

chief judge is somebody that I used to try cases against when I was a civil rights lawyer before I got into politics. He is an esteemed jurist.

Yes, the Fourth Circuit has rendered some rulings in this case that the pipeline operator doesn't like. I used to lose cases in the Fourth Circuit. I wasn't always happy with them. But the people that I represented—if you lose a case, you appeal; you don't rewrite the Federal jurisdictional code to say this court can no longer hear the case, in the middle of the case.

If we go down this path on this project, I can see it opening a door we will not want to open, a door that could even lead to corruption: I am a wealthy, powerful corporation; I don't like the way the Second Circuit is ruling on derivative shareholder suits. Maybe I can strip jurisdiction away from them. I don't like the way the Ninth Circuit is ruling on employment discrimination cases. Maybe I could strip jurisdiction away from them.

I get it that a big company is not happy because they have lost a case. Fifty percent of our litigants are unhappy. Someone wins and somebody loses, but the solution is not to take jurisdiction away from the court that is hearing the case and give it to another court. That is not the solution. The solution is to improve the permitting process.

There are two elements of the first 85 pages of the bill that actually help Mountain Valley Pipeline. One element would be, in the first 85 pages, that President Biden—the President, in the bill, is allowed to designate 15 projects of national significance and then expedite them. That is in the first 85 pages. And if President Biden decided the Mountain Valley Pipeline was so important to make that top 15 list, that permitting reform could help the Mountain Valley Pipeline.

And, second, there is a provision in the first 85 pages that would require that on matters that come up again and again and again, the panels on circuit courts have to rotate and randomly assign and not keep the same panel. That would solve one of Mountain Valley Pipeline's professed concerns.

So because I haven't seen the language yet, it may not still be final, and I would urge those pushing it: Do permitting reform, but don't exempt a project in my State from the permits, don't exempt it from judicial review, don't strip jurisdiction away from my hometown court and give it to another court.

I was never consulted about this. My constituents feel very, very passionately. Their land is being taken for this. The only way you build pipelines is to take people's land, and this is 100 miles in Virginia of people's land being taken, and this body should not greenlight a project and exempt it from permitting rules in a bill that we are saying is designed to improve permitting.

I yield the floor.

VOTE ON MORA NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Mora nomination?

Mr. MENENDEZ. 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 executive clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HICKENLOOPER) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) are necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. BURR) and the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ).

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 391 Ex.]

YEAS—51

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

NAYS—45

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

NOT VOTING—4

Burr	Hickenlooper
Crux	Sanders

The nomination was confirmed.

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

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, it is always an honor to speak on the Senate floor, and it is especially an honor when the Presiding Officer is one of my favorite Members of the Senate and especially an honor when I am going to be followed by the other Senator from Ohio, about whom I spoke yesterday.

SENATE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Madam President, I think we can agree that we had a very productive 23 months in this session of the U.S. Sen-

ate. Democrats passed the Inflation Reduction Act, which will lower prescription drug costs, which will combat climate change, and which will hold corporations accountable when they reward CEOs at the expense of workers.

We worked together on a bipartisan basis, and I worked with my colleague Senator PORTMAN to pass a historic infrastructure bill. Presidents of both parties promised it, and we finally got it done, starting last year, with a new President and a new Senate. It means moving forward on projects Americans need, like the Brent Spence Bridge, which is in Senator PORTMAN's community on the other end of my State. It connects my State to Leader McCONNELL's State. The Brent Spence Bridge—they say something like 3 percent of GDP crosses over that bridge every single day.

Senator PORTMAN and I also worked together to make sure that we had strong "Buy American" language—the strongest ever "Buy American" language. We teamed up because we know the jobs that creates in my State.

We passed the PACT Act, again bipartisan, the most comprehensive expansion of benefits for veterans who faced toxic exposure in our country's history.

Senator TESTER, who sits just two seats away from me here and who came to the Senate with me—Senator TESTER from Montana chairs the Veterans' Affairs Committee. I will be, next year, the second-most senior member of that committee. We wrote that bill together. I give more credit to Senator TESTER, but we worked together. It is the most comprehensive expansion of benefits.

I have been in 15 Ohio counties since that bill passed talking to people. If you are diagnosed as a veteran with one of the 23 illnesses this bill spells out and you were exposed to these football field-sized burn pits in Iraq or Afghanistan, you automatically will get coverage in the Cleveland VA or Dayton or Cincinnati or Chillicothe or in one of the community-based clinics in Zanesville or Mansfield or Parma.

After decades of inaction, we passed the first meaningful legislation on gun safety in decades, which will help make our schools and communities a bit safer.

This summer—again, bipartisan, with Senator PORTMAN and others—we passed the CHIPS and Science Act, which is already helping to reshore semiconductor manufacturing in the United States.

Earlier today, I was with a number of people from Intel, the company that is going to have a huge expansion. That company has promised, when they hire 5,000 workers—which they have already started to do the construction of the Intel manufacturing plant—that they are hiring a lot of so-called PLA, which means they will hire union workers.

And in the worst depths—and this is what I want to talk about in more detail. Sorry for the long lead-in.

In the worst depths of COVID, Democrats passed the American Rescue Plan, which temporarily expanded the child tax credit. It kept renters in their homes and saved the pensions of more than a million retirees. It saved the pensions already of 40,000 Ohio workers, and that number will grow to 100,000 by the time it is fully in effect.

I sat on the floor that day on March 6. I sat next to Senator CASEY, one of my best friends here, from Pennsylvania, and I turned to him when we passed the child tax credit and the pensions bill, keeping renters in their homes. I said: This is the best day of my career, because I knew what it would mean to do the child tax credit.

The bill passed on March 6, at 12:30 in the afternoon, after a 12-hour vote. It passed by one vote two different times. The President signed it 2 days later.

I called Secretary Yellen, the Secretary of the Treasury. She immediately enlisted the head of the Internal Revenue Service, who began the process. By mid-July, checks were going out to hundreds of thousands of families in Minnesota and Ohio and across the country. We saw in the space of about 3 months a 40-percent—40 percent—reduction in the child poverty rate.

I heard from parents all around the State—helping them afford childcare, groceries, rent, new school clothes, summer camp. For many kids it was the first time ever to go to a summer camp. We know what a difference this made at a time when families struggled to keep up with rising costs.

Unfortunately, the child tax credit expansion ended in 2021. It shouldn't have happened, and we have an opportunity now to get it going again. The bipartisan work of this Congress doesn't have to be done yet.

Here is what we need to do.

In 2017, the tax law Republicans passed gave profitable corporations a 14-percent reduction in the corporate tax rate—a huge gift. I opposed it. Many of us did. It was a huge gift to the megawealthy and corporations. Part of that law changed the rules for business deductions. It said: You get a 14-point cut to the corporate rate, but now you have to amortize R&D, research and development expensing. There is going to be more of a limit on the interest you can deduct. You won't be able to deduct all of your investments in the year you make them, just four-fifths.

Now businesses are asking us to undo these new rules. In exchange, are they offering to give back a point on the corporate rate? No.

They got a huge windfall 5 years ago. They want more now. Are they offering maybe a half point, a quarter point? No, they just want another tax cut.

Here is what I want everybody to hear:

In this body and throughout the United States, the Democrats are willing to do it. We believe we should invest in manufacturing. We should be-

lieve in American families and American children. As part of a balanced package, we will make the changes the businesses are asking for. We have already offered to make these changes. All we are saying is that it needs to be balanced. If we are going to give huge tax cuts to large corporations, we are going to at the same time make sure that we take care of children. This isn't just the lowest income kids. They certainly are part of it. This is 90 percent of children in Ohio. This is 2 million Ohio children. It is all but the wealthiest 10 percent of families who get this tax cut.

Do you know what that means? Think about if this child tax credit had been in effect in the last year and how it would have blunted the damage from inflation that inflicted so many families. If they had been getting that \$250 or \$300 per child, per month, as they had gotten through calendar year 2021—from July until the end of the year and then the beginning of the next year—imagine how much easier their lives would have been and how much more they would have been able to cope with inflation if they had gotten that monthly \$250 or \$300 check.

It is a smart policy. It is a win-win for every single one of our States. One in four kids who is living in rural Idaho is left out of the full child tax credit. In Kentucky and Ohio, that number is one in three. We can fix that.

Raising kids is hard work. I heard time and again, after we passed the CTC, from people who said it made it just a little bit easier for families. We got so many calls and letters—I am sure Senator PORTMAN did too—about how this would make people's lives just a little bit easier. If you had had two children who were 2 and 4 years old, you would have gotten \$600 a month. If you had had three kids who were 7, 10, and 12, you would have gotten \$750 for a period of time.

So what are we here for in this body? We are not just here to give tax cuts to rich people and to corporations. We should try to make things just a little bit easier—I have heard that term over and over—for the families we represent.

There is a deal to be had here. Let's knock out one more bipartisan victory for the American people before we go home. Yes, let's do the research and development tax break—it will help us grow jobs—but at the same time, let's do the child tax credit expansion. It will help us grow our children. It will make a huge difference.

I ask my colleagues: Let's get this done.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. OSSOFF). The Senator from Ohio.

UKRAINE

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. President, I come to the floor for the 28th consecutive week since the Senate has been in session to once again discuss the war in Ukraine and why it is so important that all of us—the United States and

our allies—stand up for Ukraine at this point and provide them the military, economic, and humanitarian aid they need.

Over the weekend, I spoke at the annual holiday lunch of the Cleveland area's Nationalities Movement. As my colleague from Ohio knows, this was started during the Cold War to advocate for freedom for the former Soviet states. The group, today, includes people whose families have come from all over Eastern and Central Europe: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia, of course Ukraine, and many other countries. All strongly support Ukrainian freedom and the right of Ukraine to chart its own course.

At the luncheon, I talked to some of my friends who were there, many of whom have family or friends in Ukraine. We talked about some of the hardships that their relatives and their friends in Ukraine are facing today and how, as we approach the holiday season here in America, we are thinking about Christmas shopping and putting up decorations and spending time with our families and friends over the holidays. They are thinking about something else. They are thinking about how they can survive. They are thinking about how to stay warm, whether they are going to have running water or electricity. They are living with fear and uncertainty in not knowing when the next Russian missile might strike.

The brutal, unprovoked, and illegal invasion of Ukraine has now turned into an outright attack on civilians and noncombatants.

This photo is something that we are seeing in communities all over Ukraine. This is some civilian infrastructure. You can see the power grid here and the power lines. This was the result of a Russian missile strike. All over, this is happening: drones, missiles, attacking infrastructure—killing civilians, by the way—and forcing people to live in the dark and in the cold as Ukraine's severe winter weather approaches.

Although these merciless Russian attacks are meant to weaken the resolve of the Ukrainians, it is not having that effect, actually. I have seen this from my recent trips to Ukraine. It is actually hardening people's resolve. The Ukrainians know that these are desperate missile attacks to the interior of the country. Why? Because Russia is losing on the actual battlefield.

As this map shows, the Ukrainians have shown courage and effectiveness in actually pushing out Russia from all of these red areas of Ukraine. This is where Russia was after February 24. Fifty percent or more of the country has now been liberated by Ukrainian troops. We forget about that. About 55 percent of Ukraine has now been liberated—again, thanks to the resolve and the courage and the military skill of the Ukrainians. Ukrainian soldiers continue to advance more slowly, but they continue to advance, giving the Russians no time to relax or to recover.