

Health Network; National Women's Law Center; Native Women Lead; NC-NELA (North Carolina National Employment Law Project); Network for Victim Recovery DC; NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice; New Earth; New Georgia Project.

New Hampshire Youth Movement; New Haven Legal Assistance Association; New Mexico Center on Law and Policy; New Orleans Workers' Center for Racial Justice; North Carolina Justice Center; Northwest Harvest; Northwest Workers' Justice Project; Oasis Legal Services; Ohio Organizing Collaborative; Oklahoma Policy Institute; One Fair Wage; One Fair Wage Action; One Pennsylvania; Operation Food Search; Our Revolution; Oxfam America; Parent Voices CA; Partnership for America's Children; Pathways for Prosperity Coalition, Fayetteville, NC; Patriotic Millionaires.

Pennsylvania AFL-CIO; People For the American Way; People's Action; People's Parity Project; Philadelphia Drivers' Union; Physicians for Reproductive Health; Policy Matters Ohio; Polygon Education Fund; Power Coalition for Equity and Justice; Preble Street Maine Hunger Initiative; Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada; Prosperity Now; Public Citizen; Public Justice Center; RAISE High Road Restaurants; Raise the Wage PA; Reframe Health and Justice; Restaurant Opportunities Center of DC; Restaurant Opportunities Centers United; RESULTS DC/MD.

Results for America; Reviving the Islamic Sisterhood for Empowerment (RISE); Rights & Democracy NH; Rights & Democracy VT; River Valley Organizing; ROC-Chicago; ROC-Minnesota; ROC-New York; ROC-Pennsylvania; San Francisco-Marin Food Bank; Saverlife; Sciencecorps; SEIU Wisconsin State Council; Service Employees International Union; Shriver Center on Poverty Law; Sierra Club; Social Justice Associates of South Church, Portsmouth NH; Southwest Detroit Immigrant and Refugee Center; Southwest Women's Law Center; Step Up Louisiana.

TakeAction Minnesota; Tax March; Temp Worker Justice; Terence Crutcher Foundation; The 99% Pennsylvania campaign; The AIDS Institute; The Commonwealth Institute for Fiscal Analysis; The Employee Rights Advocacy Institute For Law & Policy (The Institute); The International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW);

The Legal Aid Society; The National Domestic Violence Hotline; The New York Womens Foundation; The Partnership for Working Families; The Rebuild, Overcome, and Rise (ROAR) Center of UMB; The West Side Commons; The Women and Girls Foundation of Southwest Pennsylvania; The Women's Building; TIME'S UP Now; Ujima Inc.; The National Center on Violence Against Women in the Black Community; UnidosUS.

Unitarian Universalist Action New Hampshire; Unitarian Universalist Justice PA; United Food and Commercial Workers International Union; United State of Women; United Steelworkers; United Valley Interfaith (UVIP); United Vision for Idaho; Unity Fellowship of Christ Church NYC; URGE: Unite for Reproductive & Gender Equity; Virginia Poverty Law Center; Voices for Progress; Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs; Washington Wage Claim Project; Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights; West Virginia Center on Budget and Policy; Western Center on Law and Poverty; Western Pennsylvania Employment Lawyers Association.

Wildfire: Igniting Community Action to End Poverty in Arizona; Women Employed; Womenpreneurs; Women's Fund of Rhode Is-

land; Women's Institute for Secure Retirement; Women's Law Project; WOMEN'S WAY; Worker Justice Center of New York; Workers Defense Action Fund; Working Families Party; Working Washington; Workplace Fairness; Workplace Justice Project at Loyola Law Clinic; Worksafe; Young Invincibles; YWCA USA; ZERO TO THREE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina is recognized.

AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN ACT OF 2021

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I will try to be relatively brief here. I understand the bill is being printed now, and we will have a vote here fairly shortly.

I just want to set the stage for my view—my point of view. I think I speak for most people in our conference on what we are trying to do here.

Up until now, we have been able, as a body, to work together on COVID relief. And the question is, Why can't we do it again? I think I know the answer, but I want to remind people what we have done in a bipartisan fashion.

On March 5, 2020, when we had President Trump, a Republican Senate, and a Democratic House, we approved \$8 billion, 96 to 1, and we were just beginning to understand the virus; March 18, a few weeks later, \$355 billion, 90 to 8; March 25, \$1.9 trillion, 96 to 0.

So from March 5 to March 25, we passed three bills, well over \$2 trillion, 96 to 1, 90 to 8, and 96 to 0. So I would argue to the American people that it is not like the Republican Party and the Democratic Party can't work together when it comes to COVID relief.

But now that the Democrats have the House, the Senate, and the White House, there seems to be no desire to go down that road, and I will talk about that in a minute.

April 21, 2020, we did \$355 billion more. That was by voice vote. Spending \$355 by voice vote is pretty astonishing; \$1.9 trillion, 96 to 0 is pretty astonishing. September 30, 2020, 84 to 10. December 21, just a few months ago, we spent another trillion, 92 to 6.

Why do I bring this up? I bring it up to show there is plenty of bipartisanship around COVID relief, and that bipartisanship has stopped. President Biden made a big deal about wanting to bring the country together and find common ground. In the one area that we actually had common ground, we have abandoned common ground to deal with a \$1.9 trillion package just months after we authorized \$1.04 trillion.

Here is the problem I think Republicans have. Of the \$1.9 trillion being proposed now, about 90 percent of it has very little to do with COVID. It is a liberal wish list. The reason I know it is a liberal wish list is that Senator SCHUMER said 15 times yesterday—about 15 times—that it wasn't a liberal wish list. If Senator SCHUMER is saying it is not a liberal wish list, it is a liberal wish list. I will be able to prove that in more detail.

That is the history of bipartisanship. That bipartisanship has been de-

stroyed. We had 10 Republicans, I think, go to the White House to offer around \$700 billion that would extend checks, that would do vaccines, would do a lot of things that we think we need to still do, but that went nowhere.

Another point for the American people: We are going to a partisan approach to COVID for the first time. I went over the amount of money we have appropriated to the COVID problems the country has experienced, and here is what I want you to understand. We are going to spend \$1.9 trillion in a partisan fashion. I think a lot of it is very much unrelated to COVID simply because they have the power to do it.

They now have the power of the Federal Government, complete power—control of the Senate, control of the House, control of the White House. They have abandoned bipartisanship. We had the Presidency and the Senate; they had the House. We were able to work together. Now they have it all. They are running us over, literally, legislatively here.

I think we have made reasonable offers. Nobody is willing to compromise. They see this as a moment to do a lot of things they have been wanting to do for years that have nothing to do with COVID.

Another problem they have, in my view, is you are appropriating \$1.9 trillion, most of it not related to COVID, and we haven't spent the money we have allocated in the past. So administrative actions—there is still \$200 billion that we haven't spent. Legislative actions, \$3.1 trillion we have spent. We have appropriated \$4.1 trillion. There is still \$1 trillion that hasn't been spent yet.

The Federal Reserve actions allowed \$5.9 trillion to be allocated to help businesses that were failing. They spent \$2.8 trillion.

The vaccine is getting out by the day. We are hopeful that we can change the course of the virus, get people back to work.

In this bill, they do a lot of things unrelated to COVID because they can. Why are we opposed to this? Because it is a lot of money that is being spent on things unrelated to COVID. We haven't spent the money we appropriated in past efforts yet, but we are going to spend \$1.9 trillion more. I think it is very unfortunate, and I hope the American people understand that this is spending money for the sake of spending money, not to combat COVID.

Let me give you some examples of what is in this bill. The minimum wage dropped out. Now is the worst possible time, I think, to go to \$15-an-hour minimum wage. Just think about your own communities. How many restaurants and hotels have had to reduce or close down because of COVID restrictions? We are finally beginning to come out of it a bit. To add a \$15-an-hour mandate, doubling the minimum wage, would be increasing the cost of doing business after the government at the State and local levels shut the businesses down.

So the business has been reduced in terms of revenue because of COVID restrictions, and now the Federal Government is going to mandate a doubling of the minimum wage that the business has to absorb and pass on to consumers. That is out. We can raise the minimum wage in a responsible fashion once we get COVID under control.

There was \$100 million for a Silicon Valley underground rail project that didn't pass the smell test. The only reason that is out is we made a big deal about it. But they saw the COVID package as a chance to put \$100 million into a Silicon Valley underground rail project, which shows you their mindset toward this bill.

This bill is not about fighting COVID. It is about a chance, in a partisan fashion, to do things they couldn't do otherwise. There was \$1.5 million from the Harbor Maintenance Trust Fund regarding the Seaway International Bridge in New York. The Silicon Valley underground rail project may make sense. Senator SCHUMER's bridge project may make sense. We are going to do an infrastructure bill. It seems to me that we would take these infrastructure projects and put them in an infrastructure bill and try to have a COVID bill related to fighting COVID.

But, clearly, they are taking an opportunity, my friends on the other side, of loading this bill up with a liberal wish list—parochial interests—because they can.

I hope the American people will understand what is going on and bring back a balance of power in Washington in 2022 because if you let them have it all, this is a sign of things to come. But we will talk about that later.

There is \$20 million in the bill for the preservation and maintenance of Native American languages. That might be something that makes sense, but we are dealing with a COVID package. There is \$20 million for the preservation of maintenance of Native American languages and \$135 million for the National Endowment for the Arts.

I am an appropriator. This isn't an appropriations bill. It is not a COVID bill. In the committees I am on, we actually vet this stuff to see if it makes sense to put it in the normal appropriations cycle. They take a COVID problem—and it is a real problem still to this day—and they load it up with things unrelated to COVID because they can.

We can't stop them now. Maybe one day we can stop them and go back to the old way of doing business where we sit down and work together as Democrats and Republicans to spend over \$4 trillion to combat COVID. My hope is that we will have some balance in the future that we don't have today.

So \$135 million for the National Endowment for the Humanities—what has that got to do with COVID? There are people really suffering out there. And \$135 million for the Endowment for the Arts and \$135 million for the Endow-

ment for Humanities, that is still a lot of money where I come from.

There is \$200 million for the Institute of Museum and Library Sciences. I am sure there are needs out there for museums and library sciences, but it should go through the appropriations process where we will have a chance to make a case for it or against it rather than it being crammed into a bill that is being printed while I speak.

We are talking about a \$1.9 trillion COVID package with 90 percent unrelated to COVID being printed while I speak. Now, if that is good government, count me out.

Funding for Planned Parenthood. What has that got to do with COVID?

PPP loans for labor unions.

Paid leave for Federal employees.

An \$86 billion bailout for union pensions. Maybe that is something we want to look at, but in a COVID bill?

This is why people are so turned off to Washington because we take a crisis, a problem facing your family and your community, and they turn it into a spendfest, a liberal wish list, indeed, come true.

A new taxpayer-funded executive branch employee emergency leave program.

Money for schools. We haven't spent the money we have allocated for schools yet. We are trying to open schools. The money that has been allocated for schools is still—most of it—a lot of it has been unspent. In this bill, we have \$68 billion for K-12. The money should be given to people opening schools, and only \$5 billion of that will be spent this year. Most of the money for K-12 assistance is in 2022 and the years that follow. That is not an emergency COVID package. That is just putting money into the education system in a fashion they like and we don't have any input over. It really has nothing to do with fighting the COVID crisis and getting our schools reopened. Of the \$129 billion for K-12 in this package, \$6.4 billion is to be distributed this year. The \$68 billion was in the last round and only \$5 billion this year, so most of the money for schools is spent in the out years. Again, that is just an opportunity to be taken by them.

Of the \$129 billion, \$122 billion for K-12 schools will not be spent until years 2022 through 2028. God, I hope we don't have to deal with COVID in 2028.

We have approved six COVID bills. We have spent over \$4 trillion—appropriated over \$4 trillion. A trillion is yet unspent, and we are doing \$1.9 trillion where 90 percent of it has nothing to do with COVID. Why are we doing this? Because they can.

They have abandoned the bipartisan model that worked. They have chosen a partisan model. No matter what they tell you, my friends on the other side, this is a liberal wish list. This is very much seizing the moment, taking a crisis, a problem in America, and using it to advance causes completely unrelated to COVID, spending money that hasn't been vetted, spending money

that has nothing to do with COVID because they can.

The only thing I can tell you about spending money—count me in for helping people get back on their feet. I have always been for a direct payment. Count me out for a \$1.9 trillion spendfest unrelated to COVID in a partisan fashion.

This is everything President Biden said he wouldn't do. The inaugural speech rings hollow when it comes to this provision, the \$1.9 trillion COVID package. Everything President Biden said he wanted to do for the country, he abandoned. It is not like there are plenty of Republicans that would sit down and work with our Democratic friends to do another round of COVID relief, but it has to be related to COVID, and we want to spend the money we have appropriated in the past first. Maybe that is an odd concept in Washington, but I will make a bet that most Americans find it odd that we would appropriate money for a problem when we haven't spent the money we had already appropriated in the past. We can get that out the door to see what needs to be done in the future.

I think most Americans believe now is not the time to load a bill up with a bunch of stuff unrelated to COVID because we need every dollar to hit the mark. But we will have a chance to talk about that in the coming months, and there will be another election coming before you know it.

The only thing I can leave with the American people here is that they have it all in terms of power. This is what they have chosen to do. They have chosen a partisan path, rejecting the bipartisan path. They have chosen to put most of the money in the bill for things unrelated to COVID simply because they can.

The last election was about what would happen to our country if Democrats got in charge of everything. Many of us on our side said it would be one of the most liberal agendas in the history of American politics and would come forth pretty quickly. I had no idea it would come forth this quickly. I had no idea they would abandon a bipartisan approach to COVID because it seems to be the one area that we have had success regarding working together.

During the campaign, I said that there would be two areas I thought we could do bipartisan legislation: One was COVID; the other was infrastructure.

Boy, was I wrong about COVID. I am hoping that the American people pay some attention to this debate. We are going to have some really good amendments on our side that talk about how we would spend the money differently and why we would choose not to spend some money on this bill because it simply has nothing to do with COVID.

The American people have suffered during the COVID pandemic, but there are better days ahead. I want us to do

as much as we can for vaccinations and helping people get back into school. I am willing to help people who are struggling out there, but you shouldn't be giving a \$1,400 check to people who make \$200,000 as a couple. They changed that. They have taken the Silicon Valley railway out. They have also taken the bridge out because they had to, not because they wanted to.

We are going to have a lot of amendments to show what we would do with your money versus what they would do with your money. We are going to have a lot of amendments that would show what we would do with COVID and how to fight COVID versus what they would do with COVID. That is what democracy is all about—working together when you can and showing differences when you must.

There are going to be a lot of differences in this debate, and I think this will not be the last time you hear about this bill. I think this bill is going to resonate for months and years to come in all of the wrong ways.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN ACT OF 2021—MOTION TO PROCEED

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, in a moment, I will move to proceed to the Senate's substitute amendment to the American Rescue Plan. This legislation will keep America's families, businesses, and workers afloat and hasten the day when our country can return to normal and our economy can come roaring back.

The United States is facing a once-in-a-century crisis that has sapped millions of jobs from our economy, left millions of Americans struggling to make ends meet, and stolen more than half a million American lives. The time is now to move forward with big, bold, strong relief for the American people; to send checks as promised to American workers and families; to help reopen schools as quickly and safely as possible; to help the hardest hit small businesses hang on; to help families stay in their homes, care for their children, and put food on the table; to keep firefighters, teachers, and busdrivers on the job; and to crush the virus with testing and vaccines once and for all.

We are not going to repeat the mistakes of the past. We are not going to be timid in the face of a great challenge. We are not going to delay when urgent action is called for. We are not going to quit before the race is won. We are going to sprint through the finish line.

It is time to move forward with this legislation, which will be one of the

largest single anti-poverty bills in recent history. It is time to lift this country out of crisis and set it on a path to a strong and swift recovery. It is time to tell the American people that help is on the way.

MOTION TO PROCEED

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I move to proceed to Calendar No. 10, H.R. 1319.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed to Calendar No. 10, H.R. 1319, to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 5.

Mr. SCHUMER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 50, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 73 Leg.]

YEAS—50

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------|
| Baldwin | Hickenlooper | Reed |
| Bennet | Hirono | Rosen |
| Blumenthal | Kaine | Sanders |
| Booker | Kelly | Schatz |
| Brown | King | Schumer |
| Cantwell | Klobuchar | Shaheen |
| Cardin | Leahy | Sinema |
| Carper | Lujan | Smith |
| Casey | Manchin | Stabenow |
| Coons | Markey | Tester |
| Cortez Masto | Menendez | Van Hollen |
| Duckworth | Merkley | Warner |
| Durbin | Murphy | Warnock |
| Feinstein | Murray | Warren |
| Gillibrand | Ossoff | Whitehouse |
| Hassan | Padilla | Wyden |
| Heinrich | Peters | |

NAYS—50

| | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| Barrasso | Graham | Portman |
| Blackburn | Grassley | Risch |
| Blunt | Hagerty | Romney |
| Boozman | Hawley | Rounds |
| Braun | Hoeven | Rubio |
| Burr | Hyde-Smith | Sasse |
| Capito | Inhofe | Scott (FL) |
| Cassidy | Johnson | Scott (SC) |
| Collins | Kennedy | Shelby |
| Cornyn | Lankford | Sullivan |
| Cotton | Lee | Thune |
| Cramer | Lummis | Tillis |
| Crapo | Marshall | Toomey |
| Cruz | McConnell | Tuberville |
| Daines | Moran | Wicker |
| Ernst | Murkowski | Young |
| Fischer | Paul | |

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote the yeas are 50, the nays are 50.

The Senate being equally divided, the Vice President votes in the affirmative, and the motion to proceed is agreed to.

The motion was agreed to.

AMERICAN RESCUE PLAN ACT OF 2021

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1319) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to title II of S. Con. Res. 5.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The majority leader.

AMENDMENT NO. 891

(Purpose: To improve the bill)

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I have an amendment at the desk, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mr. SCHUMER], for himself and others, proposes an amendment numbered 891.

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there an objection?

Mr. JOHNSON. Madam President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON. Reserving the right to object. One thing that—

Mr. SCHUMER. Regular order, Madam President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there an objection?

Mr. JOHNSON. I object.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The objection is heard.

The clerk will continue the reading.

(Ms. CORTEZ MASTO assumed the Chair.)

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Strike all after the first word and insert the following:

TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "American Rescue Plan Act of 2021"

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title.
- Sec. 2. Table of contents.

TITLE I—COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Subtitle A—Agriculture

- Sec. 1001. Food supply chain and agriculture pandemic response.
- Sec. 1002. Emergency rural development grants for rural health care.
- Sec. 1003. Pandemic program administration funds.
- Sec. 1004. Funding for the USDA Office of Inspector General for oversight of COVID-19-related programs.
- Sec. 1005. Farm loan assistance for socially disadvantaged farmers and ranchers.
- Sec. 1006. USDA assistance and support for socially disadvantaged farmers, ranchers, forest land owners and operators, and groups.
- Sec. 1007. Use of the Commodity Credit Corporation for commodities and associated expenses.

Subtitle B—Nutrition

- Sec. 1101. Supplemental nutrition assistance program.
- Sec. 1102. Additional assistance for SNAP online purchasing and technology improvements.
- Sec. 1103. Additional funding for nutrition assistance programs.
- Sec. 1104. Commodity supplemental food program.
- Sec. 1105. Improvements to WIC benefits.
- Sec. 1106. WIC program modernization.
- Sec. 1107. Meals and supplements reimbursements for individuals who have not attained the age of 25.
- Sec. 1108. Pandemic EBT program.