

over the past few years with the infrastructure law and the Inflation Reduction Act. It is about 175 million new dollars for Tribal transportations.

All of this funding came to be because colleagues on both sides of the aisle, in both Chambers, said: Whatever other differences we may have, we agree that this is important and urgent and worth fighting for.

We got to work, and we actually did it.

Bipartisan victories do not grab the headlines in this town. They don't lead cable news or get tons of engagement on Twitter because there isn't a villain to ridicule or a controversy to editorialize about.

But the Federal Government has a trust responsibility to American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians, which we have long fallen short of. For generations, Native communities were considered an afterthought, especially in the spending process.

Today, through steps like these, bit by bit, we are saying: No more.

So I want to thank everyone who worked for months quietly behind the scenes to get this done. That includes Members and staff of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Housing, as well as the Committee on Indian Affairs, both of which I chair.

I especially want to thank my ranking member, CINDY HYDE-SMITH, and my vice chair, LISA MURKOWSKI, for their continued partnership on this and other Native issues. I want to thank the many committee members who advocated for this funding on behalf of Native communities in their home States.

I am also grateful to our counterparts in the House: Representative COLE, the chairman of the Rules Committee and the chairman of the T-HUD Subcommittee; and Representative QUIGLEY, who fought to include this funding, despite difficult fiscal constraints.

As always, none of that is ever possible without the incredible staff on these committees who patiently and painstakingly turned commitments and deals made at the member level into real dollars and cents enshrined in Federal law.

Over the past few years, as a nation, we have begun to reckon with and address historic injustices against marginalized communities. It is important, it is necessary, and it is long overdue. But, somehow, a lot of that work has glossed over America's first injustice—the injustice toward Native people.

It is a brutal history spanning centuries and generations—forcibly removing Native people from their homelands, pushing children into boarding schools, robbing ancestral remains and cultural items. The impacts of the colonization and forced assimilation are being felt to this day.

We are not going to reverse hundreds of years of injustice in one legislative session, but it can't be that remedying

these injuries and those injustices—and finally doing right by Native people—takes another few centuries. It needs to start happening now. That requires all of us learning and really understanding the long and painful history. It means addressing the many ways that Native culture has been repeatedly robbed and harmed, which is something that the Committee on Indian Affairs, Federal Agencies, and others are working on with things like the repatriation of cultural remains and language revitalization.

Above all, it means supporting the everyday material needs of Native people. They need electricity. They need running water. They need reliable heating in their homes. They need safe roads and accessible transit. All of this work has to happen together.

The good news is this: Here in Congress, people in both parties recognize the urgency of issues affecting Native communities and are committed to prioritizing them. Even if that doesn't make for a splashy headline, it is no small thing for the millions of Native people across the country who are depending on us.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska.

ELECTRIC VEHICLES

Mrs. FISCHER. Mr. President, tomorrow, the Biden administration's Environmental Protection Agency will release new tailpipe emission standards formulated to push electric vehicles on the American people. The administration says that because of EVs "the future of American transportation is on track to be cleaner, safer, more affordable, and more reliable than ever before." And Vice President HARRIS has said that our Nation's embrace of electric vehicles will determine "the health of our communities, the strength of our economy, and the sustainability of our planet."

The way the administration and their activist friends paint EVs, you would think these cars are a time-tested environmental blessing with transportation, economic, and community benefits to boot. But behind the curtain of this climate crusade there is little supportive evidence and plenty of problems—problems the administration has tried to hide.

So what is the truth of the matter? The truth is that electric vehicles are not a magic bullet for the environment. They are underdeveloped and they pose safety risks and they create more problems than they solve, both at home and abroad.

So let's talk science. Climate activists say electric vehicles are bringing on a Green Revolution, but the facts—the facts—do not support that claim. The President said in a recent speech that "when I got elected President . . . we vowed to enact the most ambitious climate and environmental justice campaign in American history."

That campaign, according to President Biden, includes "moving to all-

electric vehicles in the future." And Vice President HARRIS has styled the push for electric vehicles as "an approach that is about clean energy and being smart around a reduction of greenhouse gas emissions."

When the administration makes these inflated claims about electric vehicles, they are only looking at what comes out of the exhaust pipe, but there is much more to the life of an electric vehicle. We will start at the beginning. The production of electric vehicle batteries requires a massive amount of electricity, usually produced by generators that burn fossil fuels. The manufacturing of EVs produces at least 60 percent more carbon emissions than that of gas-powered cars.

EVs, they start their lives with carbon debt. But even after they are on the road, EVs have their problems. They weigh significantly more than gas-powered cars because of those heavy batteries. This extra weight, it wears down an EV's tires as it drives. One study compared an electric car to a hybrid car and found that the electric one emitted about a quarter more particulate matter because of tire wear. Driving the electric car heightened overall emissions compared to a hybrid.

The climate activists pushing EVs aren't just ignoring this science; they are actually trying to hide it. When the California Air Resources Board analyzed the facts of the State's proposed ban on gas-powered cars over the next decade, it assumed both EVs and gas-powered cars have the same tire wear. The agency said it would be "speculative" to assume that electric cars will continue being heavier than gas cars. If that sentence was confusing, well, it is because it doesn't make sense.

Public policy should reflect reality, not the baseless future dream of featherweight electric cars. What is speculative, obviously, is assuming that the weight of EVs will change over the next decade, but there is no evidence to support that claim.

Here is another instance of sham science: Under an Energy Department rule, automakers were encouraged to greatly overestimate the fuel efficiency of electric vehicles. By fudging the numbers, carmakers claimed that EVs had absurdly high fuel efficiencies, up to 430 miles per gallon. Well, then—then the government granted subsidies to those automakers for supposedly meeting those high efficiency standards. It was a fake science racket designed to juice the EV industry.

Well, how did they fudge the numbers? The Energy Department included what they called a fuel content factor in their fuel efficiency equations, which multiplied the efficiency rates for EVs by 6.67. According to the rule, they chose that specific multiplier, "for simplicity and ease of use." In part, the rule reads that "it is included to reward electric vehicles' benefits to the Nation relative to petroleum-fueled vehicles."

Well, people found out about that multiplier and how arbitrary that it was, and they pushed back. So now, in response, the Energy Department itself admitted that this multiplier “lacks legal support” and has “no basis”—“no basis.” They finally buckled, and they eliminated that step.

So why did it take so long? Activism is getting in the way of truth when it comes to electric vehicles. Suppressing the facts won't help us make the most environmentally sensible choices. Administration activists aren't just wrong about the environmental benefits of electric vehicles; they are also wrong about their performance. Secretary of Transportation Pete Buttigieg claimed that “we see the superiority of [EVs] in terms of performance, not just in terms of climate.”

And the Department of Transportation says “EVs provide lower operating costs, reduced maintenance needs, and improved performance.” But the truth is that electric vehicles are often undeveloped, inefficient, and they are unsafe.

We all heard about EVs malfunctioning this winter. Freezing temperatures and hot temperatures drain batteries and reduce driving range, and they leave stranded drivers helpless. Even in normal weather, EVs have been plagued with glitches. Ford recalled some F-150 Lightning trucks with defects. General Motors told dealers to stop selling the Blazer SUV because of design flaws. A Consumer Reports survey found that new EVs have 79 percent more problems than internal combustion cars.

Why is this administration trying to speed up EV production when they are clearly not ready for prime time?

Electric vehicle charging stations malfunction just as badly as the vehicles. Last year, researchers visited every public fast charger in the San Francisco Bay area—every single one. They found that almost 23 percent of them had “unresponsive or unavailable screens, payment system failures, charge initiation failures, network failures, or broken connectors.”

Auto analytics company J.D. Power found that one in five charging sessions at public stations failed to deliver any charge at all. This problem is more serious than just a glitch. Performance issues create safety issues.

As I mentioned before, EV batteries can weigh thousands of pounds. They make electric vehicles 30 percent heavier, on average, than gas-powered cars. That extra weight makes a lot of difference when one crashes into you going 60 miles per hour.

The University of Nebraska actually tested how EVs performed in a crash against safety guardrails and roadside barriers earlier this year. And what they found was disturbing. Because they are so heavy, electric vehicles crash with up to 50 percent more impact, smashing through and destroying roadside barriers. Our current safety infrastructure can't stop an EV, and

that is a major problem—especially for other drivers.

The Center for Auto Safety Executive Director Michael Brooks says that “we are likely to see many additional deaths and injuries attributable solely to the added weight of EV batteries.”

These deaths and these injuries also disproportionately affect women and children. A report released last month by the Government Accountability Office found that crash tests across the country—well, they don't use the accurate female crash test dummies. Some only use male dummies. They don't even attempt to test car safety on the female body.

This is part of why crashes injure and kill women at higher rates than men. Women are 80 percent more likely to sustain lower leg injuries. And these current crash test dummies don't even provide data on that type of injury.

Before mandating a rush of electric vehicles on the roads, the Biden administration needs to find a solution to the risks that these cars can pose, especially the risks that they pose to women.

So what happens if you are driving your new EV, crash, and it catches on fire? Would you call the fire department or the highway patrol? Well, if so, you may be out of luck. EVs pose special risks to first responders as well.

Their batteries contain so much energy that any contact with fire can cause them to explode. High-voltage lithium-ion batteries also pose a risk of electric shock to first responders. Firefighters have been caught off guard by electric vehicles that erupt in fire. If cells in an EV battery are damaged, they can experience an uncontrolled increase in temperature and pressure. That volatility can reignite a fire in a battery even after it has been put out.

One fire chief described an EV fire as a “trick candle.” You never know when it will reflare.

We have debunked the claim that EVs are better for our environment. We have debunked the claim that they are technologically superior. But what about the claim that electrifying our vehicle fleet will boost America's energy independence?

President Biden said this year that “investing aggressively in electric vehicles and battery production now . . . is . . . important for strengthening our long-term economic security.”

The reason he gave is that 75 percent of EV battery manufacturing is done in China. In his words, “For some battery components, critical materials, China controls nearly half the global production.”

President Biden's logic is severely flawed. If we invest aggressively in electric vehicles now—like he wants to—we will just boost China's dominance in sourcing and in manufacturing.

China is the world's largest manufacturer of electric vehicles. A senior research scientist at MIT admitted that when it comes to EVs, “we still are

going to be dependent on China for many, many years.”

The EV industry is effectively run by the Chinese Communist Party. The Biden administration is not only encouraging Americans to support an industry monopolized by the CCP, they are supporting it themselves through Federal rulings.

In December, the Treasury Department released guidance to make it easier for Foreign Entities of Concern to use the clean vehicle tax credit when they route our EV supply chains through China.

One Washington Post article released last year tracked China's EV operations to another interesting location: Afghanistan. Shortly after his inauguration, President Biden ordered our troops out of Afghanistan, paving the way for a Taliban takeover of the nation's government.

Well, that got China's attention. Afghanistan is home to large lithium reserves, one of the minerals essential for EV batteries. With the United States out of the picture, Chinese mining companies have flooded Afghanistan. These companies have developed a symbiotic relationship with the anti-American Taliban leadership, and that relationship continues to grow.

The electric vehicle supply chain fuels our adversaries. At the same time, it fuels human rights violations across the world. These so-called “clean” cars use dirty manufacturing methods.

The Biden administration is sending millions of dollars to the Congo to support cobalt mining for electric vehicle batteries. A few years ago, human rights groups investigated Congo's mining sector, and they found it full of young children working in hand-dug tunnels that often collapse, burying these kids alive. The massive demand for cobalt only encourages that industry to keep using inhumane and environmentally irresponsible mining methods.

One Congolese mining expert said it best. He asked:

How can you base a green revolution on trashing Congolese environment and exploiting Congolese workers?

This phenomenon stretches across Africa into Asia. In Indonesia, miners use an intense acid-leaching process that sickens the local environment.

One man told reporters that the rivers he used to drink from have turned dark red since the nickel mine added its acid-leaching refinery. Pollution in those rivers has killed rows of coconut trees and schools of fish. Not only are locals deprived of clean water, but many local fishermen have to travel farther to support their livelihoods.

The Biden administration does not acknowledge or address the dark side of their self-proclaimed Green Revolution. They keep it tucked away in Congo and Indonesia, hidden away from their climate soapbox. But it is time for the administration to stop hiding this truth. They have spearheaded a

reckless push toward a future run by electric vehicles.

If they have integrity, they will stop burying evidence and come clean about the electric vehicle record on environment, on safety, and on human rights. And if they have good judgment—well, they will tap the brakes on this climate charade.

Electric vehicles are ridden with problems, as any developing technology is. The problem is not so much electric vehicles as it is this administration's blind insistence on electric vehicle mandates that harm Americans and that harm the environment.

The White House is forcing electric vehicles on our country in a hasty, overzealous political play. And they are spurning the science, the facts, and the reality: Americans don't want the electric vehicle revolution and for good reason.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Rhode Island.

ISRAEL

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise today to discuss the situation in the Middle East and the war between Israel and Hamas.

Five months ago, Hamas brutally attacked Israel, killing more than 1,200 people and taking 240 hostages. Hamas militants terrorized the Israeli people, committed unspeakable acts of torture and mutilation against innocent men, women, and children. This tragedy was the single deadliest day in Israel's 75-year history and the deadliest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust.

In the wake of these horrific attacks, the United States has stood by its democratic friend and ally Israel, as it has since the very beginning when Harry Truman stood up as the first world leader to recognize the State of Israel.

I personally traveled with a bipartisan group of my colleagues 2 weeks after the attacks to mourn with the people of Israel and support the defense of Israel, to ensure that they knew the United States was with them.

In my meetings in Israel and with Jewish leaders from Rhode Island, it is clear to me that this attack has had a profound impact on Israelis and Jewish people everywhere. This attack has touched the deepest nerve, reopened the wounds of the past, and left many wondering not how but if Jews will ever be safe from persecution because of who they are.

As I have continued to make clear, Israel can and must defend itself against the military threat from Hamas. Any nation that is attacked in this manner has the inherent right to self-defense.

The United States will continue to support Israel as it works to degrade and defeat Hamas, but I must also say I have deep reservations about how this war is being conducted. I believe good allies, good friends stand together; and we stand with Israel. But great allies, great friends are willing to speak hard

truths and hold each other to the highest standards, especially around the conduct of war and issues of national security.

I want to echo the majority leader, the senior Senator from New York—a truly devoted pro-Israel champion who is spiritually and emotionally connected to Israel unlike very few of us, if any, in this Chamber, who has been a friend to Israeli leaders across the political spectrum, and who is unafraid to speak truth to power.

It is clear to me, now 5 months into this war, that Israel's strategy to defeat Hamas is in peril. While the IDF has made important progress in rooting out Hamas in Gaza, I do not see a clear endgame or metrics for success coming from this Israeli Government. There is no plan for the day after the fighting stops.

We know that more than 30,000 Gazans are dead. The millions of Gazans who have survived have largely been forced to flee south toward Rafah and the crossing there with Egypt. They have little access to food, water, shelter, or medical care. Those remaining in the north are facing dire humanitarian conditions. More than 2 million Gazans are at risk of starvation or famine. Enormous portions of the Gaza Strip have been completely destroyed and left uninhabitable, and the West Bank is teetering on the brink of chaos.

There are regular exchanges of fire in the north with Hezbollah, who are ensconced in Lebanon. This has forced nearly 100,000 Israelis to move from their homes to escape these attacks emanating from Lebanon. Lebanese noncombatants are caught in the cross-fire between IDF forces and Hezbollah. The region stands at the precipice of being engulfed in an all-out war.

Today, as chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Senate, as a friend and longtime supporter of the Israeli people, it is my duty to say clearly that this war has veered off course. There must be a fundamental course correction for the national security interests of Israel, America, and our allies and partners throughout the world.

I do not come to this conclusion lightly. There are two factors that we must understand and come to terms with. First, Israel should learn from the United States' hard-earned strategic and tactical lessons from Iraq and Afghanistan. And, second, as Leader SCHUMER courageously argued here on the Senate floor last week, Israel and its allies must acknowledge that Prime Minister Netanyahu's failed policies and desperate pursuit of power created much of the tragic situation we are witnessing today.

There are actual steps Israel can take to address these issues. We should start by recognizing lessons from America's war in Iraq. We, too, suffered a national tragedy on September 11, 2001, and immediately sought to defend ourselves. We launched our campaign

to degrade and defeat al-Qaida and Afghanistan, and the result of that war showed early military success. But the anguish of 9/11 affected our ability to make clear strategic decisions; and we, despite my opposition, mistakenly invaded another country, Iraq, which had no role in the attacks on that horrific day of September 11. National grief and political fury can cloud the thinking of even the shrewdest military tacticians.

I worry that the mistakes of America's war in Iraq are being made again by Israel in Gaza.

Similar to the power vacuum that the United States created when it dismantled Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq, Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005 contributed to the extremist violence we see today. The rise of Hamas, a terrorist group whose stated goal is the destruction of Israel and the Israeli people, assumed control of the Gaza Strip. But instead of using that opportunity to build lifelines for the people of Gaza, Hamas built a 500-mile tunnel network to terrorize Israel. Instead of providing education, healthcare, and basic services for Palestinians, Hamas stockpiled and unleashed thousands of rockets against Israel through the course of the years.

Now, in the wake of October 7, Israel's stated goal is to destroy a terror group capable of guerrilla-style warfare in a large urban territory with the aid of a massive underground tunnel system. This mission would be daunting for even the most highly trained and advanced militaries.

As it pursues this goal, Israel should consider lessons from the United States' tactical experiences in Iraq. In particular, the battle of Fallujah in 2004 provides a painful case study in counterinsurgency warfare in an urban environment. After a violent, grinding fight through that city, the United States significantly failed to achieve the objectives of clearing the territory from insurgents. As the Modern War Institute at West Point assessed:

Senior political leaders should not react emotionally in war and direct immediate action against a densely populated urban area when conditions for success are not present.

In contrast, operations in Gaza may be more successful by following the model of the battle of Mosul in 2016 and 2017, where the United States worked with coalition forces in Iraq to wrest Iraq's third largest city back from ISIS militants. And I had the opportunity to visit, on the ground, our forces leading a coalition of Iraq forces against ISIS.

The operation was conducted with patience and precision, and ISIS was successfully eliminated in Mosul. Even then, success was arduous and costly. As the Financial Times characterized it:

The mission to clear the city of jihadi militants was ultimately successful. But the fighting was intense, took three times longer than planned, left 10,000 civilians dead, and killed more coalition soldiers than expected.

In prosecuting its current war, Israel must do a better job of following the