

OK to take away health insurance from 23 million Americans. I cannot come up with a single sliver of an argument that says it makes sense to rip away more than \$800 billion from kids with complex medical needs, seniors in nursing homes, and one of the largest sources of help for people and families struggling with substance abuse disorder, all to produce tax breaks for a handful of millionaires and billionaires.

The Republican agenda is destroying healthcare in this country, and it has never been clearer. President Trump released his budget proposal this week. If the healthcare bill is a punch to the gut, his budget is a knife in the ribs. The Trump budget is about the future, and for the future, Trump says there is too much medical research. He wants to cut more than \$5 billion from the NIH budget. That is the place where research is ongoing about treatments for Alzheimer's, cancer, diabetes, ALS. That is America's future that President Trump wants to cut by more than \$5 billion.

Then there is the Republican effort to blow up our existing healthcare system. The Republican bill would open the door to discriminating against people with preexisting conditions, and there is more. Insurance companies could drop coverage for mental health and substance abuse disorders. Insurance companies could decide not to cover pregnancy or maternity care. They can drop coverage for prescription drugs. Insurance companies could, once again, impose lifetime limits on diseases like cancer and heart conditions, even for people on employer plans in States like Massachusetts that want nothing to do with the waivers the Republican bill allows.

The CBO says that out-of-pocket costs for these services that are no longer covered would rise "thousands of dollars a year," but cutting out cancer patients and mamas and newborn babies and people with preexisting conditions just wasn't enough for the Republicans. President Trump used his new budget to cut hundreds of millions of dollars from the Federal agency leading the fight against opioids. Tens of thousands of people are dying, and the Trump budget cuts money needed in the fight against opioids. It gets even worse.

Together, the Republican healthcare bill and the President's budget rip well over a trillion dollars out of the Medicaid Program, which provides health insurance to one in five people in this country. Medicaid funds more than half the people in nursing homes. When a new baby is born in this country, Medicaid pays for about half of those births. Seniors in nursing homes and new babies are just targets for the Republican cuts.

Then, like extra chocolate sauce drizzled over this misery sundae, the budget also cuts the Children's Health Insurance Program by 20 percent over the next decade. Children's health insur-

ance is the program that works together with Medicaid to provide health insurance for one out of every three kids in this country. Trump and the Republicans say: Let them go sick.

What does that mean? Don't repair a hole in their hearts or fix their broken arms? Don't treat them when they get ear infections or does it just leave someone else to pay? If that is the answer, then tell us who? Who exactly is going to pay for the healthcare for these children?

I just don't get what the Republicans in Congress are thinking. I know they have people back in their home States who are begging them to keep healthcare coverage. Disease, accidents, old age, substance abuse, these misfortunes don't ask whether you are a Democrat or a Republican before they come knocking at your door. I just don't get how Republicans can turn their backs on people who will be hurt, but I understand whom the Republicans are helping.

The CBO score lays it out in black and white. The budget lets you go line by line to see just whom the Republicans do care about. The Republican healthcare bill burns down healthcare access for millions of people in this country in order to hand out tax breaks to a tiny handful of millionaires and billionaires.

The Republican budget rips away coverage for people with disabilities so that giant corporations can keep more of their giant profits. The Republican budget tosses seniors out of nursing homes and puts the brakes on Alzheimer's research so the richest people in this country can rake in millions in tax cuts. That is not puzzling; that is unforgivable.

Let's be clear about what is at stake here. A couple of weeks ago, I was at Malden Care Center, which is part of the Cambridge Health Alliance. Health providers like these in Massachusetts are on the frontlines, and they are fighting back against the opioid epidemic.

The folks at Cambridge Health Alliance told me that before the ACA, they were lucky if one out of every three people walking through their doors had health insurance. Today, after years of hard work in Massachusetts to pass bipartisan health reform and then to implement the ACA, more than 97 percent of the people in our State have healthcare. More than 9 out of 10 people coming into Cambridge Health Alliance clinics now have coverage. Because of that coverage, CHA could offer a wide range of services, including treatment for opioids. They are making headway: More lives saved, more success stories, more healthy babies.

I am not going to tell the seniors and the mamas and the people on the frontlines of the opioid crisis they have to give up those gains to pay for tax cuts for the wealthiest people in this country. If Senate Republicans want to defend this indefensible budget and unforgivable healthcare bill, then they

can start by coming out from behind closed doors where they are conducting secret negotiations over healthcare. They can look the American people in the eye and admit they care more about the wealthy few in this country than they do about hard-working families and people who need our help. They can be straight up, and the American people—Democrats, Republicans, and Independents—can hold them accountable for what they are trying to do to our families and to our country.

I yield the floor to my colleague from Maryland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CASIDY). The Senator from Maryland.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM DAUSTER

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, the Senate is an institution that remembers its giants, its lions—the Senators who have served with distinction, who negotiated critical legislative deals, who fought for their States and their constituents, and who have participated in historic debates on this Senate floor. They have statues and libraries to remember them and portraits in these halls.

The Senate has been home to many extraordinary individuals but less frequently acknowledged is the truth that no Senator operates alone. We rely on the counsel and good service of dedicated staff in both our committees and personal offices. Among those staff, there is perhaps no greater giant of the Senate than Bill Dauster, who retires this week after more than three decades of service.

With a clear-eyed understanding of the Senate, with all its features and its flaws, a dedication to progressive values and collegiality that has endeared him to Senator and staffer alike, Bill has been an asset to this institution and to all who have served with him. I am very pleased he is with us on the floor today.

Senator Harry Reid called Bill his "utility player" for his ability to step into any issue or complicated matter and find a solution.

I am privileged that Bill Dauster joined my staff early this year to help me set up my office and get it off to a good start in the U.S. Senate. I could not have asked for a better and more knowledgeable guy as I began my service here.

There are few major legislative battles that Bill Dauster has not joined in the past 30 years, including the Children's Health Insurance Program, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, and the Affordable Care Act. He worked for Senator Feingold when he stood against the so-called PATRIOT Act because of its invasion of privacy, and he helped shepherd Democratic priorities, ranging from the minimum wage to important infrastructure investments.

He has written a book on Senate procedure—and I mean literally—and he has been as much a scholar of the Senate as a participant in its daily life.

Bill is a leader of what the Washington Post once called “the whisper brigade,” the people, the staff who stand with their Senators, from committee hearings to floor speeches, to answer questions and offer suggestions and help make us better and more prepared.

In that capacity, Bill Dauster has mentored countless staff and always stayed accessible to answer the most basic questions. With a quote or a quip, he has brought levity to serious policy discussions. He has built a reputation as an honest broker, a brilliant dealmaker, and an incredibly generous soul.

Bill’s character is shaped by his Jewish faith, which he has studied and sought to illuminate to others. He has devoted free time to analysis of the Torah on Wikipedia and many other places, crafting interpretations that are as detailed, carefully explained, and straightforward as the analysis he has provided on countless Senate bills.

Bill Dauster is a devoted family man with his equally accomplished and brilliant wife Ellen and his three children who are his pride and joy. I am very pleased that his wife Ellen and daughter Emma are with us today.

He is a science fiction fan, particularly of Star Trek, perhaps seeking stories that are more believable than modern politics.

I wish Bill a restful retirement, but given his active mind, I suspect he would sympathize with Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes’ maxim that leisure is “a chance to do other jobs that demand attention.”

Instead, I will thank him for his service to the Senate and his country and wish him a joyful and fulfilling next frontier. I ask my colleagues to join me in saying: Farewell, but don’t wander far.

HONORING SECOND LIEUTENANT RICHARD WILBUR COLLINS III

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I stand to pay tribute to a distinguished young man from the State of Maryland: 2LT Richard Wilbur Collins III, a brave, brilliant, passionate, selfless, and kind American hero.

Second Lieutenant Collins, a resident of Calvert County, MD, was a 23-year-old student at Bowie State University, where he was a member of the Bowie ROTC Program and was airborne-certified. On May 18, just last week, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army’s intelligence branch. Second Lieutenant Collins was scheduled to graduate with a bachelor’s of arts in business administration from Bowie State University earlier this week. His future could not have been brighter.

Tragically, Second Lieutenant Collins’ life was cut short by a horrific act of violence that the FBI is investigating as a hate crime. We must bring the perpetrator of this evil act to justice and directly confront the racism behind it.

Second Lieutenant Collins’ selfless and courageous contributions to our State and Nation will continue to have a lasting impact on those who knew and loved him and on the broader community who learned of his tragic and senseless death. At the young age of 23, Second Lieutenant Collins raised his right hand to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. He was a young man of extraordinary courage and ability and will be deeply missed by all who knew him.

Second Lieutenant Collins leaves behind his grieving family: his father, U.S. veteran Richard W. Collins II; his mother Dawn Collins, his sister Robin Collins, and countless friends.

Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to join me in remembering Second Lieutenant Richard Wilbur Collins III and in expressing our deepest condolences to his family and friends.

TRUMPCARE

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, as our colleagues know, just yesterday we received the Congressional Budget Office’s analysis of the most recent version of the Republican health care bill, the bill that passed out of the House of Representatives, also known as TrumpCare 2.0.

I encourage all of us, every one of our colleagues, to read the CBO report and to read it carefully. For those who are interested, it can be found online at www.cbo.gov. On the front page you can link to the report, which I have here in my hand.

I think it is worth reminding our colleagues that the Congressional Budget Office is composed of professionals, budget experts, and the current Director of the Congressional Budget Office was selected by the Republican chairman of the House Budget Committee and the Republican chairman of the Senate Budget Committee. Without an umpire on budget issues, this Senate would be in absolute chaos when it comes to determining the impact of many of our major decisions, so it is very dangerous when people start attacking the umpire when it comes to these important issues that can have literally life or death implications for our constituents.

What you will find in this most recent Congressional Budget Office report is that the most recent House Republican plan is even worse than the original plan, which also was the subject of a Congressional Budget Office report. What this CBO report tells us is that, like the earlier version, this so-called health bill is really a massive transfer of wealth from working-class and middle-income Americans to the top 1 percent of the wealthiest in our country and some very powerful special interests. Its title would much more fittingly be “wealthcare,” not healthcare.

Let’s take a look at some of the findings that are in this report that can be found online. I turn to page 4 of the re-

port, where the Congressional Budget Office reaches the conclusion that if we adopt this House proposal, if the Senate votes for the House Republican bill, there will be 23 million fewer of our fellow Americans who will have access to affordable healthcare when it is phased in than today. So if we were to adopt this, if this becomes law, we are saying to 23 million of our fellow Americans: Sorry, we are going to take away your access to affordable healthcare. It is right there on page 4. That is because what this so-called healthcare bill does is take away some of the supports that provide access to affordable healthcare. It reduces for millions of Americans the tax credits they use for their premiums in the Affordable Care Act exchanges.

As you will find on page 3 of this report, it also cuts Medicaid by \$834 billion. Now some people will say: Hey, no problem; that is just going to be sent to the States, and States are going to have more flexibility.

The Congressional Budget Office is very clear that when you are talking about Medicaid cuts of this impact, one of two things happen: Either a lot fewer people get access to affordable healthcare or States have to raise taxes on the people in their States to ensure continued access. But this notion that somehow there are all these extra funds floating around and that greater flexibility will allow fewer dollars to go further with no negative impact is a fairytale.

In fact, Medicaid already has lots of provisions for flexibility. They have a whole suite of waiver provisions. Our State of Maryland exercised lots of waivers under the Medicaid program to allow it to be creative and flexible.

This \$834 billion cut we found out about yesterday with the President’s budget is just the first round of cuts. They are proposing another almost \$610 billion cut to Medicaid. Total cuts are \$1.4 trillion to Medicaid.

I would remind my colleagues that in addition to helping working-class Americans get access to healthcare, two-thirds of Medicaid money goes to help seniors in nursing homes, and 60 percent of seniors in nursing homes use Medicaid to help pay the bills. Two-thirds of it goes to those seniors and people with disabilities.

The Congressional Budget Office is telling us that this TrumpCare 2.0, this latest version of the Republican healthcare bill, is going to result in 23 million fewer of our fellow Americans having access to healthcare. It is going to cut Medicaid, and this is just the first round, by \$834 billion.

Why do this? Who is benefiting from this? Well, let’s look at the very first page of the Congressional Budget Office report. It reduces revenues by \$992 billion. There are cuts to Medicaid by \$834 billion, and it reduces revenues coming in by \$992 billion, essentially transferring revenues that are going to help tens of millions of our fellow Americans get access to healthcare and