

This decision, if formalized, would be remembered as one of the worst and most damaging cases in the entire history of the Supreme Court. So this is not a theoretical exercise, oh, no. Protecting the right to choose at this critical moment is one of the most consequential votes we could possibly take, and the American people are watching. The public will not forget which side of the vote Senators fall on today. They will not forget who voted to protect their freedoms. And they will not forget those responsible for the greatest backslide of individual liberties in half a century.

Across the country, the hard right is hell-bent on sending women's rights back to the stone age, and we in the Senate must respond. We must respond to radicals who want to ban abortions as early as 6 weeks—before many women know they are pregnant. We must respond to extremists who want to prosecute and imprison women and doctors for carrying out an abortion, and even friends who merely provide rides to clinics could end up in jail. We must respond to the swell of hard-right ideologues who openly champion restrictions without exceptions for rape or incest. We must oppose the vision that MAGA Republicans clamor for—forced pregnancies, punishment for women and doctors, and zero exceptions for rape or incest. This is not what America wants. I hope it is not what Members of this Chamber want either.

I implore everyone whose conscience has been jolted over the past week to vote in favor of today's measure. Indeed, I implore everyone who cares about the rights of not just women but of all Americans to support this measure because if five unelected Justices are allowed to decide the fates of millions of women, if the rights women have relied upon for 50 years wither away like ash, if we do not take a stand now to protect a woman's right to choose, then, mark my words, it will be open season—open season—on our God-given freedoms in this great and grand country. Today, it will be Roe. Tomorrow, it will be a national ban on abortion and beyond that, something even more dreadful.

We cannot allow this shameful backslide to happen. We cannot allow the whims of MAGA Republicans to bully the rest of the country into submission.

I urge my colleagues, take a stand. I urge my colleagues and Americans to fight back. I urge Americans and everyone here to defend the right to choose. I urge my colleagues to vote yes.

I yield the floor.

VOTE ON BEDOYA NOMINATION

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent on the Bedoya nomination?

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant executive clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 50, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 169 Ex.]

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	

(Ms. BALDWIN assumed the Chair.)

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 nomination is confirmed.

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 actions.

CLOTURE MOTION

The VICE PRESIDENT. 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 motion to proceed to Calendar No. 362, S. 4132, a bill to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services.

Charles E. Schumer, Richard Blumenthal, John W. Hickenlooper, Jacky Rosen, Jack Reed, Tim Kaine, Kirsten E. Gillibrand, Tina Smith, Tammy Baldwin, Alex Padilla, Margaret Wood Hassan, Ben Ray Lujan, Catherine Cortez Masto, Patty Murray, Elizabeth Warren, Benjamin L. Cardin, Debbie Stabenow, Tammy Duckworth, Richard J. Durbin.

The VICE PRESIDENT. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the motion to proceed to S. 4132, a bill to protect a person's ability to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and to protect a health care provider's ability to provide abortion services, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 49, nays 51, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 170 Ex.]

YEAS—49

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

NAYS—51

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

(Ms. BALDWIN assumed the Chair.)

(Mr. HICKENLOOPER assumed the Chair.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote, the yeas are 49, the nays are 51.

Three-fifths of the Senators, duly chosen and sworn, not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

The motion was rejected.

CLOTURE MOTION

The VICE PRESIDENT. 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 Executive Calendar No. 865, Julia Ruth Gordon, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Charles E. Schumer, Jacky Rosen, Cory A. Booker, Elizabeth Warren, Benjamin L. Cardin, Patty Murray, Brian Schatz,

Robert P. Casey, Jr., Margaret Wood Hassan, Alex Padilla, Amy Klobuchar, Tina Smith, Jeff Merkley, Jack Reed, Angus S. King, Jr., Chris Van Hollen, John W. Hickenlooper, Richard J. Durbin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HICKENLOOPER). 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 Julia Ruth Gordon, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, 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.

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 171 Ex.]

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	

(Mr. OSSOFF assumed the Chair.)

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

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

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Julia Ruth Gordon, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OSSOFF). The majority whip.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all postcloture time on the Gordon nomination expire at 6 p.m. today and that upon disposi-

tion of that nomination, the Senate immediately vote on confirmation of Executive Calendar No. 809, the nomination of Philip Nathan Jefferson to be a Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Oregon.

WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTION ACT

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, earlier today, the Senate took one of the most significant votes I have been a part of in my time in public service. While the Women's Health Protection Act didn't pass, this vote made it very clear where every Senator stands. The Republicans unanimously voted to criminalize abortion in more than half the States in America in just a few weeks. Democrats vowed to stop the Alito Court from turning the clock back on women's health by a century.

Let's be very clear about the consequences of this ruling when it becomes final. It will immediately criminalize abortion in many States. It will allow Republicans to pass a law criminalizing abortion in all 50 States. It will throw out the constitutional right to privacy—a right upon which marriage and choice and many other civil rights depend. It will put government and governments in control of women's bodies for millions and millions of people across America. This is a terrifying prospect.

It is no secret that people have been considering what would happen if and when this far-right Supreme Court would throw out Roe. Less than a month ago, I was on the floor talking about the end of Roe and the danger to Griswold v. Connecticut, the case that affirmed the right of married people to use contraception. However, it is still a shock—a gut punch—to see how eager our colleagues on the other side are to strip women of their constitutional freedoms and endanger their lives.

They are going a lot further—a lot further—than simply overturning Roe. All the talk about States' rights seems to have gone out the window. The goal is a Federal abortion ban, Federal criminalization.

Already, Republicans, including Governors and statehouse leaders, are talking about banning birth control. I will say that again. This year, 2022—not 50, 75 years ago; 2022—they are talking about banning birth control. Already, there are plans to restrict people's freedom of movement, criminalizing women who travel to other States for an abortion and even the person who gives them a ride. No sugarcoating can be done here. We are talking about enacting laws that reach beyond State borders, hearkening back to the darkest days of our history.

This far-right Alito Court has already given far-right lawmakers a green light to do what it wishes to do when it comes to abortion. There is no reason to trust this Court to draw the

line at restricting women's freedom of movement.

Another closely related issue that ought to frighten millions of women is the prospect that, with abortion criminalized, women's personal data is going to be weaponized against them by bounty hunters and the government.

I have been sounding the alarm for years about the abuse of location data taken from people's cell phones. In a world where Sam Alito is in charge of abortion laws, that is one massive, massive crisis. Shady data brokers are already tracking women who go to Planned Parenthood clinics, and they will sell that data to anybody around who has a credit card. Imagine for a moment what not just prosecutors but these deranged far-right vigilantes can do with this data. The apps women use, the websites they visit, the places they go—all of it can be used against them by prosecutors.

In short, this is uterus surveillance. That is what is coming down the pike unless Congress acts and gets serious about consumer privacy and prohibiting the government from making end runs around the Fourth Amendment.

It is a shock to me how little concern there seems to be for some of these big issues. It is a full-out sprint toward massive government overreach and severe restrictions on women's freedom and privacy.

There is zero thought—zero—given to victims of rape. There is zero thought—zero thought—given to victims of incest. There is zero thought to women being exploited after being forced to seek back-room abortions, zero thought given to how many more women will die—die—as a result of this ruling. Complications during pregnancy could become a death sentence in States like Texas, where law enforcement has already shown the willingness to arrest a woman for having a miscarriage. A woman's tragedy of losing a baby can be compounded by the very real threat of criminal prosecution.

Through all of this, abortions will still happen; they will just happen in conditions that are much less safe than they are now.

I know that there are Members on the other side who are always quoted as saying they care about these issues. They have been saying it for years. Yet now the Senate is at this moment. Not a single Republican Senator voted to protect the law as it stands today.

The vast majority of people in Oregon and all across the country oppose what the Alito Court is inflicting on them by tossing out Roe. This is extreme judicial radicalism, proof that these Justices were pretty much blowing smoke when they told Senators they would respect precedent if they were confirmed.

The bottom line now is this: If you don't have control over your own body, you are not free. The Alito Court is denying women control over their own