



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 117th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 168

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 2022

No. 131

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, August 5, 2022, at 3 p.m.

Senate

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 2022

The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the Honorable BRIAN SCHATZ, a Senator from the State of Hawaii.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Eternal Father, our souls long for You, for we find strength and wisdom in Your presence. Guide our lawmakers to put their trust in You, seeking in every undertaking to know and do Your will. When they go through difficulties, may they remember that, with Your help, they can accomplish the seemingly impossible. Give them a faith that will trust You even when the darkness is blacker than a thousand midnights.

And, Lord, as we mourn the deaths of Congresswoman Jackie Walorski and her two staffers Zachery and Emma, comfort our hearts. We pray in Your merciful Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Presiding Officer led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication

to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, August 4, 2022.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable BRIAN SCHATZ, a Senator from the State of Hawaii, to perform the duties of the Chair.

PATRICK J. LEAHY,
President pro tempore.

Mr. SCHATZ thereupon assumed the Chair as Acting 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.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL UNDER CHAPTER 8 OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, OF THE RULE SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY RELATING TO "NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS REVISIONS"

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to consideration of S.J. Res. 55, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 55) providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Council on Environmental Quality relating to "National Environmental Policy Act Implementing Regulations Revisions".

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican leader is recognized.

FLOODING IN KENTUCKY

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, Kentucky officials are working literally overtime to deliver supplies to those affected by ongoing flooding. Heat and humidity are rising to dangerous levels in the areas that still lack power.

My team is helping coordinate relief efforts in any way we can. With the Senate still in session, my State director joined the Kentucky National

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



Printed on recycled paper.

S4003

Guard yesterday as they distributed food and water to displaced residents.

Many of the roads in Eastern Kentucky are still impassable, so the Kentucky National Guard is flying dozens of helicopter missions daily to drop water, MREs, and vital supplies to Kentuckians in remote areas of our State. My State director was on board as they flew over flooded roadways and homes to visit the community centers operating as supply hubs in areas isolated by rising water. The landings are difficult, sometimes nearly impossible, but the heroes of the Kentucky National Guard will do whatever it takes to reach those stranded by the floods.

And that is just one part of the flurry of activity. Emergency responders have deployed boats and trucks across the affected region. In Buckhorn, residents are even loading up horses to take supplies to areas where the roads are literally washed out. It is truly, truly heroic work.

This emergency is far from over, but when their neighbors are in need, Kentuckians will always help other Kentuckians. I will visit the region myself soon to survey the damage and help with relief efforts. While here in Washington, I remain in close contact with those who are out on the ground.

I am grateful to everyone for taking on the colossal task of providing for Kentucky amid this disaster.

REMEMBERING JACKIE WALORSKI, EMMA THOMSON, AND ZACHERY POTTS

Mr. President, now on another sad note, yesterday, Congress was shaken by the news that a tragic automobile accident had killed Congresswoman Jackie Walorski and three others, including Emma Thomson and Zachery Potts, members of her staff.

Our former colleague here in the Capitol was back home among her fellow Hoosiers in Indiana's Second District, in circumstances that are familiar to each of us: long days on the road with trusted aides, meeting with the people we represent.

By all accounts, Congresswoman Walorski had two stellar young people by her side.

At 27, Zach was already a 7-year veteran of her team, having served as both campaign manager and district director.

Emma, her 28-year-old communications director, was already a Capitol Hill veteran, whose "intelligence" and "drive," one former boss described as "second-to-none."

The last day's outpourings of grief and admiration demonstrate just how great a hole Jackie Walorski is leaving behind among her friends here in the Capitol. They marveled at both her tremendous personal kindness and her fierce advocacy for the families she represented.

I had the personal pleasure of breaking bread with Congresswoman Walorski several years ago and looked forward to every time that our paths would actually cross.

According to those who knew Jackie best, her infectious passion and bound-

less energy for service were rooted in the faith that guided her entire life. That faith also led her and her beloved husband Dean to found a charity and to spend years living and serving needy people in Romania.

Today, we trust that this faith has reunited our colleague with her eternal Father, and we pray that He will comfort Dean, all her family and friends, and those who mourn Zach and Emma, in these terrible days.

S. J. RES. 55

Mr. President, later today, the Senate will vote on a resolution to peel back a significant layer of regulatory redtape that has been causing headaches all across our country.

Thanks to the leadership of the junior Senator from Alaska, this resolution would overturn a Biden administration action that aims to give the Federal Government even more authority to slow and stall critical infrastructure projects.

For years, our Republican government made headway in rolling back some of the countless roadblocks liberal bureaucrats have put in the path of new highways, bridges, and pipelines. We took big bites out of the bloated permitting process, and, just last year, Republicans ensured that bipartisan infrastructure legislation included clear limits designed to speed up Federal permitting reviews.

But earlier this year, the President fired off a far-left Executive action that directly contradicted some of that bipartisan headway. Catering to radical environmentalists, the new Biden rule reinstates sweeping jurisdiction for Federal bureaucrats to slow down all sorts of critical infrastructure. This Democratic action is taking a process that is already known for years-long waiting periods and multihundred-page Federal reports and actually making it worse.

Every single Senate Republican is proud to cosponsor Senator SULLIVAN's resolution. The future of our infrastructure needs at least one Democrat to see the light as well.

INFLATION

Mr. President, now on one final matter, a year and a half ago, every Senate Democrat cast the deciding vote for a \$1.9 trillion disaster that caused the worst inflation in 40 years.

Democrats have crushed working families with runaway prices. More than 80 percent of the country says our economy is in bad shape. President Biden's approval on the economy is down to 30 percent and falling. By the traditional rule of thumb, our country is now in a recession, and a supermajority of Americans are aware of it.

American families are crying out for relief, but Democrats have decided to spend hundreds of billions of dollars of the people's money on a bill that laughs at the people's priorities.

Americans say their No. 1 concern is inflation and the cost of living. So here is what the Democrats' taxing-and-spending spree would accomplish on

that issue: It would make inflation worse over the next few years and then do nothing to cut inflation in the long term.

Even the Democrats' favorite estimates say that their bill would take 9 years—9 years—to subtract the amount of inflation we have been adding every single week.

I will say that again. Even the Democrats' favorite estimates say their bill would take 9 years—9—to subtract the amount of inflation we have been adding every single week.

After inflation, in particular, another huge group of Americans say that their biggest issue is the overall state of the economy in general, and here is what Democrats want to accomplish on that subject. They want to ram through giant new tax hikes in the middle of the recession—new multihundred-billion-dollar tax hikes on American jobs that specifically target the manufacturing sector, leaving Americans with fewer jobs and lower wages; new tax hikes on American natural gas and crude oil, higher fees for producing energy on Federal land—leaving Americans with higher electric bills, higher utility bills, higher gas prices, and more dependence on foreign countries that don't like us.

In a time of inflation, Democrats also want to spend \$80 billion to roughly double the size of the IRS so they can shake more money out of the American people through harassment and audits—using taxpayer money to make taxpayers' lives worse.

So what do Democrats want to do with all the money they want to drain out of Americans' pockets in the midst of this recession? They want to lavish hundreds of billions of dollars on an issue that exactly 3 percent of the country says is our biggest problem: far-left environmental and climate spending.

American families have been hemorrhaging financially for a year and a half. Working people can barely tread water. And the Democrats' focus is Green New Deal nonsense that only 3 percent of the country wants prioritized, big subsidies to help rich people to buy luxury cars and new stoves, taxpayer funding for environmental protesters—a huge catalog of nonsense that would not put a dent in global emissions, while countries like China continue to emit more and more.

So I dare any of our Democratic colleagues to walk up to a working-class American on the street and ask them what the government ought to spend hundreds of billions of dollars on.

Well, first off, in a time of inflation, they would probably tell them not to spend hundreds of billions of dollars in the first place. But I doubt a single American worker or middle-class parent would say: You know what? My top priorities are doubling the size of the IRS and giving my boss a government kickback if he buys an \$80,000 electric car.

Do you know a single normal American family that is clamoring for this

nonsense? Americans want lower prices. They want border security. They want more police and public safety. Americans don't want tens of thousands more IRS agents. They want more Border Patrol and ICE agents. Americans don't want Democrats to regulate us into an even deeper recession. They want liberals to let police officers bring law and order back to our streets.

Democrats want to spend hundreds of billions of dollars on a 3-percent issue while they completely neglect crime and border security and make inflation and the recession even worse.

Democrats are catastrophically out of touch with what American families actually do care about. Their approval ratings show it, and their reckless taxing-and-spending spree proves it as well.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore.

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

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

NOMINATION OF ROOPALI H. DESAI

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, today the Senate will continue fulfilling its constitutional duty to confirm the President's highly qualified judicial nominees.

This afternoon, we will vote to confirm the 76th Federal judge since the beginning of President Biden's term, Roopali Desai, nominated to serve as a circuit judge for the Ninth Circuit.

Not long ago, a nominee like Ms. Desai would have been rarely seen in the Senate. But under President Biden, the Senate is confirming more and more nominees who break away from that norm. Over 75 percent of President Biden's nominees are women and nearly half are women of color. Let's not forget the bench. People say: Why shouldn't it be the same percentage of the population? That is what we are trying to get to, but we are way behind and putting more women and people of color on the bench gets those percentages a little closer to the American norm, but we have a ways to go.

Moreover, Ms. Desai will make history as the first South Asian judge to serve on the Ninth Circuit and only the fifth AAPI woman ever to sit on the Federal Circuit Court.

Ms. Desai's resume leaves no doubt she merits confirmation: a graduate of Arizona School of Law; a clerk for Judge Mary Schroeder, the first woman to ever serve as a Ninth Circuit chief judge. She has excelled in every step of her legal career. She is one of Arizona's top election lawyers, having played a

crucial role in protecting her State's elections in 2020. She has fought for everyone from children in foster care to children in public schools during the pandemic.

As my Arizona colleagues Senator SINEMA and Senator KELLY will attest to, Ms. Desai is deeply respected by all corners of Arizona's legal community and will make an excellent judge when we confirm her later today.

SENATE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Mr. President, Senate Democrats are getting things done. This has been one of the most productive stretches the Senate has seen in recent times.

In the past few months, we have seen an amazing string of achievements passed through this Chamber in extremely fast succession: the first major gun safety bill in 30 years, the largest investment in American manufacturing and science in a generation, the largest expansion of veterans' benefits in decades. And just last night, we strengthened NATO by approving the accession of Sweden and Finland, sending Russia a signal that they cannot intimidate America or Europe. Gun safety, CHIPS, PACT, NATO—getting any one of these accomplishments done is a significant feat for the Senate. The fact is, we have done them all since Memorial Day, and that is quite remarkable.

This doesn't even include a once-in-a-generation infrastructure bill, a historic rescue package to vaccinate the Nation and lift America out of the pandemic, and the confirmation of Ketanji Brown Jackson as the first Black woman to ever serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

I always said that when the opportunity arises, Democrats would be ready to work with our Republican colleagues on important legislation, and many of the accomplishments I have listed are examples of just that. But when we must, Democrats have also made clear we are ready to go at it alone to deliver big things that the American people sent us here to work on, like fighting inflation and lowering healthcare and prescription drug costs; like holding drug companies accountable and making Big Business play by the rules, the same rules as everyone else; like passing historic investments in clean energy to create millions of good-paying jobs and make energy more affordable for American families.

INFLATION REDUCTION ACT OF 2022

Mr. President, Democrats are going to deliver on all these things and more when we pass the Inflation Reduction Act in coming days.

Let me talk a little bit about the Inflation Reduction Act. Soon the Senate will vote on this groundbreaking legislation. I expect we will have some late nights and extended debates here on the floor. But in the end, we are going to make good on our word to pass the Inflation Reduction Act.

For years, many in Washington have promised to tackle some of the biggest challenges facing our Nation only to

fall short. But with the Inflation Reduction Act, Senate Democrats will finally hold drug companies accountable and make prescription drugs cheaper.

Senate Democrats will lower energy costs while passing the largest investment in clean energy ever. Our clean energy proposals will reduce air pollution, prevent thousands of needless deaths each year, and reduce asthma attacks by about 100,000 per year. We have all seen kids, often in poor neighborhoods, struggling with asthma because they have so much pollution put in their areas by transportation and factories and whatever. Reducing that by 100,000 a year is amazing.

Senate Democrats will also close tax loopholes and reduce the deficits and will ensure that no small business or family under \$400,000 a year will see their taxes go up. Leader MCCONNELL, himself, conceded yesterday that our proposal "includes no new tax rate increases, that's true." Those are McConnell's words: "includes no new tax rate increases, that's true." Let me repeat that again. Leader MCCONNELL concedes that now the Inflation Reduction Act includes no new tax rate increases.

The American people overwhelmingly support these steps. A recent poll by the well-respected Navigator shows 65 percent of Americans approve of our plan to reduce drug prices, keep premiums low, and invest in clean energy. A Morning Consult poll found that over 70 percent of Americans—over 70 percent—support letting Medicare negotiate prescription drug prices, which our plan will do. Another group, Data for Progress, found the Inflation Reduction Act has a net approval of 51 points—51 points—wow.

It is not hard to understand why Americans feel this way. Democrats' agenda prioritizes them. We prioritize the middle class and working families instead of those at the very top. God bless them; they are doing fine.

But when Senate Republicans had the majority, they tried to rip healthcare away from millions of Americans and blew a \$2 trillion hole in our deficit in order to soak the ultrarich with massive tax cuts.

Just this week, one Republican called for ending the days that Medicare and Social Security are guaranteed by turning them into discretionary spending. Do you know what that means when we make things discretionary? Do we want to tell our senior citizens that your Social Security, which you paid into, was discretionary? That is what Senator JOHNSON from Wisconsin wants to do. That is so wrong. But, unfortunately, it represents a lot of the views of lots of Republicans who don't want to say it publicly because they know it is so unpopular.

Back in February—listen to this one—the chair of the Republican Senate Campaign Arm, the junior Senator from Florida, released a platform for raising taxes not on the wealthy but on millions of low-income Americans. You can't make this stuff up.

They want to make your Social Security discretionary but then want to raise your taxes. What kind of bull is that?

Just listen to this tsunami of disastrous proposals: taking away people's healthcare, tax cuts for the rich, putting Medicare and Social Security on the chopping block, raising taxes on working Americans. These are just some of the things that Senate Republicans have openly called for recently.

Democrats' agenda is something entirely different. The Inflation Reduction Act will lower inflation, lower the cost of prescription drugs, close loopholes long exploited by Big Business that pays no or little taxes. That is what the Inflation Reduction Act is at its core.

It is what the American people want; it is what the country so desperately needs; and it is what Democrats will deliver on in the coming days.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Maryland.

INFLATION REDUCTION ACT OF 2022

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, I was just listening to the majority leader outline some of the disastrous policies that Republicans have proposed to make, including putting Medicare on the chopping block by making it discretionary.

I want to talk a little bit about the good things that Democrats have done, some on a bipartisan basis and some which it looks like we are going to have to do alone for the American people. In just the last few weeks, this U.S. Senate has made historic progress tackling a number of very real and very urgent challenges that our country faces.

We passed the first major gun reform bill in 30 years. We passed historic legislation to boost American manufacturing of essential semiconductor chips—important to our economy and our national security. We passed the PACT Act so that veterans exposed to toxins will get the care they deserve. Just yesterday, we voted to admit Finland and Sweden as new members of NATO, therefore expanding and strengthening the Atlantic alliance in the face of Putin's brutal war against Ukraine.

These are major accomplishments, but now is not the time to rest on our laurels, now is not the time to coast, because we have to do everything we can to fight back against rising prices, against inflation, which has been driven in recent months by what I call the three p's: Putin's war and its impact on energy and food prices; the pandemic and the supply chain disruptions it has caused; and price gouging by big oil companies that are reaping record profits. Those have been big drivers of inflation.

I have listened to my Republican Senate colleagues here on the floor week after week trying to exploit inflation as a campaign issue, as if it were all caused by the policies of President

Biden. The American people know much better. They also know that while Republicans are talking up inflation and talking down the economy, we in the Democratic majority had a plan to do something about rising costs, and it is called the Inflation Reduction Act.

In coming days, we are going to be voting on that, and I hope—I hope—our Republican colleagues will have a change of heart, at least some of them, because here is the bottom line: The Inflation Reduction Act will drive down prices over time, it will reduce the deficit, and it will do that without raising taxes on anyone making under \$400,000 a year, not by one dime. It does all that while addressing four major issues facing our country: the need to lower healthcare costs, the need to address the climate crisis, the need to fix parts of our broken tax system—this is a start on that—and reducing the deficit.

First, on healthcare, all of us in this Chamber have known that the costs of prescription drugs in the United States are way too high, out of control. Our constituents—Americans—pay twice as much on prescription drugs as people in other advanced economies around the world. And it is not just squeezing people's pocketbooks—that, of course, hurts—it is also jeopardizing their health.

If you look at the 2022 study by the Kaiser Family Foundation, they found that nearly one in three adults reported that they had not taken their medications as prescribed due to cost. They were too expensive. They couldn't afford them. That financial pressure is hard on everybody. It is especially so on many of our seniors. Nearly 9 in 10 older adults take prescription medication, but millions of Americans 65 and older say they struggle to afford their medicine.

Here is what adds insult to injury: American taxpayers spend over \$40 billion every year to support cutting-edge medical research happening at the National Institutes of Health in my State of Maryland. That is a great investment for our country. It helps discover and it helps develop and produce many of the life-changing medications that are available to American families today and to people around the world. But it is just not right for American taxpayers to invest \$40 billion a year in developing drugs that are then sold by American pharmaceutical companies here in the United States for two, three, four times as much as they are sold overseas.

People throughout the world benefit from the great research done at places like NIH, and they pay lower costs on the medicines developed from that research than Americans who helped fund the research in the first place. That is just not right. That is why the Inflation Reduction Act finally empowers the Medicare Program to negotiate prices with the pharmaceutical industry. Private insurance companies negotiate volume discounts every day, all

the time, to try to get a better deal for their members. Why should we tie the hands of the Medicare Program?

I say "finally" because the Presiding Officer and I and many others in this Chamber have worked for not just 1 or 2 years but for decades to try to achieve this, and every time, the pharmaceutical industry has succeeded in blocking it because if you take away the power of Medicare to negotiate drug prices, it means they get to write the bill themselves. So this is important.

It is also accompanied by a cap on Medicare Part D out-of-pocket spending to \$2,000 a year.

Last but not least, this legislation extends the important work we achieved through the American Rescue Plan to lower the healthcare costs for people who get their insurance through the affordable care exchanges. In my State, Marylanders are saving an average of \$80 every month on their healthcare premiums because of that provision from the American Rescue Plan, which this bill will extend for 3 more years.

We are joined in this effort by a vast coalition of Americans who have been pushing for years to address prescription drug prices, including AARP and its 38 million members who support this bill.

Meanwhile, we have seen some billion-dollar pharmaceutical companies pouring their profits into negative ads to try to defeat this bill. In fact, just last night, I saw two or three of them within the space of about an hour as I was flipping channels at home. But I think the country is pretty clear on what is at stake here. On the one hand, you have tens and tens of millions of Americans who will benefit from lowering the costs of prescription drugs. Yet you have Big Pharma trying to maintain this privileged position where we don't have to negotiate with them in order to boost their profits.

So let's be clear on what we are going to do. We are going to allow Medicare to negotiate prices, and that will lower the costs for seniors. We are capping out-of-pocket spending for seniors. We are making it more affordable to get health insurance through the Affordable Care Act marketplaces. Yet, right now, as of today, we have every one of our Republicans voting no.

When I go around Maryland, this is not a party or a partisan issue. All of my constituents want us to take this action. The same is true of climate change. Most Americans, regardless of party, recognize the very real harm caused by climate change. They just have to look around them or turn on the news. But apparently, when you enter the Senate Republican Cloakroom, you go into a science-free and fact-free zone. Many of our colleagues still doubt the fact of human-caused climate change. But that is out of touch with the American people, who see the harm every day and also see the promise of developing a clean energy industry.

That is why our legislation makes this big investment in more rapidly deploying clean energy technology, and in doing so, we are projected to cut U.S. emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases by 40 percent by 2030. We should move even faster, but at least this gets us in the game to hitting the targets that we have to. We will do that while supercharging the development, manufacturing, and deployment of wind, solar, and battery power.

I want to talk about a couple of provisions in this bill—there are many—a couple that I have worked on over the years.

First, this bill includes what is called the Greenhouse Gas Reduction Fund, \$27 billion, some of which could support a national climate bank, which is an initiative I have been working on since my time in the House of Representatives and now in the Senate with my colleague ED MARKEY and in the House today with Congresswoman DEBBIE DINGELL.

A national climate bank would be a magnet for private investment in new sustainable technology, channeling more capital into the clean energy space and lowering the risk to investors. For every \$1 of public financing through a national climate bank, we project it will draw in \$7 to \$10 of private investment, to turbocharge investments and jobs in clean energy. In addition, it targets a large share of investments to low-income and disadvantaged communities that often lack access to financing for clean energy and energy efficiency projects.

This bill also includes another provision I have worked on for a long time, the bill I introduced called HOPE for HOMES. I have worked on it with a bipartisan group of colleagues in both the House and Senate. In the House, that includes Congressman PETER WELCH and Congressman DAVE MCKINLEY and, here in the Senate, Senator COONS and Senator SHAHEEN.

The HOPE for HOMES legislation that has been incorporated into this bill will provide Americans with sizable rebates and with tax credits to retrofit their homes with clean energy and energy efficiency technology. So it will not only help us meet our climate goals and our pollution reduction goals, it is also going to save consumers up to \$750 every year on their heating and cooling bills. So we are going to give people a rebate to make their homes more energy efficient, and they will save money as a result.

It also invests in clean energy jobs training so that we have the people power to help folks in every neighborhood around the country access the help and the workers they need. It is estimated to help generate 80,000 jobs over the next couple years in this important area.

The Inflation Reduction Act also includes major investments to develop a clean energy manufacturing base to reduce our reliance on foreign imports of

clean energy products, including \$30 billion in tax credits designed to accelerate the manufacturing of solar panels, wind turbines, batteries, and critical minerals right here in the United States.

China has made it one of its goals—and they have been very open about it—to dominate the clean energy technology space for years to come. We need to make sure that we manufacture critical technologies and products right here in the United States.

I want to give you a great example from my State of Maryland, which is at the vanguard of a budding offshore wind industry. Right now, we have two companies in Maryland—Orsted and U.S. Wind—that are building new wind turbine fabrication centers in our State to support their offshore wind farms coming to the mid-Atlantic—two major projects off Maryland's Atlantic coast.

The Deputy Secretary of Commerce was just in Baltimore yesterday talking about apprenticeship programs that will help support 10,000 jobs, 10,000 Maryland jobs, as part of this offshore wind manufacturing. That is just in the State of Maryland, and we can do that across the country in terms of offshore wind in coastal States and, of course, interior wind for others.

These are really important provisions that I have talked about—fighting the climate crisis, lowering the cost of prescription drugs—so let's talk about how they are paid for.

Unlike the Republican tax bill in 2017, which provided huge tax giveaways to big corporations and very wealthy individuals, this legislation actually will both pay for itself through the cuts made and recycled and through fixing parts of our broken tax system. We have a lot of work to do to fix our tax system, but this is a downpayment in terms of the policy changes in this bill.

First, we are going to beef up IRS enforcement to go after wealthy tax cheats, and this is an important issue. I chair the subcommittee that oversees the IRS, and we have been pushing for years to make sure that the IRS has the resources and the expertise to track down taxes that are already due and owing from very wealthy people who come up with elaborate tax dodges.

Right now, we estimate there is anywhere from \$500 billion to \$1 trillion in taxes each year that are owed but not paid. Think about that—up to \$1 trillion every year in taxes that are owed but not paid, and the people who are suckered are all the people who pay when you have these very wealthy tax cheats skirting their responsibilities. So this bill will address that issue.

Second, we make sure that big corporations invest in the success of everyday Americans. In 2020, 55 huge American corporations paid zero—zero—in taxes, despite a combined \$40.5 billion in profits—\$40.5 billion in profits from these 55 companies; zero taxes paid.

Small businesses across the country are paying their taxes while some of these big corporations are not. That is not fair. It needs to change.

That is why the Inflation Reduction Act includes the 15 percent minimum tax on profits of corporations that have over \$1 billion in annual profits.

And I want to thank the Presiding Officer for his leadership on this issue.

Third, our legislation would tighten the rules on what is known as carried interest, which allows hedge fund managers to pay a lower rate on their income than the rate their employees pay on theirs—the classic example of how a big hedge fund CEO can pay a lower tax rate than their receptionist. This is a fact under our current Tax Code, and I hope we will keep this provision in this bill because this loophole, the carried interest loophole, is Exhibit A of some of the biggest unfairnesses in our Tax Code.

So taken together, the measures to lower the cost of prescription drugs, lower the cost of energy to American households and consumers, reduce the deficit—these measures will reduce inflationary pressures that are bearing down on working families. You don't have to take my word for it. In just the last few days, economists from all over the country have spoken out in favor of this approach and supporting this legislation.

One hundred twenty-six leading economists recently wrote to the congressional leadership:

This proposal addresses some of the country's biggest challenges at a significant scale. And because it is deficit-reducing, it does so while putting downward pressure on inflation.

And that is key. Unlike that Republican tax giveaway in 2017 that added \$2 trillion to our national debt, we are actually reducing our deficit, and by reducing the deficit, you also put downward pressure on inflation.

In recent months, I have heard the Republican leader, Senator McCONNELL, often citing former Secretary of Treasury Larry Summers about Larry Summers' views on the economy and inflation.

Well, here is what Larry Summers had to say recently about the bill we will be voting on:

The prescription drug provisions, energy incentives, and the increased Medicare benefits will all contribute over time to much needed inflation reduction.

And just yesterday, former Secretary Summers was joined by former Secretary of the Treasury Hank Paulson, who, of course, served under former President George W. Bush, who with other Secretaries wrote:

... we support the Inflation Reduction Act which is financed by prudent tax policy that will collect more from top-earners and large corporations.

And, again, by using those revenues to reduce the deficit, we put downward pressure on inflation.

I just, as we close here, want to contrast that to the approach that Republicans took in 2017 with their tax giveaway.

As I said, that ballooned the deficit by \$2 trillion. It also handed the top 1 percent income earners an average tax cut of \$69,000 each in 2018 alone. So just in 1 year, about a \$70,000 tax cut to the top 1 percent. And the Congressional Budget Office estimated that 43 percent of the growth in economic output from the 2017 tax law flowed to foreign investors in that space. So foreign investors have holdings in U.S. corporations. That tax cut to American corporations—yes, it flowed to some very wealthy Americans, but a lot of it flowed offshore to foreign investors.

So what we have seen from our colleagues across the aisle is big tax cuts to corporations and the very wealthy, not just here at home but benefiting others around the world, in contrast to this, which does ask big corporations to pay their fair share—minimum of 15 percent—and reduces the deficit as we invest in job creation and reduce prices here at home.

So this is a win for families; it is a win for seniors; it is a win for our planet, our economy. It is a win for the country.

So I hope as this debate goes forward, that we will focus on the facts, listen to what it does, because this is a comprehensive piece of legislation that does help us tackle some of the key priorities in front of our country, and we are hearing that from our constituents every day.

So I am proud to support this legislation. Let's get it done.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING). The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, last week, Democrats unveiled their so-called Inflation Reduction Act, a bill that will do nothing to reduce inflation but will double down on Democrats' wasteful government spending, along with imposing hundreds of billions of dollars in tax hikes—yes, hundreds of billions of dollars in tax hikes.

Our economy has posted negative economic growth for the past two quarters, and Democrats think it is a good idea to raise taxes on American businesses. Perhaps Democrats think that current prices aren't high enough or that businesses aren't struggling enough with the inflation that Democrats helped create.

The worst part, of course, is that a substantial part of the burden of these tax hikes will fall on ordinary Americans, Americans who are already struggling with historically high inflation, Americans who are seeing their grocery bills balloon and their rent skyrocket, Americans who are paying more than \$4 per gallon every time they fill up their car.

Now, Democrats are going to pass tax hikes that will hit these Americans hard—a tax hike on businesses that will almost undoubtedly result in lower growth, lower wages, and fewer jobs; a tax hike on investment—investment that we need to grow our economy and

create opportunities for American workers; and tax hikes on energy production.

That is right, tax hikes on energy production to the tune of \$60 billion.

Now, as I mentioned, Americans are still, on average, paying more than \$4 a gallon every time they go to fill up their cars, as they have been for months. Their electricity bills are up. The price for utility gas service is up by almost 40 percent. And Democrats think now is a good time to raise taxes on oil and gas production?

I guess maybe they are hoping that they can force Americans off conventional energy by continuing to keep gas and energy prices high.

And in case anyone was thinking that Democrats would be content with shutting down domestic production—with a methane tax, higher royalties, excise taxes, and costly permitting delays—and would rather Americans receive conventional energy from abroad, well, Democrats have a tax hike for that too.

The Democrats' bill would impose a new tax hike on U.S. refiners importing crude oil and petroleum products intended to make conventional energy prohibitively expensive.

But, of course, Americans will need conventional energy, and that will continue to be true for a while yet, no matter how much wishful thinking Democrats engage in.

And Democrats' energy tax hikes are setting ordinary Americans up to continue to suffer under high energy prices for the foreseeable future.

So what are all these tax hikes for? What government spending is worth imposing tax hikes that run the risk of pushing our economy into a longer recession or, worse yet, stagflation?

Well, let me just review some of the priorities that Democrats will be spending that tax hike money on.

There is \$1.5 billion—billion dollars—for a grant program to plant trees, and \$1.9 billion for things like identifying gaps in tree canopy coverage. That is right, identifying gaps in tree canopy coverage.

There is \$1 billion for electric heavy-duty vehicles like garbage trucks. I am not really sure why the Federal Government is going to be spending money on electric garbage trucks or how that is going to reduce inflation.

There is \$3 billion for the U.S. Postal Service to purchase zero-emission delivery vehicles. Quite a lot of money, I might add, for an Agency that is supposedly self-funded.

There is funding for road equity.

All told, there is more than \$60 billion in funding for "environmental justice"—\$60 billion. That is more than the Federal Government spent on highways in 2019.

There is also at least \$30 billion in climate slush funds, part of which is allocated for, among other things, climate-related political activity—yeah, political activity.

So, in other words, Democrats are raising taxes on Americans so that

they can provide Federal funding for Green New Deal activism. And I haven't even talked about all the tax credits for adopting Democrats' preferred green energy technologies.

There are tax credits for purchasing electric vehicles and for refitting windows and skylights and doors to meet Democrats' required level of energy efficiency. That is right, Democrats are raising the tax burden on working Americans to pay for tax credits for wealthy Americans to purchase a brandnew electric vehicle or to do some home remodeling.

Of course, these tax credits aren't officially limited to wealthy Americans, but I am hard-pressed to think of many working families who can afford to spend \$60,000 on a new electric vehicle while inflation is at a 40-year high.

I am a longtime supporter of clean energy. I come from a State that is leading the way toward cleaner and more efficient energy technologies, and I have worked with colleagues from both parties to advance clean energy, including through the responsible use of energy tax credits to bring clean energy technologies to the point where they can compete on their own.

But this bill has nothing in common with the bipartisan work I and many others have done to responsibly advance clean energy. This bill is wasteful and irresponsible and will do essentially nothing to reduce warming globally as others nations continue to skate by.

It will, however, waste a lot of taxpayer dollars and create a lot of economic pain for hard-working Americans.

One think tank analyzed a plan similar to the one Democrats are pushing and found that it would result in staggering job losses, higher energy bills, and a tremendous reduction in economic growth.

One sensible move to advance clean energy and necessary investment in conventional energy would be to address the arduous permitting process which can hold up both renewable and conventional energy projects for years. That is something we should be focused on, to promote investment in the conventional energy we still need and in the renewable energy technologies of the future.

Instead, we are being asked to support a bill that will squander billions and billions of taxpayer dollars on Green New Deal activism and road equity and monitoring tree canopies.

And we are supposed to vote for it based on the vague promise that the Senate will consider—consider, mind you, not pass—permitting legislation; permitting legislation that may or may not meaningfully address the broken and burdensome permitting process or negate spurious lawsuits from far-left environmentalists. And even if it did provide meaningful reform, my hopes are not high that the Biden administration would actually act on the legislation.

Canceling the Keystone XL Pipeline, a project that endured a decade of permitting, was already underway, and was to be paired with \$1.7 billion in private—yes, private—investment for renewables—it doesn't install confidence that even approved projects are safe from the President and Democrats' Green New Deal ideology.

The Democrats' reckless \$1.9 trillion American Rescue Plan spending spree helped plunge our economy into an inflation crisis that has left Americans struggling to make ends meet. If this new, partisan tax-and-spending spree passes, Americans can look forward to a lot more economic pain in the future. But at least they will be able to console themselves with the knowledge that their tax dollars are going to fund tree canopies.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. President, I rise today to support Senator SULLIVAN's resolution of disapproval to nullify the Biden administration's rollback of reforms to the National Environmental Policy Act, or NEPA, process.

We have heard a lot about permitting and how everything is going to be improved. If you want to make a statement on how you want to improve permitting, this should be a "yes" vote for everybody.

I want to thank my colleague from Alaska for his leadership on bringing together half of this Chamber in support of S.J. Res. 55, which is cosponsored by 50 Senators.

This resolution is vital to take us towards a path of quicker, more predictable environmental reviews as we seek to improve our transportation—remember, we just passed a big infrastructure bill with a lot of transportation—our water infrastructure, energy infrastructure, reclaim our energy independence, and build our domestic supply chain.

Instead of making the environmental review process more efficient, the Biden administration is doing everything in its power to make it much, much more difficult.

Environmental reviews are notorious for holding up energy and infrastructure projects. What happens? Well, some of them don't get done, and a lot of them get a heck of a lot more expensive and take longer to do.

We all know it is important to make sure that we assess the environmental impacts that a project will have before moving forward on construction, but the Biden administration is focused on making them more complicated and longer when the status quo is already unacceptable.

In 2020, the White House's Council on Environmental Quality found that it took an average of 4½ years to complete an environmental impact statement under NEPA. One-quarter of the 1,276 projects analyzed took more than 6 years to complete their environmental impact statement. The average

time for a Federal highway project was more than 7 years on their EIS. The average time for the U.S. Corps of Engineers was 6 years.

The average length of a final EIS was 661 pages, and many of these swelled to thousands of pages, running contrary to the original intent of NEPA, which was to provide transparency of Federal Agencies' decision making to the American people.

The previous administration tried to streamline the Federal environmental review process by reforming the implementing regulations for NEPA. Now, rather than continuing to improve environmental reviews under NEPA, the Biden administration has decided to make them more burdensome.

Earlier this year, the Biden administration rolled back key modernizations the previous administration made to the more than 40-year-old NEPA regulations through its so-called phase 1—which tells me phase 2 is coming—NEPA rule.

The Biden administration has created sweeping new obstacles to the environmental review process, including new avenues for delays and lawsuits that will slow down or, as I said, kill projects. In particular, the phase 1 rule's expanded definition of "effects"—to include "indirect" and "cumulative effects" of projects—will greatly delay and kill energy projects when we sorely need them right now.

With the damaging phase 1 rule already in place, the Biden administration is now working on even more onerous revisions to the NEPA process. If these revisions are not stopped, they will enshrine lengthier, more burdensome, and even, in some cases, insurmountable hurdles for any infrastructure, whether it is mining, industrial, or energy.

We keep hearing we need more energy. Well, if you can't get permitted, you can't do these projects, and that is what is happening.

The Biden administration is hamstringing our Nation's ability to source materials and build infrastructure of all kinds for all Americans. Whether it is roads and bridges, pipelines, electric transmission, mining, or renewable energy projects, an efficient environmental review process is critical to completing projects that support job creation and economic activity. It is also vital to building out and securing our domestic supply chains to ensure we have the fuel and mineral inputs to power critical services and to manufacture those products.

We are not going to have all the solar farms and wind turbines and critical minerals and green jobs that the administration has promised to energy workers when the environmental process takes 5 to 7 to 10 years.

So how do you build an economy out of a recession when you can't build at all? Now it is time to come together and reform the environmental review process to expand our infrastructure, invigorate our economy, increase our

energy capacity and supplies, advance our domestic industries to lower prices, create those much wanted jobs, and build a brighter future for Americans and certainly for my State of West Virginia. It starts with doing away with the roadblocks the administration is throwing up by passing this resolution and us moving on to legislate common-sense environmental review reforms.

We are told that in September, Senate Democrats will cast aside their "regulate first" philosophy and pass strong permitting reform legislation. After years of regulatory actions that decimated energy production in my State and permitting delays that have held up important infrastructure projects across the country, I am skeptical that the Democrats will reverse course next month.

So here we have an opportunity to have a test vote. As this NEPA rule-making reflects, the Biden administration is hard at work creating more hurdles for our projects. If there isn't overwhelming bipartisan support for this resolution of disapproval that simply stops the permitting process from getting worse, then I don't know how anybody can believe that Senate Democrats will join to pass meaningful legislation to make the process better.

I urge my colleagues to vote for this resolution to free our country from the stagnation and endless delays the administration is pressing forward with.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, normally at this time of the week, Senator CAPITO and I are gathering for a face-to-face meeting or maybe having a meeting by phone as she heads back to West Virginia. Today, it looked like we were not going to have a chance to meet, but here we are. Ironically, most of those conversations we have—we are in sync. It is pretty amazing. Most folks around the country probably think we never agree on anything here, but we do. And we actually turned out to be pretty good friends—a couple of West Virginia kids who grew up and made out all right. It is always a pleasure to be with her and to serve with her, like with the bipartisan infrastructure legislation.

Last week, we were here to pass not one, not two, but three bipartisan pieces of legislation. A couple of them were pretty big. There were two big recycling bills and then another one dealing with the Water Resources Development Act with the Army Corps of Engineers. I think we had only one negative vote on the reauthorization—one. The vote on the recycling legislation—one of which was your bill and one of which was mine, and we were cosponsors—we had no opposition on those bills.

So I would say to folks who are watching today who say: Oh, there they go again, well, you should have tuned in last week because we were on the same page.

Having said that, let me say that I rise today to speak on the joint resolution of disapproval to nullify President Biden's National Environmental Policy Act regulations, oftentimes referred to as NEPA.

Last year, as we drafted legislation that became the bipartisan infrastructure law for our country, Senator CAPITO and I, along with our colleagues on the Environment and Public Works Committee, of which my colleague from Alaska is a valued member—the Senator is here. He has offered this resolution today, and he will be back here in a minute, I am sure.

But as we drafted legislation that became the bipartisan infrastructure law, Senator CAPITO and I, along with our colleagues on the EPW Committee, considered ways to get infrastructure projects done more efficiently while maintaining environmental protections.

I will say that again. We considered a number of ways to get infrastructure projects done more efficiently while maintaining environmental protections.

We included several changes that were reflective of those shared goals. In fact, we included quite a few of those changes. I will give an example of one of those. The bipartisan infrastructure law codified something that is called One Federal Decision, the One Federal Decision permitting structure. It set a goal for completing environmental reviews of transportation projects within 2 years—within 2 years. It also permanently authorized the Federal Permitting Improvement Steering Council and more.

But, as we considered changes to the way we deliver infrastructure projects, we always tried to make sure that we were not undermining important environmental safeguards. That sentiment reflects really the essence of the law that we call NEPA.

Over 50 years ago, President Richard Nixon—a Republican, as you will recall—signed this bedrock environmental policy into law with overwhelming bipartisan support. In the time since then, NEPA has helped to ensure that Federal actions protect our quality of life and avoid costly environmental impacts.

NEPA is not just a means of protecting resources and conserving a pristine environment; NEPA also helps to improve Federal decisions. How is that? Well, by requiring Agencies to take a hard look at the impacts of their actions before they make decisions—before they make decisions.

For example, through the NEPA process, just a few years ago, officials in Colorado—this is a good example—officials in Colorado heard robust public feedback when planning improvements on State Highway 9 that led them to take steps to minimize disturbances to communities and to the environment. The final project was ultimately delivered with lower emissions, less harm to wildlife, and safer

spaces for cyclists. Importantly, these benefits did not come at the cost of efficiency. The project was done on time and under budget. And this is only one of any number of examples that I can cite today.

Making smart decisions has never been more important. After all, the science is clear: We must rapidly drive down greenhouse gas emissions if we hope to avoid the worst impacts of climate change.

Unfortunately, the Trump administration made changes to the NEPA rules. These changes prevented Agencies from considering how their actions impact climate change and from taking commonsense steps to minimize environmental harm. The regulatory rollbacks also undermined public involvement in the Federal decision-making process. This rollback harmed communities of color, including Tribal and Native Alaskan communities, that rely on NEPA to defend their voices.

Fortunately, the Biden administration has taken steps to fix the error of these regulatory revisions. Under President Biden's instruction, the Council on Environmental Quality finalized a rule in April to make narrow, targeted changes to NEPA regulations. One of the most important changes was restoring the requirement for Agencies to consider the cumulative and indirect impacts of their actions. Considering such impacts can help ensure that we avoid actions that worsen climate change and negatively impact communities.

President Biden's NEPA rule would ensure that Agencies conduct environmental review processes in a commonsense, holistic manner, one that neither sacrifices efficiency for environmental protection nor the other way around.

This action comes at a critical time for our Nation. The bipartisan infrastructure law will fund more than \$1 trillion of investments in projects that will last not for years but for decades and maybe even longer.

I believe the decision here is clear. The projects under review today will either help address the climate crisis and protect communities or they will exacerbate emissions and make us more vulnerable.

With thoughtful environmental analysis, we can build new facilities that are less emissions-intensive. We can build highways and bridges to withstand the kind of extreme weather that we are experiencing all over this country—in fact, all over the planet—and we can save money while we do it with infrastructure that is built to last.

Blocking these regulations from taking effect is the policy equivalent of burying our heads in the sand, unfortunately, with the rate at which the sea level is rising around us—and it is. During the course of debate on this one proposal today, we are going to see in the State of Louisiana terrible sea-level rises going on. Every 100 minutes, they lose a piece of land in Louisiana

that is the size of a football field. During the course of this debate alone, they are going to lose several more football fields in Louisiana and a lot more in the days to come.

Refusing to consider the impacts of climate change will not stop the climate from changing. It will not save lives from being lost from wildfires, from floods, and heat waves. It will not stop asphalt from melting under extreme heat, which is what was happening a couple of weeks ago in England. Then, over at the Tour de France, we had to spill thousands—tens of thousands—of gallons of water on the course they were running the bicycle races on. This was for the Tour de France—literally tens of thousands of gallons on the course in order to keep the roads from melting. Can you believe that?

By refusing to consider the impacts of climate change now, we will only help to ensure that its worst impacts come to pass. It will continue to cost us. It will cost us not just in dollars but also in lives.

With that, I urge my colleagues to vote on this well-intentioned but, I think, misguided resolution.

Before I yield the floor, let me just say what a privilege it is to work with my colleague from Alaska. He and I actually agree on more than you might imagine. We both wore the uniform of our country for many years, those of the Marine Corps and Navy. The Navy salutes the Marine Corps today. I like to say: different uniforms, same team. While I can't be with him on this one, we will find other things that we can agree on today.

With that, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be able to complete my remarks before the 1:45 p.m. vote.

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

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I want to compliment my friend from Delaware. He and I do work together on a number of issues. We are going to part ways on this really important issue for me today. I do want to just make a comment to his comments.

I would say—I wouldn't say—I know there is no group that has suffered more at the hands of the Biden administration's Executive orders and far-left environmental groups than Alaska Natives. I know that for a fact.

I would invite my colleague to come up to Alaska with me, and I will take him to these communities. They can't do anything—no jobs, no nothing—because every far-left group in America wants to shut down their opportunities. It happens all the time.

So I would love to take him and others up to Alaska to let them see that when people talk about Alaska Native groups and try to speak for them. Unfortunately, some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle do that. No

way. You are not going to get away with that on this one.

Mr. President, we have a resolution that we are going to be voting on here in about 10 minutes. This is my Congressional Review Act resolution, and I have spoken on the Senate floor a number of times about this.

The CRA today, what we call a CRA, is quite simple. It would rescind the new Biden administration's NEPA rule—that is the National Environmental Policy Act rule—promulgated in April, which will clearly have the impact of slowing down the construction of literally every infrastructure project in America: the construction of roads, bridges, wind, solar, hydro—heck—even chip fabrication facilities, critical mineral projects. Pretty much everything is going to be slowed down by this.

It is pretty straightforward. Our resolution just says: We want to rescind the resolution, the regulation, from April.

But the vote on this is much more significant than just one Senate resolution. It is a test for all Senators on two key issues.

First, are you really serious about permitting reform so that America can build the infrastructure that everybody knows our country desperately needs?

Second, who do you stand with—the working men and women of our great Nation who build things or the far-left elite special interest groups who want to shut this country down?

Let's take these two issues in order.

First, permitting reform. My colleagues know this is a passion of mine. Actually, it is a passion of a number of Senators. It sounds wonky; it sounds boring; it sounds technical—"permitting reform." But in reality, it is so important for our Nation—for every community in America, for the dignity of work, for good jobs in this country.

Here is why: We used to build big things in America—engineering marvels on time, on budget—the source of pride for literally all Americans and the envy of the world. We did that all the time. Think about it: the Empire State Building—410 days to build; the Pentagon, the biggest building in the world—16 months; a little closer to home for me is the 1,700-mile Alaska-Canadian Highway through some of the world's most rugged terrain—11 months; the Trans-Alaska Pipeline system that feeds a hungry nation with energy from Alaska to the lower 48—800 miles with 70,000 sections of 48-inch pipe joined and welded together, 3 mountain ranges, 800 river beds from the Arctic Ocean to the Pacific—3 years. Incredible.

Why did we do this? Why can we do this? Why can we still do this in America? Because we have the best workers—the most productive workforce—in the world.

Unfortunately, those days of building great things in America in an efficient, timely fashion are gone. We all know it. Every mayor knows it; every city

council member knows it; every Governor knows it; and, yes, every U.S. Senator knows it.

We see it every day. We don't see the great building of things, but we see the other things: 8 to 9 years to permit a bridge—yes, in America, to permit a bridge; 9 to 19 years to permit and build a highway. The Gross water reservoir in Colorado, for clean water, took 20 years to permit. The Kensington mine, which is a gold mine in Alaska that is now employing hundreds of people with an average wage of \$110,000—really good jobs—took 20 years to permit with litigation.

This is killing our country, our economy, and good jobs. We all know it, and we all know the reason for it. Every single Senator knows the reason: a broken Federal permitting system that has turned into a labyrinth of red-tape; a system that invites and incentivizes delay and litigation by groups whose goal is to shut down the building of our country. Everybody knows it. It is a fact.

Now, how can I be so sure? Because everybody in this body likes to talk about the need for permitting reform so we can get back to building this country and putting Americans who do these hard jobs to work.

Last year, I worked hard with a number of my colleagues on the bipartisan infrastructure bill, which I voted on. In the EPW Committee—and my colleague from Delaware is still here—we got some important permitting reforms in it. That was good. They were not enough, in my view, but it was a good start.

Today, as we consider Senator SCHUMER's reconciliation bill, which I will oppose, we are all now being assured that Senator SCHUMER, Speaker PELOSI, and even the President are fully committed to additional robust permitting legislation in the fall, sometime in the future, once their massive tax-and-spending reconciliation bill passes. So everybody is talking about permitting. We all know we need it.

But here is what happened. In the meantime, between the "important but not as ambitious as I would have liked" permitting reforms in the infrastructure bill last fall and all of the talk of permitting today, something happened. What happened?

The Biden administration promulgated a new NEPA rule, supported by far-left environmental groups, that will clearly have the effect of slowing down the permitting of infrastructure, inviting endless litigation and putting people out of work. No one who has seriously looked at this broad, nebulous, and destructive Biden rule disputes this. I have read it. It is a delay bomb for infrastructure.

So here is the first test. It was noted in a very good, recent Wall Street Journal editorial this week. It is this: If my colleagues—all of my colleagues but especially my Democratic colleagues—really support permitting re-

form so we can get back to building America, let's get rid of this destructive, overbroad, vague, litigation-inviting rule. Vote yes on my resolution. Right now, 50 Republican Senators are cosponsors of this resolution.

To my Democratic colleagues, join us. Do the right thing for America. We all know that this is the right thing for America.

Here is the second test. I asked you to join us in doing the right thing for America. Join us in doing the right thing for the working Americans and building trades that heroically built this country and continue to do so today.

Now, I love this photo. It is iconic. It says so much, and I have had it on the floor a number of times. But these are the kind of men and women who built this great Nation—hard-working Americans who are doing incredible stuff. That is a lunch break, by the way, in the building of the Empire State Building.

This shouldn't be hard to support the men and women who build this country, and this shouldn't be hard for my Democratic colleagues who often claim to support the working men and women of America. In the past, I certainly will acknowledge that that has been true, but today—and I have learned this lesson the hard way back home in Alaska. Today, whenever national Democrats have to choose between the interests of the far-left elite environmental groups and these men and women who produce things and build things in America, they sell out the working class every time—every time. I see this every day in my State.

I mentioned this in a Congress committee hearing a few months ago. One of my Democratic colleagues, who is a friend—and almost everybody on the other side of the aisle is a good friend of mine—got upset with me.

He said: Hey, that is not true. You shouldn't have said that.

Well, here is what I say: All right. Prove it.

Today's vote is a chance to prove me wrong or to prove me right. Here is why, and this is really important.

Let's look at the lineup of the groups that support my resolution today and those that oppose it. These are just some of the 50 groups in America that are supporting my resolution that we are going to vote on here in a couple of minutes, and I am very proud of this incredible, broad, and diverse groups of Americans who are saying to vote yes on the Sullivan resolution. They all have one thing in common: They produce things and they build things for this great Nation.

Take a look at this chart. It is kind of hard to decipher who is on it. Let me give you a couple.

The American Farm Bureau: So this is all of our farmers and cattlemen—all of our cattlemen, farmers and ranchers, and ag retailers.

The National Stone, Sand & Gravel Association: These are the guys who build infrastructure.

It is the same with the Associated General Contractors of America, the same with the U.S. Chamber, the same with the National Association of Manufacturers, the same with the American Mining Rights Association.

Of course, the entire energy sector is supporting this, groups from Alaska, the resource development sector, groups from West Virginia, and groups from Ohio. This is a huge, broad-based group of supporters.

I will tell you this. I am most proud of the strong, robust support for my resolution from organizations that represent the men and women who build stuff and keep our country's economy humming.

Take a look at some of them: The North America's Building Trades Union—that is all the unions that build things. The Laborers' International, LIUNA—that is the largest construction trade union in the country. The Operating Engineers—these guys do everything. Another trade union: the Alaska Teamsters, the Alaska AFL-CIO.

These are the great men and women who built this country and built the middle class of America. I have the utmost respect for them, and, indeed, my family is part of this labor union heritage. My great-grandfather was one of the cofounders of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. That is a source of pride in my family.

But here is the question: Why are they all strongly supporting my resolution to rescind the Biden NEPA regulations? It is a simple answer: because they know that these are job-killing regs. They know that these are the types of regs in America that delay or indefinitely stop the building of infrastructure in our country, and their members are the ones who suffer the most. And the dignity of the work—the dignity of work that we all say we care about—also suffers.

Don't take my word for it. Here is what some of the leaders of these organizations have said—and they are great Americans. Let me begin with Terry O'Sullivan, the head of the Laborers' International. This was his letter to the Biden White House when they were contemplating this rule in April. Just take a look. He said:

The rollback of updates to NEPA reinstates burdensome requirements that will cause excessive permit delays and allow project adversaries—

Far-left environmental groups—to use frivolous lawsuits—

Which they always do—

to disrupt or upend long overdue construction. Once again, communities in need of vital infrastructure and the hard-working men and women who build America will be waiting as project details are subjected to onerous reviews.

That was Terry O'Sullivan saying: Don't issue the rule.

They ignored him. They ignored him because they chose the interests of the far-left environmentalists.

Here is James Callahan writing in support of today's resolution. He is the

head of the Operating Engineers. You want to talk about great unions—LIUNA, Operating Engineers—these are men and women who build things. This is an incredible statement, and he nails it. This guy really knows what he is talking about.

Since its modest beginnings, NEPA has evolved into a massive edifice, capable of destroying project after project, job after job, in virtually every sector of the economy. Dilatory strategies employed by the project opponents—

Far-left environmental groups—frequently exploit provisions in NEPA, weighing down projects, frustrating communities, and raising costs to the point that many applicants, whether public or private, simply walk away.

And when they walk away, it kills jobs. That is from James Callahan's letter, 1 of the 50 groups that is supporting this resolution.

The men and women who build our Nation support my resolution, like so many groups.

So who is opposed? Well, it is pretty simple. It is pretty obvious. It is the usual groups of far-left, coastal-elite environmental groups that I see every day in Alaska trying to crush jobs and stop infrastructure and put people out of work.

I will just give you few. You know, they are the usual suspects: Center for Biological Diversity, Earthjustice, CODEPINK—I am not sure why they jumped in on this—Friends of the Earth.

By the way, if you are watching this speech, go take a look at some of those websites and see what they stand for. So that is who is opposed.

One more point that I think is important to raise. To be honest, there is something else going on here. Not only is there always opposition by those groups to building anything in America—including my resolution—regardless of how many pink slips result from the actions of these groups to shut down things, there is sometimes a subtle and not so subtle condescension looking down on the Americans who build things. Workers can feel it. Workers can sense it.

No one epitomizes this condescending elitist attitude toward American workers more than this guy. You might remember that last year, around this time, he was asked if the Biden administration's Green New Deal policies would put American coal and natural gas workers out of work and end their livelihoods. John Kerry responded:

What President Biden wants to do is make sure that those folks—

Men and women who build stuff, coal miners, natural gas workers—have better choices—

Better choices—

That they can be the people who go to work to make solar panels.

Sure, "better choices," from a guy who flies in a jet, owned a 76-foot yacht, several mansions, and has the carbon footprint of a small nation. Yet he tells American energy workers to go

make solar panels, when the Biden administration's regulations are killing their jobs.

I will end with this, back to the workers: When you are voting today, keep the heritage of these men and women in mind. The Biden NEPA rule that we are trying to rescind today will kill jobs. I am sure it has already killed jobs. That is why we need to rescind it.

This should be an easy vote for all of my Senate colleagues today. If you really care about permitting reform, so we can get back to building things in America, you should vote yes. If you really put the interests of working men and women like these incredible Americans over those of elite far-left environmental groups, you should vote yes. And if you truly support the men and women who build this country, feed this country, and grow this country, you should vote yes.

I yield the floor.

I ask for the yeas and nays on this resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, before you do that, I would ask to be recognized for 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I thank my colleague for not objecting.

Let's just stop for a moment before we vote. The National Environmental Policy Act was not signed into law by FDR, not signed into law by Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy, not signed into law by Barack Obama. It was signed into law by Richard Nixon, with bipartisan support—strong bipartisan support—some 50 years ago.

The reason for the law was that they wanted—President Nixon and those who served in the Congress at the time—to make sure that, as we are proposing to build, we will say, large infrastructure projects around the country with Federal support, they wanted to make sure that the voices of the people whose lives would be affected by that would actually be heard. That was the idea behind doing this.

I have been in the Senate about 21, 22 years and served on the Environment and Public Works Committee with Senator Simpson and others, and am privileged to chair the committee now. And about every year or 2, we pass major infrastructure legislation, and, a year ago, the largest infrastructure bill in the history of the country—roads, highways, bridges, water, drinking water, wastewater, you name it.

Just last week, we passed, with one dissenting vote, the Water Resources Development Act legislation to reauthorize the Army Corps of Engineers to do projects all over America.

I live in Wilmington, DE. I-95 goes right through Wilmington, DE. It cuts my city in half. I-95 is being rebuilt for about a 5-mile space, from Route 202, which goes up into PA, on down to

Route 141—5 miles, right through the middle of our major city. It is going to be done in, I think, less than 2 years. Imagine that: 4 lanes, 6 lanes, all the exits, done in 2 years.

They are talking about not being able to get a big project done. We are doing big projects in a little State all the time.

The last thing I would say is that our colleagues JOE MANCHIN and LISA MURKOWSKI cohosted bipartisan meetings a month or 2 ago—6 or 7 or 8 of them—in the afternoon to talk about a path forward on reconciliation and infrastructure legislation, but also to talk about permitting and permitting reform.

Every time we do a major infrastructure bill, we do permitting reform, and we do streamlining. We have done it. We did it last year, and we are going to do it again with the WRDA legislation too.

Later, sometime this fall, in September, October, we will do permitting reform debate and legislation again. We can't do it in the context of reconciliation because the Parliamentarian won't let us do that. It has to be as stand-alone legislation.

We will have the opportunity to do that. People can offer their ideas. We will debate them. We will vote them up, and we will vote them down.

I just wanted to add that for the record.

With that, I guess we ought to ask for the yeas and nays.

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

The clerk will read the title of the joint resolution for the third time.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

The yeas and nays have been previously requested.

Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) are necessarily absent.

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

The result was announced—yeas 50, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 283 Leg.]

YEAS—50

Barrasso	Cruz	Kennedy
Blackburn	Daines	Lankford
Blunt	Ernst	Lee
Boozman	Fischer	Lummis
Braun	Graham	Manchin
Burr	Grassley	Marshall
Capito	Hagerty	McConnell
Cassidy	Hawley	Moran
Collins	Hoeven	Murkowski
Cotton	Hyde-Smith	Paul
Cramer	Inhofe	Portman
Crapo	Johnson	Risch

Romney	Scott (SC)	Toomey
Rounds	Shelby	Tuberville
Rubio	Sullivan	Wicker
Sasse	Thune	Young
Scott (FL)	Tillis	

NAYS—47

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

NOT VOTING—3

Cornyn	Leahy	Merkley
--------	-------	---------

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 55) was passed, as follows:

S. J. RES. 55

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Congress disapproves the rule submitted by the Council on Environmental Quality relating to "National Environmental Policy Act Implementing Regulations Revisions" (87 Fed. Reg. 23453 (April 20, 2022)), and such rule shall have no force or effect.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. VAN HOLLEN). Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Roopali H. Desai, of Arizona, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back.

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

Mr. SCHATZ. 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.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. LEAHY) and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MERKLEY) are necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senator are necessarily absent: the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. BURR) and the Senator from Texas (Mr. CORNYN). The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 29, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 284 Ex.]

YEAS—67

Baldwin	Brown	Carper
Bennet	Cantwell	Casey
Blumenthal	Capito	Cassidy
Booker	Cardin	Collins

Coons	Klobuchar	Sanders
Cortez Masto	Lujan	Schatz
Cramer	Lummis	Schumer
Crapo	Manchin	Shaheen
Duckworth	Markey	Sinema
Durbin	Marshall	Smith
Ernst	McConnell	Stabenow
Feinstein	Menendez	Tester
Gillibrand	Murkowski	Tillis
Graham	Murphy	Toomey
Grassley	Murray	Van Hollen
Hassan	Ossoff	Warner
Heinrich	Padilla	Warnock
Hickenlooper	Peters	Warren
Hirono	Portman	Whitehouse
Kaine	Reed	Wyden
Kelly	Risch	Young
Kennedy	Romney	
King	Rosen	

NAYS—29

Barrasso	Hawley	Rubio
Blackburn	Hoeven	Sasse
Blunt	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Boozman	Inhofe	Scott (SC)
Braun	Johnson	Shelby
Cotton	Lankford	Sullivan
Cruz	Lee	Thune
Daines	Moran	Tuberville
Fischer	Paul	Wicker
Hagerty	Rounds	

NOT VOTING—4

Burr	Leahy
Cornyn	Merkley

The nomination was confirmed. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO). 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.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will resume legislative session.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, for the information of Senators, the Senate will next convene on Saturday at noon. The next vote will be at 12:30 p.m. on Saturday on a motion to discharge a nomination.

We expect to vote on the motion to proceed to the reconciliation legislation on Saturday afternoon.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, I move to proceed to executive session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

MOTION TO DISCHARGE

Mr. SCHUMER. Madam President, pursuant to S. Res. 27, the Committee on Environment and Public Works being tied on the question of reporting, I move to discharge the Committee on Environment and Public Works from further consideration of the nomination of David Uhlmann, to be Assistant Administrator for Enforcement and Compliance Assurance, Environmental Protection Agency.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the provisions of S. Res. 27, there will now be up to 4 hours of debate on the motion, equally divided between the two leaders or their designees, with no