

any longer. And to do nothing—to do nothing is an abdication of our sworn responsibility to serve our constituents.

But to advance this patchwork series of bills offered by the Republican majority is worse. It is a disservice to the thousands of Americans who have died and the millions of Americans who have contracted this virus and the hundreds of millions of Americans who are looking to their government to do something so they can have their country back.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROMNEY). The Senator from Virginia.

(The remarks of Mr. Kaine pertaining to the introduction of S. 4349 are printed in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. Kaine. With that, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. ERNST. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

HEALS ACT

Ms. ERNST. Madam President, 4 years ago, Jill Larsen opened Crayons 2 Pencils Early Learning Center in Norwalk, IA. This state of the art childcare center offers full day, before and after school care, and preschool-only programs for children from 6 weeks old to school age. They have even expanded to include a learning center and recreation center. It truly is topnotch. But when COVID-19 hit, Crayons 2 Pencils' enrollment dropped from 150 children to 32. And it was only through the Paycheck Protection Program that this childcare center was able to stay afloat and keep their workers paid.

Jill Larsen's story is not unique. Without the help of the Paycheck Protection Program, so many of our small businesses and childcare programs across the country would have gone under. Ninety-nine percent of Iowa's businesses are small businesses, and the Paycheck Protection Program has been a critical lifeline for so many of them.

I hear it time and again on my 99-county tour—most recently on a Main Street tour in Albia with some outstanding female small business owners. Nearly 60,000 small businesses in Iowa have received PPP loans, saving hundreds of thousands of jobs. But, folks, there are more funds left in the program, and many of these folks need additional help. That is why we should allow our most distressed businesses to receive a second PPP loan—so they can continue to keep workers paid and their doors open. The HEALS Act would make that possible.

While the Paycheck Protection Program helped the Crayons 2 Pencils daycare center keep their employees paid, as folks are getting back to work, these critical facilities are facing new challenges—making up for losses from decreased enrollment, trying to expand to accommodate more kiddos due to school closures, or acquiring critical medical supplies or PPE to create a safe and clean environment for these families.

Just recently, I held a telephone townhall, and I was joined by Iowa's director of health and human services, Kelly Garcia. We heard the concerns of Iowa parents and talked about the solutions we are working on at the State and Federal levels when it comes to childcare access and affordability.

Our working parents are anxious and concerned about what lies ahead. Do they have to quit their jobs to stay at home with the kids? How much will childcare cost? What happens if childcare providers can't open back up?

This is the reality for so many. That is why I made it a top priority to provide additional resources for our childcare programs and our families. Included in the HEALS Act is my bill to create back-to-work childcare grants, which would give providers the resources they need to make it through this crisis. It would also help them access PPE and other medical supplies so they can adhere to the safety guidelines and provide a clean and safe environment.

But it doesn't stop there. I am also working to assist our lower income families, those who rely on the child care and development block grants and those who simply need access to clean diapers.

Just a couple of weeks ago, I was in Davenport, IA, where I got to take part in a diaper distribution with the Hiney Heroes of the Quad Cities—yes, Hiney Heroes. As a result of this visit, the folks over at Huggies and the National Diaper Bank donated 25,000 diapers to this important diaper bank. We know that during this pandemic, the diaper supply has run short. I have teamed up with Democratic Senator CHRIS MURPHY on this effort to include additional assistance for our diaper banks.

COVID-19 has also created challenges for our farmers. These hard-working folks are facing new challenges while working around the clock to make sure Americans have adequate access to food and fuel. I was visiting with some farmers at the Bloomfield Livestock Market in Davis County not long ago, and they described these hardships firsthand. I hear the same from our ethanol and biodiesel producers. That is why I helped ensure more aid for our farmers and producers, including our ethanol producers and so many other important commodities in Iowa.

In our rural communities—like Montgomery County, where I live—COVID-19 has only amplified existing financial pressures on our healthcare centers. Most rural hospitals rely on

services such as elective surgery to keep them financially afloat, but because of the pandemic and the response to it, many hospitals have had to cancel these elective surgeries as protective measures due to the pandemic.

Additionally, the need for PPE and other equipment has significantly increased.

Lower revenue combined with higher expenses has made it incredibly difficult for these rural hospitals to stay afloat. We absolutely can't leave these folks behind. We need our hospitals to keep their doors open so that quality healthcare is accessible to all Iowans, whether they live in the big cities like Des Moines and Polk County or small communities like Red Oak, where I live, in Montgomery County.

As I have toured Iowa over the last several weeks, I have also visited with many of our essential workers. Our nurses, grocery store clerks, truck-drivers, childcare providers, and so many more have been working on the frontlines of this pandemic, rising to the challenge to care for and protect Iowans. That is why I am pushing hard to allow these essential workers to keep more of their hard-earned dollars by suspending Federal income and payroll taxes. These folks deserve a reward for their tireless efforts.

No amount of financial relief will make this virus go away, but Congress has a role to play in helping families get back on their feet, but it is also every single one of us doing our part—wearing our masks, washing our hands, and social distancing as much as possible. Together, with the help of every individual and all levels of government, we will get through this.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERDUE). The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, I want to talk about the portion of the bill that we have made available to our colleagues and the country this week after lots of input from our colleagues on the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education part of the bill. It is about 25 percent of the bill, almost \$250 billion. That money would be used to get us back on track toward vaccines that work, toward treatments that work, to provide additional resources for testing, for treatment, for care, to get us back to school, to get us back to work, and to get us back to childcare. These are all things that are critical for our economy and families to return in the way they want to.

For those things to work the way we would want them to work, our colleague Senator ALEXANDER put it very succinctly: All things run through testing. If you are going to go back to school, if you are going to go back to work, if you are going to go back to childcare, if you are going to be in a nursing home between now and the time we have a vaccine, we need tests that are easy to take and quick to respond. A test that you can take and have the answer in 10, 12, or 15 minutes

will make all the difference, and we continue to push for that in this bill.

In fact, there is about \$9 billion in a fund that maybe should have been designated a little more specifically, but it hasn't been spent. It was designed to be a testing fund. We should combine that with another \$16 billion and make testing available for those priorities—for nursing homes or in that State-Federal partnership.

In this bill, we say that a priority for the Federal Government in that partnership is tests that work in nursing homes, tests that work in childcare centers, tests that work in elementary and secondary education, and tests that work in colleges and universities, that allow people to get back into those situations, including a residential campus, to know that when you are there, you have a way to not only test people quickly but get an answer quickly.

Frankly, President Trump is right when he says that the way current testing has been working really doesn't do much but measure how many people had the disease. It doesn't even say how many people necessarily have the disease but how many people had the disease. If you have a test and you don't get an answer for 5 or 6 or 7 days, what good did it really do you to take the test? It certainly didn't do you much good in terms of not infecting others because you didn't know that you had it—particularly if you are in that high percentage of people who don't have symptoms but are still able to spread the disease.

That is why a test that gives you an answer in 15 minutes makes all the difference in the world. If you are on a college campus and take that test and in 15 minutes you have the answer, and if the answer is that you have this, your next place to go is somewhere by yourself.

I think almost every campus returning to residential campus living is setting aside some of their dorm space—on some campuses, all their dorm space is single-student dorm rooms—but for every campus I talked to, some rooms are set aside just so the student has a place to go.

If you show up at the nursing home as a worker and in 15 minutes you find out you have COVID, the last place you need to be is that nursing home. But if you don't know for 5 or 7 days whether you have COVID, it doesn't help out very much.

I think what the President has said on testing makes a lot of sense. But it doesn't mean the tests aren't good; it means better tests. We have put a lot of money and effort behind those tests. Sometime in the next few days, I think the National Institutes of Health will be announcing tests that are moving forward that will do just what I suggested.

We put another \$26 billion toward a vaccine. Our colleague Senator DAINES has been very helpful in looking at this organization called BARDA, which was

designed a decade ago to be able to respond to a pandemic and never has been effectively used in that way, in my view. This time, we are using it and intend to continue to use it to form those partnerships with the private sector early on to begin to produce a vaccine, even when we don't know absolutely for sure that it is going to be FDA-approved. But we do know that if it is FDA-approved, we want it as soon as it can possibly be available. If it is not FDA-approved, it never gets used, but if it is FDA-approved, the difference between a vaccine that is available January 15 and a vaccine that is available May 15—it is worth the loss if it doesn't work out. Let's say you went forward with five of these vaccines, and three of them worked. Then you have vaccines—maybe 300 million doses on January 15, and you have to destroy a couple of hundred million doses because that didn't get through the full safety requirement. That makes all the difference in the world. Lives are saved, and the economy is restored. And we are moving forward with that. We are putting another \$26 billion behind that.

We also have language in our bill that requires an effort that was announced yesterday, which is for a group of scientific ethicists to start talking about what the priorities should be for that vaccine when we have it. Who should get it first? What should our priorities be? How do we distribute this in a way that seems fair and equitable? How do we distribute this in a way that somebody who can't get in a car and drive 100 miles to a doctor and pay for the shot has the same chance to get the vaccine as somebody who could do all of those things? Our bill requires that.

All of our discussions on this bill, plus our public discussions in a hearing we had a month ago, have said we want the administration to have a plan as to how to distribute the vaccine before we have the vaccine. Everybody thinks we might have a vaccine available by the end of this year or early next year. There is no reason to wait for that to happen to have a plan. I would like to see a plan on October 1. I told the Chief of Staff of the President that again yesterday.

This bill provides money to be sure that people who go to places like community health centers are going to have a community health center that can respond to what they need. There is \$7.6 billion for community health centers.

There is another \$25 billion for providers that lost income—which is almost every provider—during the last several months as our hospitals and our doctors and our surgical centers and other places were told: Here is what we want you to do. We want you to stop your income. We want you to stop all the elective things you can possibly stop. At the same time, we want you to be ready for the greatest healthcare crisis your facility will ever meet.

So fully engaged in spending money and being ready to meet a crisis, but because you stopped income that you would normally have, we are trying to do what we can—not to exceed the income they would have normally had but to replace some of that income. There is also money for rural clinics that would step up and do that.

Senator CAPITO and Senator COLLINS were particularly vigorous in making sure we had the money needed for people who have mental health challenges, many of whom have gotten worse during this isolation period and this job-loss period, or if you or somebody in your family is sick.

The opioid deaths, the substance abuse deaths have gone back up for the first time in about 3 years. That is totally logical when you think about it. Had this headed in another direction, you would have a support system working that keeps you from returning to that habit, that dependency. Then you are suddenly by yourself. Maybe you are not only by yourself, but you are by yourself and you lost your job. Maybe you are by yourself, and your mother is sick with COVID, and you can't see your mom or dad or somebody in your family, and you are thinking: I wonder—surely I can do that thing that made me feel so good just one time and not be addicted. We know it doesn't work that way.

Our Nation continues to face challenges, and with those challenges, we have asked the National Institutes of Health to look one more time and more closely at people's underlying conditions that might put them more at risk for COVID-19, see what has happened with minorities, with pregnant women, with children, and begin to drill down and figure out what we can do.

As I have said before, bipartisan priorities should include school. Frankly, they also need to include childcare. If you are going to get America back to work, you are going to have to have a childcare system that works, and that is not going to happen on its own. About half of our childcare facilities have been closed since the 1st of March. The other half that has been open has struggled to stay open. Many have benefited from the PPP program, but at the same time, when they stay open or when others reopen with social distancing and the reluctance of people to send their kids back to a place where there are lots of other kids, there is probably no more than 50-percent occupancy. You are not going to make up for that by doubling the amount that families pay for childcare. You need to make up for that with the kinds of grants and assistance that are in this bill. It is about getting students back to school, getting people back to work, and getting childcare facilities working.

Senator ERNST, who was just on the floor, and Senator LOEFFLER have both been big advocates of what we need to do to make childcare a priority.

Schools need to reopen safely based on State and local criteria. This bill includes money for schools to do that. There is about \$70 billion for elementary and secondary schools. Frankly, we are a little bit ahead of where the House was with the Heroes Act. If you get into a bidding war with the House, you are never going to win. You need a realistic discussion. Only 90 days ago or so or 60 days ago, the House felt it needed \$100 billion to reopen schools. We suggested \$105 billion. In some report, I read that the House then decided, well, maybe it should be \$400 billion if the Senate were willing to spend \$105 billion.

We should be able to figure this out and figure this out quickly, with some of that money being available only if you go back to school in person and some of it being available if you go back to school virtually, as others will do, depending, again, on their situations locally.

We are ready to move forward. Answers to these important questions are in this bill. I look forward to talking about it not only with our Democratic colleagues in the Senate but with our colleagues in the House.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. President, I rise to discuss the relief that the HEALS Act will provide to those in farm country and rural America as they weather the challenges of COVID-19.

It is so important, for they are out there for us every day, producing that food supply. They had incredible challenges before this COVID-19 started. The Presiding Officer is from an ag State. He knows the kind of challenges we are facing. Obviously, we need to be there for them as we go through this coronavirus fight.

I want to start by thanking them. They provide us with the lowest cost, highest quality food supply in the world. Think about it. Every single American benefits every single day from what our farmers and ranchers do with food, fuel, and fiber. Just the food piece alone means that Americans have the highest quality, lowest cost food supply in the history of the world. This is thanks to our farmers and ranchers. Rarely, if ever, has there been a more appropriate time to say thank you to the men and women who provide us with that food supply, and the resilience of our ag producers, in the face of tremendous hardship that has been caused by the global health pandemic, serves as a real testament to their grit and to their determination.

That is why we have worked to provide additional support for farmers, ranchers, and processors in this HEALS Act. The legislation includes \$20 billion in direct appropriation, which will be used for our farmers and ranchers, along with other funding that we were able to secure in the CARES Act. We are trying to also do it in a cost-effective way. In recognizing

that we have a debt and deficit we have to be mindful of, what we are trying to do is to actually utilize funding that we put together in the CARES Act for the CCC, or the Commodity Credit Corporation. We are taking \$14 billion of that and combining it with the \$20 billion from this legislation to make sure that we have adequate funding—a total of about \$34 billion—to address the needs in farm country.

Prior to the coronavirus, farmers entered 2020 after 7 years of rural recession caused by low commodity prices, trade disruptions, and some really tough weather and natural disasters. Yet our farmers and ranchers are the eternal optimists—they have to be—so they go into every year with that grit and determination and continue to provide that food supply that we all rely on.

Now, of course, you add COVID-19 into the mix. Storefronts have closed. Restaurants have shuttered their doors. Processing plants have limited and, in some cases, shut down operations. Of course, ag prices are also down. Farmers and ranchers came into a tough situation and now face further challenges with the pricing and the other challenges created by COVID-19, as I said. Though it will take some time to really quantify those losses, the reports we have right now indicate that losses in the ag sector could be near \$42 billion. For example, losses in the cattle industry alone could total as much as \$13 billion.

We need to be there for them because, again, they are not only out there producing the food; they are doing other things to help out as well. For example, there are a couple of stories about our farmer groups that are making an effort to help others.

In May, R.D. Offutt Farms, which is one of our Nation's premier potato growers that is based in Fargo, ND, donated 37,000 pounds of frozen potato products to the Great Plains Food Bank. The North Dakota Stockmen's Association and its foundation donated \$20,000 to the same food bank to purchase beef from North Dakota ranchers. The North Dakota Farmers Union and Farmers Union Enterprises teamed up to donate 30,000 pounds of pork ribs to the Great Plains Food Bank as well. Those types of stories go on.

So while the farmers and ranchers of America are out there, fighting their own challenges, they are helping others at the same time, and I think that it is truly, truly remarkable.

In the CARES Act, we took the first important step by providing \$9.5 billion to the USDA, the Department of Ag, along with the \$14 billion, which I just referenced, to replenish the CCC. As I mentioned earlier, we have utilized some of that funding to provide assistance, but now we are going to take that additional \$14 billion and combine it with the funding here of \$20 billion to make sure we can get that assistance off to the farmers.

Again, we are working to do this in a way that is prudent with our tax-

payers' dollars in recognizing the challenges we have with debt and deficit. We have to be mindful of it, but at the same time, we have to make sure we are getting adequate assistance out to those great farmers and ranchers across America who are getting it done for all Americans every single day.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I rise to discuss the HEALS Act.

As we continue to confront this coronavirus pandemic, we have to ensure that our schools and our employers can safely reopen. Our healthcare providers must also have the resources they need to continue to provide essential care to all Americans to fight this virus and to help this Nation return to some semblance of normalcy as quickly as possible. We have to also provide liability protection for those schools, businesses, and healthcare providers while they do their very best to operate safely during this unusual, once-in-a-generation, once-in-multiple-generations pandemic. The HEALS Act will help to provide these protections.

The HEALS Act also includes several provisions that I have been championing, including legislation to address unemployment insurance system reform.

We note that there have been a lot of challenges associated with the legacy computer systems, and we should never ever have to endure this again.

Financial assistance to help childcare providers reopen has also been another priority of mine. I recognize that our childcare providers play an essential role in not just caring for our children and ensuring they remain educated and in a safe environment when their parents aren't around but in also being critical to our broader economy. If your kids aren't taken care of, you can't go to work, and Hoosiers want to go to work.

Finally, we have telehealth legislation that has been included in this HEALS Act that will lead to greater affordability and access, especially as many of these authorities are made permanent in the future. This is a way to bend the cost curve down and provide a higher value for each of those healthcare dollars in our moving forward.

It also includes the TRUST Act, which is something that I helped to introduce in order to establish a bipartisan national plan to finally begin tackling the long-term drivers of our national debt once we get through this coronavirus pandemic. I have been talking about this and have sometimes been criticized for talking about fiscal responsibility and the largest drivers of our long-term national debt. I am unapologetic every time I talk about it. This TRUST Act would establish a bipartisan national plan to finally begin tackling this, and I hope it will remain in the package as negotiations continue.

Most importantly, I am glad the HEALS Act includes some really important features of my RESTART Act, which is a bipartisan piece of legislation that I introduced with Senator BENNET. We now have somewhere north of 42, 44 bipartisan cosponsors. We have 50 national groups—and growing—that are supportive of this legislation. It is very important that these features remain in the HEALS Act.

Like my RESTART Act, the HEALS Act recognizes the need for having long-term working capital loans and targeting that relief toward businesses that have suffered significant revenue decline. We don't want more examples of businesses that are doing just fine in the wake of the pandemic getting access to moneys that, frankly, they don't need. Instead, we want to target our resources toward the hardest hit businesses that will not survive this pandemic. That is what the RESTART Act does, and I am proud of those features that were included. However, I have to say, in order to truly assist the hardest hit small- and medium-sized enterprises that have fallen through the gaps of previous programs, more of the RESTART Act is going to have to be included throughout this negotiation process.

Last night, I received a text from a longtime friend of mine. Her name is Sheila. Sheila is a resident of Dearborn County, IN. Gosh, Sheila is an incredibly hard-working person, and she texted me the following:

Todd, I saw you on C-SPAN today. I really appreciate how you bring up the Hoosiers. When you are writing this next bill, please consider small businesses like my husband and I have. Pat is the lone legal owner of our catering business. We invested all of the revenue made over the few years into our business, buying equipment, et cetera. Because of this investment, we had an impressive schedule of events this past spring, summer, and fall lined up. This time of year gives our barbecue business our greatest exposure and opportunity for financial gain. We were ineligible for a PPP loan because we did not show a profit. When composing the next PPP, please consider single-person business owners like our barbecue and catering business. God bless you.

Well, God bless you, Sheila. It is hard-working people and couples and partnering Americans who help build this country. It is innovators and entrepreneurs and doers and dreamers and workers like Sheila.

If we don't provide this much needed relief now, I am really concerned that we are going to be in a far worse position in the weeks and months to come.

As more businesses close permanently, they go bankrupt; they are no longer paying payroll taxes. Then there is greater damage done to the economy and to our Nation's balance sheet.

I am also concerned about our ability as a country to fully recover once there is a vaccine available. It is our small and medium-sized enterprises, which you disproportionately find in States like Indiana, the heartland of the country, where so much innovation occurs. It is not always in these large busi-

nesses; it is the smaller enterprises where the innovation occurs. Then, ultimately, it is the big businesses that acquire these innovative businesses.

So we want these engines—these incubators of innovation, these small businesses, medium-sized businesses that are innovative and entrepreneurial—to survive this difficult time.

They are also pillars, frankly, of Main Street, America. We take pride in our small businesses, many of which have been so hard hit. We don't want to hollow out Main Street America on the back end of this. The most fiscally irresponsible thing we could do here at the Federal level of government is to fail to respond to the needs of these small and medium-sized enterprises.

So the additional assistance that I am calling for is critical to, for example, the more than 500,000 manufacturing employees in the State of Indiana, the most manufacturing-intensive State in the country.

It is also critical to the 200,000 Hoosier restaurant employees laid off or furloughed since March. We have been able to provide them some short-term assistance, but this virus and the challenges associated with it have lingered on much longer than all of us had hoped, and we are going to have to help out these employers so that they have a place to go back to work once we figure this thing out.

This assistance is critical to the small music venues that enrich our local communities throughout the State of Indiana and across our country, which are facing permanent closure, too, and the countless restaurants, gyms, salons, boutiques, hotels, retailers, and other small businesses that are essential pillars of our community.

I grew up in a small business family. We had our up years; we had our down years. We had some rough Christmases. My dad, my mom—they took great pride in that family business. They made it. They worked hard. But they saw nothing like this virus. We need to help these businesses. These businesses are in dire straits not because any bad business decisions were made, but, instead, because this virus came from overseas, disrupted our lives, and in the interest of public health, our employees had to stay home. People stopped buying the same things they were buying. Our shopping patterns changed.

At some point we will resume some semblance of normalcy. We are getting there. But in the meantime, we need a bridge to the other side of this virus. We need to make sure that all of the provisions of the RESTART Act make it into the HEALS Act.

Since Senator BENNET and I introduced the RESTART Act in May, our legislation has received support from more than 40 bipartisan Senators. I am proud of that. There is a lot of hard work going on in the U.S. House of Representatives to get Members of the House to sign up as well. It has also

been endorsed by roughly 50 national organizations and more than 50 Indiana businesses, and these are prominent national organizations, including, for example, the National Association of Manufacturers.

Given the widespread support for the RESTART Act, I will continue to work with my colleagues to ensure that more of it is included in the final coronavirus package. I hope we get all of it included. We have to ensure that we are caring for those who have suffered the most.

To Sheila and to Pat, you have my word—you have my word, as you did the first day we met, that I would do everything I could to fight for the people of Indiana, to fight for what is right, to fight tirelessly on behalf of my customers—you and the millions of Hoosiers I represent—answering only to my ultimate bosses: God and the Constitution.

I will fulfill that pledge and continue fighting for all of you during this difficult time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. President, first of all, I want to associate myself with the message delivered just a little bit ago by my senior Senator from North Dakota, Senator HOEVEN, and echo his words about the importance of farmers and ranchers, all of our agricultural producers—those who produce the food and the fiber and the fuel for our country.

They need assistance, and I am really grateful that Senator HOEVEN has played such a lead role in getting them assistance in the HEALS Act. It is critical.

I want to join the rest of my colleagues today in discussing the HEALS Act and demonstrating our support for the merit of this important bill. The ultimate answer to the problems that we face as a result of this virus, of course, lies in the healthcare industry and in our healthcare in fighting against this enemy, the virus. That is why we are calling for more funding for testing and treatments and, ultimately, a vaccine, hopefully, and hopefully soon.

As we do so, we also have to make sure that our economy is healthy, that our economy survives, and that our education system remains available and accessible to our students in the classroom.

Jobs, kids, and healthcare, students, parents, and patients—these are what Senate Republicans are fighting for.

I have introduced bipartisan legislation to further this goal. I believe we should include it in the HEALS Act in its entirety. Many pieces of it are in, but I think we can do more.

The Paycheck Protection Small Business Forgiveness Act would offer streamlined forgiveness for any borrower of a Paycheck Protection Program loan of \$150,000 or less who fills out a simple one-page form attesting that they spent the loan dollars the way they are supposed to.

With the expected forgiveness guidance from the bureaucracy, businesses and lenders will have to spend billions of dollars to receive the forgiveness that was promised them. In fact, we estimate that each borrower would have to spend \$2,000—and each lender \$500 per loan—just to comply with what the bureaucracy comes up with. That doesn't even include the dollars we have to spend on the bureaucracy itself.

We created the PPP to help small businesses and their employees survive, not to create a bureaucracy that will bury them in paperwork.

So who are these borrowers of PPP loans of \$150,000 or less? Well, loans of this size make up—listen to this—85 percent or 4.2 million of the loans but only 25 percent or \$132 million of the loaned amount. Imagine that: 85 percent of the loans are in this category—4.2 million of roughly 5 million loans. So that means 15 percent of the authorized PPP loans make up 75 percent of the borrowed money.

In North Dakota, the average loan was only \$91,000, but under current law, the bureaucracy would, regardless of loan size, seek to indiscriminately verify and approve forgiveness applications, and they haven't even come up with the form to do it with yet.

This would require a significant growth in the government and in the bureaucracy that we cannot afford, only to make small businesses and lenders spend time and money they can't afford to spend to comply with this bureaucracy. It makes no sense.

Lest we forget, when the Senate unanimously passed the CARES Act, we made our intent clear: PPP loans would become grants for the businesses that spent the money properly, and the banks were there to help guide them. There was no caveat that the loan would come with unnecessary bureaucracy. In fact, quite the opposite was true. The implication was that it would not come with additional bureaucracy.

The bipartisan bill that I introduced with Senators MENENDEZ, TILLIS, and SINEMA—and now has 25 Senate sponsors—would fulfill our original intent and the promise we made to lenders and applicants by creating a simple, accountability process for loan forgiveness.

Our bill also includes a provision which makes sure that the lenders will not be held responsible for improper actions of the borrowers, while still ensuring proper enforcement action can be taken if necessary. In fact, the accountability structure is intact.

When we passed the CARES Act, we literally encouraged businesses to apply for PPP and urged the bureaucracy and the lenders to get the money out the door fast. We were in a crisis. We were trying to keep people from being laid off and let go.

Largely, we were successful, but that success could be undone if we do not take the next steps properly. We shouldn't backtrack on the guidance

we gave lenders by holding them accountable for the decisions the borrowers made.

Fraud is a concern, for sure, which is why my proposal keeps all audit authorities intact. If a borrower falsely attests to using the funds correctly, the Federal Government is able to investigate and hold them accountable. If this sounds like a commonsense approach, that is because it is.

This bipartisan measure was popular from the start, and it is gaining support still, with a quarter of the Senate, a sizable number in the House, and now close to 200 business associations and groups from the entire political spectrum supporting it.

Why wouldn't it be popular? It aligns with the very same principles we are fighting for right here today—jobs, kids, and healthcare.

No small business owner figuring out how to safely send their kid to school should have to worry about unnecessary red tape. No employee of a shop on Main Street should have to live in fear of being laid off because their employer might not perfectly comply with the arbitrary requirements put forth for them by a bureaucrat in Washington. No brother, sister, son, or daughter should have to sit down and crunch the numbers to make sure they have enough money to apply for loan forgiveness while supporting their family at home.

The fear they face is real. “Small business” is not just an arbitrary designation. They are the backbone of America. They are the employers of the vast majority of people in our country, and their anxiety is our anxiety.

Earlier this month, Treasury Secretary Mnuchin told the House committee that this is an idea we should consider, and I agree. We should consider it in bipartisan negotiations and add it to the HEALS Act in its entirety. It will give our small businesses the peace of mind they need, like the rest of us, while they fight for their livelihoods during this pandemic.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be allowed to complete my remarks before the roll-call vote.

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

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, first, let me say I concur with the comments by the Senator from North Dakota. I think he makes wonderful points about what is being done in terms of pandemic relief and the issues that we as a nation are facing.

As his State and mine are similar, with so many small businesses, and we see the impact and the success related to the Paycheck Protection Program, I just want to associate my beliefs with those that we have just heard expressed from the Senator from North Dakota.

PROTESTS

I come to the floor today to talk about another epidemic, and that is the epidemic of violence that is sweeping our country.

Monday's Washington Post headline warns: “Protests explode across the country; police declare riots in Seattle and Portland.”

Tuesday's Wall Street Journal editorial is headlined: “A Weekend of Urban Anarchy.” “A weekend of Urban Anarchy.” In Seattle, on Saturday, rioters blew a hole in a police precinct. They hurled explosives, and they injured 53 police officers. In Portland, rioters threw Molotov cocktails Friday night. Several officers were hit with heavy explosives. The rioters returned Sunday and attacked the courthouse.

In spite of what the Democrats say when they call these “peaceful protests,” these are not peaceful and they are not protests. This is active violence. This is organized violence, and it is meant to destroy and to intimidate.

Portland has now endured 60 days of senseless destruction. These violent protests are a powder keg for our entire Nation. The rioters threaten entire communities. They are ruining lives, and they are ruining neighborhoods. They are wrecking public property, and they are wrecking private property. They burn, they loot, and they kill.

Across the country, a number of police officers have been killed. According to the New York Times report, murder rates in our big cities are now up 16 percent compared to last year. In New York alone, murders are up 24 percent. In Atlanta, murder is up 31 percent. In Chicago, murder is up 51 percent. In Chicago, last week, 15 people were shot while attending the funeral of a victim of gang violence. Children are being hurt and killed. A 7-year-old girl and a 14-year-old boy were among those shot and killed in Chicago over the Fourth of July weekend.

This is a crisis of leadership in our liberal cities. Where are the Democratic mayors? They have surrendered to the mob. Where are the Democratic Governors? They have surrendered to the mob. Instead of leading, they are turning their backs on the safety and security of the law-abiding citizens of our communities. In these liberal cities, mob rule has replaced the rule of law. We are seeing in realtime—in realtime—the result of the radical “defund the police” movement that is embraced by many Democrats.

We should defend, not defund, the police and law enforcement. Americans do not want to defund the police. According to a recent Rasmussen poll, two out of three Americans oppose cutting police funding. A majority say that they want the Federal Government to help fight crime in these cities. One thing is clear: The violent rioting plaguing our cities cannot continue. The police are being targeted for doing their job, and their jobs come at great personal risk. At the same time, elected Democratic mayors and city

council members and Governors refuse to condemn the rioting and the cold-blooded murder.

It is time for local leaders to restore law and order. It is time to make sure our communities are safe again. The death and destruction lies at the feet of elected Democratic leaders. Each must be held accountable for their leadership failure.

I yield the floor.

CLOTURE MOTION

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

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Marvin Kaplan, of Kansas, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of five years expiring August 27, 2025. (Reappointment)

Mitch McConnell, Joni Ernst, John Thune, Cindy Hyde-Smith, Roy Blunt, John Cornyn, Marsha Blackburn, Deb Fischer, John Barrasso, Shelley Moore Capito, Todd Young, John Boozman, Lamar Alexander, David Perdue, Kevin Cramer, Tim Scott, Michael B. Enzi.

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

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Marvin Kaplan, of Kansas, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of five years expiring August 27, 2025, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COTTON). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote or to change their vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 52, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 148 Ex.]

YEAS—52

Alexander	Gardner	Portman
Barrasso	Graham	Risch
Blackburn	Grassley	Roberts
Blunt	Hawley	Romney
Boozman	Hoeben	Rounds
Braun	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Burr	Inhofe	Sasse
Capito	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cassidy	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Collins	Lankford	Shelby
Cornyn	Lee	Sullivan
Cotton	Loeffler	Thune
Cramer	McConnell	Tillis
Crapo	McSally	Toomey
Daines	Moran	Wicker
Enzi	Murkowski	Young
Ernst	Paul	
Fischer	Perdue	

NAYS—46

Baldwin	Hassan	Sanders
Bennet	Heinrich	Schatz
Blumenthal	Hirono	Schumer
Booker	Jones	Shaheen
Brown	Kaine	Sinema
Cantwell	King	Smith
Cardin	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Carper	Leahy	Tester
Casey	Manchin	Udall
Coons	Menendez	Van Hollen
Cortez Masto	Merkley	Warner
Duckworth	Murphy	Warren
Durbin	Murray	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Peters	Wyden
Gillibrand	Reed	
Harris	Rosen	

NOT VOTING—2

Cruz Markkey

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas are 52, the nays are 46.

The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Marvin Kaplan, of Kansas, to be a Member of the National Labor Relations Board for the term of five years expiring August 27, 2025. (Reappointment)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, all postcloture time is expired.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Kaplan nomination?

Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina. 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.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY) is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 149 Ex.]

YEAS—52

Alexander	Gardner	Portman
Barrasso	Graham	Risch
Blackburn	Grassley	Roberts
Blunt	Hawley	Romney
Boozman	Hoeben	Rounds
Braun	Hyde-Smith	Rubio
Burr	Inhofe	Sasse
Capito	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cassidy	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Collins	Lankford	Shelby
Cornyn	Lee	Sullivan
Cotton	Loeffler	Thune
Cramer	McConnell	Tillis
Crapo	McSally	Toomey
Daines	Moran	Wicker
Enzi	Murkowski	Young
Ernst	Paul	
Fischer	Perdue	

NAYS—46

Baldwin	Cardin	Durbin
Bennet	Carper	Feinstein
Blumenthal	Casey	Gillibrand
Booker	Coons	Harris
Brown	Cortez Masto	Hassan
Cantwell	Duckworth	Heinrich

Hirono	Murray	Stabenow
Jones	Peters	Tester
Kaine	Reed	Udall
King	Rosen	Van Hollen
Klobuchar	Sanders	Warner
Leahy	Schatz	Warren
Manchin	Schumer	Whitehouse
Menendez	Shaheen	Wyden
Merkley	Sinema	
Murphy	Smith	

NOT VOTING—2

Cruz Markkey

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The Senator from Alabama.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 585

Mr. JONES. Mr. President, I rise today amid what we all know to be a global health and economic crisis that we are in. I rise to propose a solution that has been in front of us all along from the very beginning. It is a solution that has existed for 55 years tomorrow—55 years.

Medicaid has brought millions of people to better healthcare. It has brought billions of dollars into States. That is important when we have both a healthcare crisis and an economic crisis, but for 55 years, Medicaid has lifted the health outcomes of people all across this country and especially in so many States that need it—States like Alabama that are poor States, that are unhealthy States.

But we can do better. A solution of Medicaid would bring billions of dollars into my home State of Alabama along with about a dozen other States. It would create thousands of new jobs. It would help shore up rural hospitals that are facing financial struggles, a condition made worse by this pandemic. It would provide healthcare coverage in Alabama alone to between 300,000 to 400,000 Alabamians who do not have it right now. Some didn't have it before this pandemic. Others don't have it now because they have lost their jobs. They have lost their employer-sponsored healthcare.

Expanding Medicaid would generate \$935 billion, with a "b," in new tax revenue for the State of Alabama. It would help local economies across the State by creating good jobs and ensuring workers and their families have good healthcare.

In our rural areas, especially, healthcare is dependent on Federal dollars. Folks, expanding Medicaid was the right thing to do before this pandemic and some 37 States or so did just that. In fact, two States did that fairly recently. Conservative States of Oklahoma and Nebraska are both in the process of expanding Medicaid. It was important before the pandemic, but it is vital that we do it now. It is absolutely vital, especially, as so many people have lost their jobs, lost their employer-sponsored healthcare through no fault of their own.

Alabama didn't take that step back in 2011 when it should have. Alabama