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH DONNELL D. WRIGHT, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH HAVAL L. AARIF AND ENDING WITH THOMAS P. ZOGAL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOEY A. ABELON, JR. AND ENDING WITH LOUIS J. ZIB III, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CRISTIAN AGREDO AND ENDING WITH JENA M. ZANDER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 19, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF JEFFREY A. SMITH, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF JOSHUA S. STINSON, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF CYRUS A. PERRY, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF BENJAMIN R. WASHBURN, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF RAYMOND E. KERR, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF MATTHEW T. OLSON, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF LEMUEL J. RIOS, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JESSE C. ALLEN AND ENDING WITH BRIDGET S. ZORN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF CLAYTON J. AUNE, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF GARRETT M. WELLS, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF BRANDON G. WAGONER, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF GARRETT C. GUTHRIE, TO BE MAJOR.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF VANESSA J. MOFFETT, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF RAMON MORADO, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF JOHN H. DIAZ, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF BRENNAN P. MCDONALD, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATION OF TYLER B. SMITH, TO BE COLONEL.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CLARENCE ABERCROMBIE, JR. AND ENDING WITH ANDREW P. ZWIRLEIN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

AIR FORCE NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BRYCE D. ACRES AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER D. WESTFALL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

IN THE ARMY

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CAMISHA Q. ABATTAM AND ENDING WITH RACHEAL L. WOOD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 1, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DAVID M. BOLAND AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER W. REMILLARD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 1, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH HARRIS A. ABBASI AND ENDING WITH 0003080783, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 1, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JACOB L. BARNOSKI AND ENDING WITH JONATHAN SHEARER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 1, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DANIEL J. BLAND AND ENDING WITH ANNA MARIA TRAVIS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 6, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JUSTIN M. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH 0002998837, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 6, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOSEPH B. AILBORN AND ENDING WITH 0003951188, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 6, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH TIMOTHY W. ATKINS AND ENDING WITH RICKY L. WARREN, JR., WHICH

NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 6, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATION OF BRENT T. BUBANY, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF MARGARET A. NOWICKI, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATION OF ARTHUR G. BRONG, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SPENCER R. ATKINSON AND ENDING WITH ANNA YOO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOSEPH R. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH LIANG ZHOU, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL M. ARMSTRONG AND ENDING WITH GARRETT G. WOOD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JASON B. ALISANGCO AND ENDING WITH 0002875100, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH KYLE L. AKERS AND ENDING WITH BRIAN K. ZDUNOWSKI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ANGELA J. ALLEN AND ENDING WITH SHUN Y. YU, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CARLOS J. ACOSTA RIVERA AND ENDING WITH JAY A. ZWIRBLIS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JESSICA E. BASSO AND ENDING WITH BRADLEY TAIT, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH RUDYLEE ARMJO AND ENDING WITH WILSON T. MUSTAIN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATION OF MARK R. MILHISER, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CHRISTOPHER L. BLAHA AND ENDING WITH THOMAS A. WHITEHEAD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 3, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BLAKE A. BUGAJ AND ENDING WITH KYLE R. VOGT, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 3, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH WILLIAM P. ABBOTT AND ENDING WITH 0004221858, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BENJAMIN T. ABEL AND ENDING WITH 0004209777, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALAN ADAME AND ENDING WITH 0000089994, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JAMES J. AGIUS AND ENDING WITH 0003086373, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ERIC O. DEAN AND ENDING WITH JOHN C. VERDUGO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 16, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATION OF CHAD M. HENDERSON, TO BE COLONEL.

ARMY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LILY M. DIAKHATE AND ENDING WITH JEFFREY B. KUSYJ, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 17, 2025.

ARMY NOMINATION OF PATRICIA L. MASHBURN, TO BE MAJOR.

ARMY NOMINATION OF PETER I. BELK, TO BE COLONEL.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF ADAM J. ROMNEK, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF BENJAMIN D. KASTING, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF MATTHEW A. BEARD, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL P. ABRAMS AND ENDING WITH JEREMY K. YAMADA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON APRIL 1, 2025.

MARINE CORPS NOMINATION OF JACOB C. CROCKETT, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

IN THE NAVY

NAVY NOMINATION OF DAVID C. SANDOMIR, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF ALLEN H. GRIMES, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JONATHAN D. PADGETT, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JONATHAN D. PADGETT, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF RICKY R. ROWE, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DANIEL P. BRADLEY AND ENDING WITH KASIMIR M. WNUK, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF DANIEL P. MALATESTA, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MARTHA C. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH BENJAMIN M. WALBORN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JOHN K. HOPE III, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL W. COULTER AND ENDING WITH MONTY A. VIKDAL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ROBERT J. CHAVEZ AND ENDING WITH DEAN T. MOON, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DANIEL S. AVONDOGLIO AND ENDING WITH ROBERT F. MARNELL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF SANTIAGO M. CARRIZOSA, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ALLISON M. ASHARRIOLA AND ENDING WITH PATRICK L. O'BRIEN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOSEPH E. BENTON III AND ENDING WITH LUKE G. WISNIEWSKI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LEON W. MOORE AND ENDING WITH TODD M. SPITLER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF CHRISTOPHER A. BAXTER, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CALVIN MARTIN AND ENDING WITH MIKO K. WADE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BRIAN J. ABBOTT AND ENDING WITH ERIC P. NARDO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH WADE A. BEZZETT AND ENDING WITH REGIS C. WORLEY, JR., WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH SCOTT P. BENNIE AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER M. SCHMID, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JESSE BANDLE AND ENDING WITH JAMES L. ZIMMERMAN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH WILLIAM P. BOGESS AND ENDING WITH RACHEL L. WERNER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JAMES P. ADWELL AND ENDING WITH TIMOTHY T. WELSH, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DENIZ M. BAYKAN AND ENDING WITH KATHERINE D. WORSTELL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ERIC K. CONRAD AND ENDING WITH KATHERINE VESTER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ANTHONY B. FRIES AND ENDING WITH DENNIS D. SMITH, JR., WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL R. FASANO AND ENDING WITH JERIAHMI L. L. TINSLEY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH EMILY J. BINGHAM AND ENDING WITH THOMAS H. WRIGHT, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JEREMIAH P. ANDERSON AND ENDING WITH JEFFREY K. WHITE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BRIEN J. CROTEAU AND ENDING WITH BRENT F. WEST, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH IAN P. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH GEORGE S. ZIN'AK, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JAMES G. ANGERMAN AND ENDING WITH ROBERT M. SYRE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH AARON E. KLEINMAN AND ENDING WITH STEVEN E. STOUARD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LAMONT A. BROWN AND ENDING WITH BRENT L. SUMMERS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH COLLEEN L. ABUZEID AND ENDING WITH ELIZABETH M. ZULOAGA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JUSTIN J. DEGRADO, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH NAIMI AMIRAL AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL A. WHITE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ARLO K. ABRAHAMSON AND ENDING WITH RICHLYN C. IVEY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JAMES C. BAILEY AND ENDING WITH ALEJANDRO PALOMINO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DANIEL J. BELLINGHAUSEN AND ENDING WITH ERIC ZILBERMAN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL J. BONACORSA AND ENDING WITH JACOB E. WILSON, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CHRISTIAN G. ACORD AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER J. WASEK, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH AARON N. AARON AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL N. PERKINS II, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH KRISTINE N. BENCH AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER K. TUGGLE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH KURT E. DAVIS AND ENDING WITH JASON A. RINTO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ANDREW J. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH PETER B. MANZOLI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JAIME I. ROMAN, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF MATTHEW L. SEVIER, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF ASHLEY S. M. MCABEE, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JEREMY D. BARTOWITZ, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF BRENNAN L. SCHNARS, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF STEVEN A. HALLE, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MATTHEW D. BAIRD AND ENDING WITH JERRY T. WHITLOCK, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH NEREMIAH J. S. CASTANO AND ENDING WITH PETER S. SUNDEN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MATTHEW B. DANIELS AND ENDING WITH KENNETH J. PHILLIPS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH COLIN C. ENGELS AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER L. WORTHY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MARK L. BROOKS AND ENDING WITH JOHN B. STOCKSTILL, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH WENDY F. ALBAND AND ENDING WITH KIMBERLY SMITH, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH PETER J. HAMMES AND ENDING WITH JEANNINE L. WEISS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH TOBY J. DEGENHARDT AND ENDING WITH BRIAN A. POTOSKI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BEN P. AMMERMAN AND ENDING WITH ROBERT C. SINGER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF JAMES M. MISSLER, JR., TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATION OF KAELAN F. CLAY, TO BE COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF ELLIOTT GILES, TO BE COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CHAD C. BARNHART AND ENDING WITH CAITLIN J. TAKAHASHI, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH BURNES C. W. BROWN AND ENDING WITH KENNETH W. ZILKA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JUSTUS T. COOK AND ENDING WITH SHEU O. YUSUF, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JEREMY M. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH CHANCE S. YERGENSEN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 2, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATION OF BRIAN N. JOHNSON, TO BE LIEUTENANT COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF SERGIO E. LLORET, TO BE COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF LES M. BEGIN, TO BE COMMANDER.

NAVY NOMINATION OF SHELBY M. NIKITIN, TO BE CAPTAIN.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CLAUDIA I. ALDAY AND ENDING WITH RYAN J. WICKHAM, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ROBERT T. AUGUSTINE AND ENDING WITH CODY C. WHITE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MATTHEW J. ARNSBERGER AND ENDING WITH ANTHONY J. WICH, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH TRAVIS L. CARTER AND ENDING WITH KATHERINE R. WRIGHT, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH LUIS E. BANCHS AND ENDING WITH MATTHEW K. WITTKOPP, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JERMAINE ARMSTRONG AND ENDING WITH KENDRA M. YATES, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DWAYNE D. DUNLAP AND ENDING WITH JASON O. LAWRIE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH RICHARD E. ARTHUR II AND ENDING WITH BRIAN E. YEE, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DAVID J. CARTER AND ENDING WITH MATTHEW A. STROUP, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DANIEL J. BRADSHAW AND ENDING WITH JACOB J. TORBA, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL ADAMSKI, JR. AND ENDING WITH JACQUELINE ZIMNY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH CHRISTOPHER P. ANDERSON AND ENDING WITH ALEX R. TURCO, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOSHUA D. CIOCCO AND ENDING WITH CHRISTOPHER J. RICHARDS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH DEENA R. APT AND ENDING WITH SHANE A. WELSH, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ROBERT J. CAMPBELLMARTIN AND ENDING WITH JACOB R. WOFFORD, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH MICHAEL L. HARPER AND ENDING WITH MICHAEL S. WILLIAMS, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH GLORIA F. BOYKIN AND ENDING WITH EMMA S. YEARBY, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

NAVY NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH ANASTASIA S. ABID AND ENDING WITH ALEXANDER T. ZIMMERMAN, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON JUNE 11, 2025.

IN THE SPACE FORCE

SPACE FORCE NOMINATION OF KRISTEN M. BARRA, TO BE LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

SPACE FORCE NOMINATION OF RAYMOND C. BRUSHIER, TO BE COLONEL.

IN THE COAST GUARD

COAST GUARD NOMINATIONS BEGINNING WITH JOHN C. ADAMS AND ENDING WITH JUDSON B. WHEELER, WHICH NOMINATIONS WERE RECEIVED BY THE SENATE AND APPEARED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ON MAY 22, 2025.