

this investigation: the scope of Russian interference in our elections and whether they colluded with representatives of an American campaign in the process. That is very serious stuff—very serious. We must pursue that investigation with vigor no matter who might stand in the way of it.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, on the budget, yesterday morning the Trump administration released their 2018 budget. The document is stunning in its cruelty. It takes a sledgehammer to the middle class, the working poor, while lavishing tax breaks on the very wealthy.

They may not have intended it, but the Trump budget is a compilation of all the broken promises this President made to working Americans. In his budget, President Trump has broken promise after promise after promise to working people without any shame, without any remorse, without any explanation.

The President promised to increase infrastructure investment, but his budget actually cuts more money from infrastructure programs than the new money it puts in. The President's proposal to slash American infrastructure investments is a job-killing 180-degree turn away from his repeated promise of a \$1 trillion infrastructure plan.

President Trump's campaign promises on infrastructure are crumbling faster than our roads and bridges. I want to ask the Trump administration: How can we expect that you are going to be real about a trillion-dollar infrastructure plan when your budget cuts infrastructure dramatically—right now? Don't you think it adds up? To us, it does. It makes us very dubious of any attempt to do infrastructure by this administration. We hope we are wrong, but the budget is a document that tells where the real truth is in terms of administration beliefs. They sure as heck, by this budget, don't like infrastructure.

The President has said that education is the civil rights issue of our time, but the Trump budget calls for over \$3.2 billion in cuts to higher education, eliminates programs that forgive loans for public service jobs like teachers and doctors, and eliminates subsidized loan programs that help lower the cost of college. College students of America, look at the President's budget and see if he is on your side. He sure as heck isn't.

The President said he would "save Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid without cuts. Have to do it." Those are his words. But the Trump budget slashes Social Security by \$72 billion and cuts Medicaid by hundreds of billions, in addition to the more than \$800 billion TrumpCare cuts took from Medicaid already in the House bill. All in all, it is a \$1 trillion broken promise on Medicaid.

Remember, America, Medicaid is a program that affects the poor. That is

a good thing. But much of the money goes to help the middle class, elderly people in nursing homes, and families fighting opioid addiction. So the bottom line is this is another broken promise to the middle class that Trump made in the campaign.

The budget breaks promise after promise after promise the President made to what he called the forgotten America, the working men and women of America. Well, this budget forgot the forgotten American.

In addition, the Trump budget depends on fantasy math to make all the numbers work. Most budgets make assumptions, and they all stretch the math a little bit, but the Trump budget takes a quantum leap into a new dimension of budgetary fairy tale.

Not only does the Trump budget assume unrealistic growth as a way to balance the budget in 10 years—no economist, liberal or conservative, thinks we can achieve 3 percent growth in the near term—but the Trump budget double counts and double dips in a way we have never seen in any budget before. The Trump budget includes the assumption they will pass "deficit-neutral tax reform." In order for their massive tax cut to be deficit-neutral, they need to assume the economy grows fast enough to make up for lost revenues. But at the same time, the Trump budget assumes that growth will pay for tax cuts and help pay down the deficit—both.

Take the estate tax as an example. President Trump has proposed eliminating the estate tax in tax reform. Yet the Trump budget assumes that the government will take in more than \$300 billion in estate taxes over the next 10 years. In other words, part of the budget says that we are getting rid of the estate tax, and part of the budget says that \$300 billion the estate tax brings in is counted toward balancing the budget. I have never seen anything like it. If an accountant did this, my guess is—I don't know accounting standards in detail—they would be kicked out of the accounting profession.

In short, as Benjamin Applebaum in the New York Times points out: "President Trump is proposing to balance the federal budget in part by simultaneously increasing estate taxation and eliminating estate taxation."

Let me read that again. This is a reporter for the New York Times, not some politician of a political party: "President Trump is proposing to balance the federal budget in part by simultaneously increasing estate taxation and eliminating estate taxation."

The gall, the nerve, and the facts-bedecked attitude in this budget are appalling. What they said on the estate tax is a complete contradiction. The government cannot take in money from a tax that no longer exists. Where are our fiscal watchdogs on the other side of the aisle when they do stuff like this?

Everyone knows Presidential budgets contain some degree of flexibility, but

what the Trump budget does is a quantum leap that would make an accountant blush, if they could stay in their profession after doing this. The budget is a total fantasy, a deeply unserious proposal to Congress. Members of both parties are right to reject it, and I applaud many of my Republican colleagues for speaking out against this proposal.

Again, what will happen—my guess—is that Democrats and Republicans will ignore the Trump budget because it is so harsh on the middle class and because it is such an accounting nightmare. We will do our own budget, and we will probably produce something pretty good for the American people, as we did in 2017—as long as Donald Trump and the White House stay out of it.

#### TRUMPCARE

Mr. SCHUMER. Finally, Mr. President, a word on healthcare: The Republican attempts to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act, combined with the Trump administration's refusal to commit to making key cost-sharing payments that help keep healthcare costs low for working Americans, have created great uncertainty in our healthcare system. This uncertainty has already caused insurers to flee the marketplace or propose rate increases for next year.

A spokesman for America's Health Insurance plans—that is the insurance industry's main group; again, it is not a politician—said:

We need swift action and long-term certainty [on the cost-sharing program]. It is the single most destabilizing factor in the individual market, and millions of Americans could soon feel the impact of fewer choices, higher costs and reduced access to care.

My Republican colleagues, remember, if you continue to allow the President to do this, if we don't make cost sharing permanent, the system will deteriorate, and guess whose back it will be on? Yours, my Republican friends. You are in charge. And when people get a bad healthcare bill, you can blame anyone you want. You are in charge. Fix it.

Refusing to guarantee the cost-sharing payment is nothing short of sabotage, and the repeated attempts to pass TrumpCare will only make things worse.

The White House ought to step up and say once and for all that they will continue to make the cost-sharing payments permanently, and Republicans in Congress ought to drop their repeal efforts and, instead, work with us on stabilizing the market and improving our healthcare system.

Now, today the Congressional Budget Office will release its analysis of the House Republican healthcare bill—TrumpCare. I remind my colleagues how unusual it is for a CBO score to come out nearly 3 weeks after a bill has passed. It is like test driving a brand new car 3 weeks after you have

already signed on the dotted line and paid the dealer in full.

Republicans in the House were so worried about how bad the CBO score might be, they rushed TrumpCare through—no hearings, no debate, no score. Never mind that this legislation remakes one-sixth of our Nation's economy. It has life-and-death consequences for millions of American families.

Republicans were haunted by the ghost of CBO scores past, so they went ahead without one.

When the CBO analyzed the first version of TrumpCare earlier this year, it concluded that 24 million fewer Americans would have health insurance if it became law. We also learned the bill would gut Medicaid, crush seniors with higher premiums, and would increase out-of-pocket expenses for Americans of all ages with higher deductibles and copays.

Given that there were few differences between the first and second versions of TrumpCare, we can expect that today's CBO analysis will likely show many of the same grave consequences as the first one. Only now, of course, TrumpCare includes a new amendment that allows States to opt out of the requirement to cover people with pre-existing conditions. It is hard to imagine such an amendment would make CBO's score any better than the last, and it could certainly raise a lot of new questions.

Does the deal the Freedom Caucus got with the second version of TrumpCare violate the rules of reconciliation? Will the House have to change the bill and take yet another vote on TrumpCare? We know they don't want to do that.

We also don't know the answer to these questions, and we may not know the answers even after seeing today's CBO analysis. But all of these open questions demonstrate how reckless it was for Republicans to vote on this bill without properly vetting it first.

I yield the floor to my good friend, the senior Senator from Vermont, the former and hopefully future Senate President pro tempore.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

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

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business is closed.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive ses-

sion to resume consideration of the Sullivan nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of John J. Sullivan, of Maryland, to be Deputy Secretary of State.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business.

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

#### THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, yesterday, we received President Trump's first budget submission. He calls it "A New Foundation for American Greatness." Well, that might get an award for fiction, but it couldn't be further from the truth.

Instead of building a foundation for the American people, it pulls the rug out from under them. This budget has to be understood as something more than just a photo op with a slogan.

The President's budget displays a fundamental lack of understanding of the role of government of, by, and for the people in supporting the middle class, lifting up the most vulnerable among us and serving our values and interests as a Nation. It proposes to cut nondefense discretionary spending by over \$1.5 trillion; that is, \$1,500,000,000 over 10 years, including a \$54 billion cut in fiscal year 2018 and a \$260 billion cut by 2027. This would be a 40-percent cut to nondefense programs in 10 years.

This is not only shortsighted, it is irresponsible and unrealistic. We should be supporting opportunity, and we should be creating jobs, not eliminating them. What this country needs is jobs. We should be caring for our veterans. We should promote our health and the environment. These are important to all people. It doesn't make any difference what political party you belong to. We shouldn't be recklessly slashing vital lifelines to the American people.

Sequestration has had devastating consequences for both defense and non-defense programs. These consequences are going to last a generation. The Trump budget would only extend and deepen those problems.

We are nearing the Memorial Day break, and I ask Members of both sides of the aisle: Let's sit down, and let's have Republicans and Democrats work together, as the Senate is supposed to, and negotiate a budget deal based on parity. We did this in 2013; we did it in 2015. It worked well. Such a deal would allow the Senate to provide appropriations bills that reflect our true, enduring values as a nation.

The Trump budget proposes over \$1.7 trillion in cruel and unsustainable cuts to important mandatory programs that provide a safety net of health and nutrition programs to those who are struggling most in our communities. Can you imagine, in the wealthiest

most powerful Nation on Earth, we are going to cut out programs to help the people most in need?

Many of the cuts in the Trump budget come from the Medicaid Program, where the President doubles down on the dangerous programmatic changes and cuts included in the TrumpCare bill. Not only would enacting this budget make it harder for low-income families to receive health coverage through Medicaid, but the proposal also cuts nearly \$6 billion from the Children's Health Insurance Program, which would force near-poverty children off health insurance.

I know in my own State of Vermont—it is not a wealthy State; it is a small State. But when we started a program to make sure children had healthcare, it was costly at first. In the long run, it saved us all a great deal of money. We were rated every year as the first or second healthiest State in the Nation. You have to have people healthy from the time they are children. You cannot suddenly say: Oh, we are going to spend a fortune when you are adults on illnesses that could have been taken care of when you were children.

The President's budget proposes significant cuts to the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, which supports food assistance for individuals and families in need. How does the President expect to make America great again if there are hungry children in our schools? Every parent knows a hungry child cannot learn. How can we be the greatest country in the world if we do not offer a helping hand to the most vulnerable among us?

It has been and continues to be my goal that we complete the appropriations process in the Senate the way it is supposed to be done. Each of the 12 appropriations bills deserves debate and an up-or-down vote on the Senate floor. All Republicans and Democrats vote for the things they support and vote against the things they oppose. That is in the best interest of this country, and I know Chairman COCHRAN shares this goal. As vice chairman, I will work with him to do this.

This budget is an obstacle and not a pathway to this goal. The President's budget proposal is not bipartisan. In fact, I am willing to bet that, if you put the President's budget on the floor today and asked for a vote up or down, even though the Republicans are in the majority in the Senate, it would not pass because it does not make a hint of a gesture toward true bipartisanship. The appropriations process works best when you have bipartisan cooperation. This budget is not in the best interest of the country or of the real priorities of the American people. That is why it would not get even enough Republican votes to pass. It is unbalanced, needlessly provocative, and appallingly shortsighted.

Rural America, including rural States like Vermont, is missing in action in the President's budget. His