

Mr. Malley mishandled classified information by storing secret documents in his personal email? Did he send this information to anyone before he was allegedly hacked and information was stolen? Why hasn't the Department of Justice charged him?

I get no answers to these; neither do the Democrats. The State Department admits they have this information but refuses to give it to us.

In light of all of the above, I cannot support and will not vote for Ms. Taylor's nomination and encourage my colleagues to do likewise.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, first I have got to acknowledge that I am not objective when it comes to Margaret Taylor, since I have had a chance to work with her. When I was the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, she was the legal counsel for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the Democrats. She was well respected in the legal advice that she gave us, both to Republicans and Democrats, and well respected by all Members of our committee. She is an outstanding public servant and is desperately needed to have a confirmed position for legal counsel in the State Department.

And, I must tell you, it is no surprise that all of the living former Legal Advisers, from Reagan to Trump—40 years, Democrats and Republicans—wrote to our committee to strongly endorse her and urge her prompt confirmation.

In regards to the two points that Senator RISCH has raised, one in regards to the interpretation of reproductive rights, she advised full compliance with U.S. law, including relating to statutory restrictions on foreign assistance related to reproductive health. It is the same advice that was given by general counsel to the Trump administration. There was no difference between the two administrations.

And as for the issue concerning Mr. Malley, that issue was 6 months before this nomination was considered.

This nomination needs to be confirmed. We need to have a confirmed person in this position. There has been no substantive argument as to why she should not be confirmed. She is highly qualified.

I urge my colleagues to support the nomination.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Margaret L. Taylor, of Maryland, to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ) is necessarily absent.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ), the Senator from Utah (Mr. LEE), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MARSHALL), the Senator from Alabama (Mr. TUBERVILLE), and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. VANCE).

Further, if present and voting: the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MARSHALL) would have voted 'nay.'

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 51, nays 43, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 217 Ex.]

YEAS—51

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

NAYS—43

Barrasso	Fischer	Ricketts
Blackburn	Graham	Risch
Boozman	Grassley	Romney
Braun	Hagerty	Rounds
Britt	Hawley	Rubio
Budd	Hoeven	Schmitt
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Cassidy	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Collins	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cornyn	Lankford	Thune
Cotton	Lummis	Tillis
Cramer	McConnell	Wicker
Crapo	Moran	Young
Daines	Mullin	
Ernst	Paul	

NOT VOTING—6

Cruz	Marshall	Tuberville
Lee	Menendez	Vance

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 51, the nays are 43.

The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Margaret L. Taylor, of Maryland, to be Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. HASSAN). The Senator from Massachusetts.

TRUTH AND HEALING COMMISSION ON INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL POLICIES ACT

Ms. WARREN. Madam President, I rise today in support of my bill, the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act. If voted into law, this bill would begin the process of delivering long overdue justice to stolen Native children and to their communities.

The Indian Boarding School system was one of the most devastating Federal creations in American history. The scale was truly staggering. For over a century, the United States forced hundreds of thousands of children out of their homes and into over 500 "boarding schools." These boarding schools were not unlike prisons.

At least 408 schools were federally funded. They were scattered across 37 States, including Alaska and Hawaii. By the 1920s, 83 percent of school-age indigenous children were in boarding schools—imagine, four out of every five Native children taken from their families, some never to be seen again.

The process was a waking nightmare. Armed officers were sent onto reservations to rip children as young as 4 from their families. Mothers and fathers who resisted could be severely punished.

Once at boarding school, kids were stripped of their heritage. Their hair was cut off, their clothing was burned, and they were given new names. Children who tried to practice even remnants of their Native cultures could be starved, whipped, and put in solitary confinement. Many children were farmed out to nearby properties for forced labor. Some were deployed to fight in war. Some were sexually abused.

Conditions at the boarding schools were deadly. Dormitories were overcrowded so that diseases spread easily. Documentation shows that hundreds of children died in these schools. It is estimated that the actual number of deaths was in the thousands or possibly even the tens of thousands. So far, 53 mass graves have been uncovered. Some are unmarked. Many children's remains were never returned to their families.

The boarding schools' motto was "Kill the Indian, and save the man." This approach was part of a larger effort. By isolating children from their families and their cultures, it was possible to break down the fabric of Tribal nations and take land more easily. Decision makers calculated that it was "cheaper to educate our wards than to make war on them."

Congress funded the majority of these schools, often using funds held in trust accounts that were legally designated for the benefit of Tribal nations. Congress paid for the schools and then authorized law enforcement to take Indian children from their homes and their Tribes. It now comes to this Congress to do everything we can to begin to heal the damage that this body inflicted.

Make no mistake, the harms of the Indian boarding schools live on today. In my time working on this bill, I have heard countless harrowing stories from survivors and from their families. There isn't an indigenous community in this country that hasn't been affected. Survivors have faced chronic medical issues and psychological trauma. They have struggled to reconnect with their loved ones, their language, and their cultures. We cannot rectify that past until we face it head-on.

There is still so much that we don't know about these boarding schools. We don't know how many children died in boarding school custody. We don't know the full spectrum of the violence that occurred. We don't know all of the ways the schools affect survivors and

descendants to this day. My bill would establish a Truth and Healing Commission to find those answers.

The Commission would formally investigate the Indian boarding schools to determine what happened and the lasting impact these schools have on survivors, their families, and their Tribal communities.

The Commission would hold hearings and convenings for victims to speak about their experiences, some for the very first time.

The Commission would have the authority to use subpoena power to gather witness testimony and to review documentation.

The Commission would be charged with making recommendations about how the history of the Indian boarding schools should inform Federal policy today.

It would address how the Federal Government should acknowledge its role in this systematic attempt to eradicate indigenous cultures and how to take that history into account when developing new Federal policies and budgets.

One last note. The boarding school policy ended just before 1970. Most of those affected have passed away, but there are remaining survivors in their sixties, seventies, and beyond. Every day that goes by, these survivors grow older, and their chance to tell their stories moves further away. These people have been harmed enough. Their wounds go deep, and they deserve a chance to stand before the U.S. Government and tell their stories in their lifetimes.

I urge my colleagues not to delay adoption of this bill. Our actions cannot make up for the harms that Congress inflicted, but by moving now, we can at least offer some token of care to those survivors who offered themselves up as living witnesses of a cruel chapter in American history.

Make no mistake, this work will be painful, but it will make us a stronger Nation. By telling the truth, we can give communities a better chance to heal, and we can begin to repair the U.S. Government's relationship with Tribal nations.

This bill has broad support. It is bipartisan. It is supported by boarding school survivors, and 32 Members of Congress have cosponsored the bill.

I urge my colleagues now to pass this bill. We should delay no longer.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, I am here today to follow my colleague Senator WARREN to discuss the legislation that we have been working on together, S. 1723. This is the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act.

As Senator WARREN has just noted, this is legislation that will allow the Nation to address a chapter of American history that I think has been overlooked for far too long. This is a dark

history, a dark legacy of the Indian boarding school era.

From 1819 to 1969—1969, not too terribly long ago—throughout that period, the U.S. Government forcibly removed Native children from their families and their Tribes, placing them in boarding schools. These Indian boarding schools, as they came to be called, were not just education institutions, but many were tools to eradicate Native cultures, languages, and traditions to “civilize” Native American children.

The traumatic effects of these boarding schools are still being felt by their survivors—not only by their survivors but by their children and really by their communities as well.

I heard from some of those survivors who are still with us that the act of sharing, being able to tell the truth about their experiences, can help contribute to healing. But it takes courage, it takes extraordinary courage, and I have heard that.

Fred John, Jr., who is the son of Katie John and Fred John, Sr., attended the Wrangell Institute in Alaska. He was assigned the number 77. He was not referred to as Fred John, Jr.; he was No. 77.

In 2018, he wrote that following his time at the boarding school, he still carried the pain and scars from his time at the institute. He never talked about it until his children gave him the strength and the encouragement to do so.

General Pratt, who opened the Carlisle Industrial School, established what he called a “rapid coercive assimilation” process in these schools. The goal there was to separate Native children from their Tribes, from their language, and from their ways so that they might never want to return home. The stated purpose of the policy at that time was to “Kill the Indian, and save the man”—again, a dark, dark legacy.

Our committee report details this history. To hear just some memories of how these policies were implemented really is devastating.

Fred John, Jr., describes seeing a group of kids arriving from Anaktuvuk Pass. This is a small Native community at the gates of the Arctic, very far into the interior of the State, very far—1,000 miles away from the Wrangell Institute down in southeastern Alaska. Fred John, Jr., remembered the fur parkas that they were wearing. He remembered their caribou pants. These were kids who came from a part of the State where caribou was their primary food source. He remembered how beautiful they all were. But when they came in, the school staff stripped them down, taking all their clothes, all the food, including the dry caribou and the salmon that they had been given to tide them over. The staff showered them, shaved them, and gave them a number.

But the most painful in his retelling was how all of their clothes—the beautiful fur parkas, the caribou pants—all

their clothes—everything—were taken and burned up in a furnace to completely wipe away their connection not just to the clothing but to the culture.

In this time period, students were punished and endured violence. Some survived and are pursuing healing, but unfortunately, many others did not.

This photo—there are two of them, actually, here on the same chart, and it may be difficult to see from a distance, but the photo on top is of a child laying on the floor. It is part of the Sheldon Jackson collection at the Presbyterian Historical Society. This shows an Alaskan Native child aboard a ship—it is called the *Revenue Cutter Bear*—to be taken to the boarding schools by Sheldon Jackson. According to Alaskan Native Heritage Center research, most of the children who were taken aboard never returned to their homes. It was a long and lengthy journey. Many went to school and never returned to their homes, passing away at the various boarding schools they were sent to, including the Sitka and Carlisle Industrial Indian Schools.

This photo on the bottom here—you can see how young these children are. This comes from the National Library of Congress, and it shows a group of children who were sent to Catholic Holy Cross Mission—again, in the interior part of the State. Here, they are wearing essentially military uniforms—everything from the boots to the uniforms themselves.

Benjamin Jacuk-Dolchok was one of the experts we worked with on this topic, and he shared his research, including these photos.

According to testimony from elders who attended the Holy Cross school, every child received a haircut upon entrance, but if they disobeyed, if they angered any of the matrons or the priests, their heads would be completely shaved as punishment.

And these are just a handful of the stories from survivors from Alaska, but Alaska was not the exception. Over the 19th and the 20th century, stories like these from survivors are, unfortunately, not too uncommon across the country.

One of the most profound reasons for Congress to establish this Commission is that it is time. It is time the Federal Government take responsibility for the legacy of its harmful policies. So our Commission will provide a Native-led process for communities to share the stories, share the truth, and pursue healing with the goal of breaking the cycle of intergenerational trauma.

And like other congressional advisory Commissions that this body has established, it will be an independent, bipartisan, formal forum with expertise to examine the Federal Indian boarding schools' legacy but also to document it and to provide recommendations for action.

Our legislation builds on an extensive congressional record that was developed through strong bipartisan work that started several Congresses ago. We

have had multiple hearings throughout our committees, listening sessions, and meetings and research by the relevant Senate and House committees. Over 100 written comments for the record from Indian Tribes, from Native communities and organizations, individuals, and religious institutions helped shape this legislation that we have reported to the floor of the Senate.

And I think it is worth taking a moment here to talk about that process that we had in the Indian Affairs Committee. We had a pretty robust markup that began with a strong bipartisan effort by our staffs to put together a substitute amendment to the bill for the committee to consider, and that substitute amendment was then further amended by our down-dais members on the committee, who offered some really good amendments to address the hot-button issues, including extending subpoena authority to the Commission. These amendments were adopted, and the bill, as amended, was reported from the committee by voice vote.

And through these additional amendments that we adopted at the business meeting, we now have a Commission that will have to meet higher standards than any other congressionally established Federal Commission in order to exercise that subpoena authority. And that is OK. That is OK here because subpoena authority should be a tool of last resort, but I do think that it is important for the Commission to have the tool to ensure that it can meet its investigatory function and deliver complete findings and recommendations to Congress.

So I want to thank all those, the many, who have shared their stories—Fred John, Jr., and so many who have shared their stories—and for offering ways to pursue healing. Again, I want to acknowledge and thank Senator WARREN for her leadership on this issue and for the leadership of Chairman SCHATZ from the Indian Affairs Committee for being a great partner as we have worked to develop this legislation through the committee process.

So I am looking forward to building even more bipartisan support for this and would urge my colleagues to support this very important and very timely matter.

With that, Madam President, I yield the floor, and I see my friend and colleague from Colorado is here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Madam President, standing here listening to my distinguished colleague from Alaska, it is hard not to be angry at what we as a country did, and we are here today to reckon with this disgraceful part of our past. The Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act is the first attempt by the Federal Government to formally investigate and address this horrific period in U.S. history. This legislation and the truth that it will unearth is an essential step toward healing.

Now, from the early 19th to the mid-20th century, the U.S. Government established 408 Federal boarding schools across the United States. Now, these schools were created for the purpose of stripping Native American children of their language, their religion, and their cultural identity. In the over 100 years that these schools were in operation, our government took an estimated 100,000 Native American children from their homes and from their families. An estimated 40,000 of these children died alone, without their family, at government-sanctioned schools.

And this is the story of one of those schools.

Now, in 2022, I visited Colorado's Fort Lewis College. It is a wonderful, remarkable college. It has one of the highest, if not the highest, proportion of Native American students of any college in the country. But it traces its origin back to the Fort Lewis Indian Boarding School, and I went there to discuss the boarding school's history with students at Fort Lewis and with the Tribal Council of the Southern Ute and the Ute Mountain Ute Tribes.

It is because of the hard work of Fort Lewis College and the hard work of the Tribes that we can bring many of the details of this dark history to light.

Now, Fort Lewis was established in 1892 in Hesperus, CO. To call Fort Lewis a school really is—that is a bald-faced lie. Native American children were not given an education in reading or writing or math. The education model, instead, was based on assimilation into a White and Western way of life, and it came at a truly devastating cost.

From 1892 to 1909, an estimated 1,100 children attended this boarding school in southern Colorado. These children were forcibly taken from their families of the Southern Ute, Navajo, Apache, and other numerous Tribes.

Desperate to save their children, many Southern Ute families refused to turn their children over. As punishment, the school's superintendent Dr. Thomas Breen cut off the Tribe's food rations to try to force the children's attendance.

Breen's tactics failed. The Southern Ute Tribe was steadfast in their resistance and their refusal to give up their children.

Upon arrival at Fort Lewis, students were stripped of their clothing, their names, and, as Senator MURKOWSKI said, their hair. Each day, the children were required to perform manual labor, like digging ditches and planting crops, oftentimes in the hot midafternoon sun. Combined with the poor sanitation and lack of food, many students quickly became ill. Disaster struck in the school's first year. A tuberculosis epidemic hit, followed by trachoma, known at that time as "sore eyes." Two children died. Four others became blind. All were under the age of 12.

Now, punishment of children at Fort Lewis was often severe. One father reported that his sons were forced to

sleep outside in a coal shed in the middle of winter without adequate blankets. Superintendent Breen himself was known for sexually abusing his young female students and teachers. When the girls became pregnant, school officials made sure that they "disappeared," transporting them to other schools to avoid suspicion.

Our Federal Government never held Breen accountable. School reports show that 31 children died during the 16 years that the Fort Lewis school was in operation. I can guarantee you that the actual number is probably higher.

This is the story of just one of these schools. There were four others in Colorado. There were 403 more across the country. That is 407 other Superintendent Breens, tens of thousands of children who died in unmarked graves and who never saw their families again.

It is hard to imagine why our government was preying on our own children. Why would our government sanction such conduct? Our government understood that erasing Native people's identity was a necessary condition to erase their claim to their land, to assimilate them right out of existence, and to ignore the lands guaranteed by treaty to the Tribes.

Don't take my word for it. In less than 50 years, from 1887 to 1934, Native Americans lost two-thirds of their Tribal lands, of their treaty lands.

And the legacies of this deep trauma remain embedded in Tribal communities today. In Colorado, we see it in the high rates of poverty, the high rates of addiction, the high rates of suicide among our Native American communities. We see it in children who don't know their parents' indigenous names or who have lost their own language, families who don't know what happened to their relatives, to their ancestors, many of whom just never returned home.

The Truth and Healing Act is not going to erase this dark past, but it does acknowledge our responsibility to unearth the stories of suffering and injustice that we have buried for generations.

In 2022, I joined Secretary Deb Haaland, Secretary of the Interior, at a dedication ceremony for the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. In front of Tribal leaders and elected officials, Secretary Haaland told the crowd:

Stories like the Sand Creek massacre are not easy to tell but it is . . . our duty to ensure that they are told. This story is part of America's story.

The Fort Lewis Indian Boarding School, along with the 407 others, is a part of our story. When we pass the Truth and Healing Act, we make a choice to tell the whole story, and we make a choice never to repeat it.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Madam President, I rise in support of S.1723, the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act. I thank Senator WARREN for her leadership on

this issue and her efforts, along with those of Chairman SCHATZ, Vice Chairman MURKOWSKI, and the Indian Affairs Committee, to pass this bill. I also want to thank the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition based in Minnesota for its work to raise awareness of Indian boarding school policies and the experiences of those harmed by them.

We know that between 1819 and 1969, Native American youth were forced against their will to attend Indian boarding schools across the country, including 21 in Minnesota. We know that these schools, of which there were hundreds, sought to strip these children of their Native identities, beliefs, and languages. And we know these schools subjected Native children to abuse and neglect. What we do not know is how many children were taken from their homes and families. And far too many families do not know what came of their children. For 150 years, countless voices have been silenced; countless stories have gone untold.

This bipartisan legislation is about telling those stories. It is about addressing and investigating the lasting harms these boarding schools caused for generation after generation of Native Americans. And it is about beginning the healing process for the descendants of the victims of the Indian boarding school policies.

Our Nation's strength comes from the diversity of our people, including our more than 10 million American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians in our country. Their cultures and traditions should be celebrated, not suppressed as the Indian boarding school policies sought to do.

The United States has a unique and sacred government-to-government relationship with Tribal nations that is deeply rooted in treaties, the law, and the Constitution. This relationship demands an unwavering Federal commitment to supporting the well-being of Native Americans. This legislation and the commission it would establish are critical steps toward fulfilling that commitment.

One of the Native philosophies that has always resonated with me is the belief that decisions are not made just for today, but for seven generations from now.

That is what this bill is: an investment in future generations. By putting us on a path to healing today, this legislation paves the way to a better tomorrow for Native families.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Madam President, I rise today in support of the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act and in remembrance of the thousands of Native children who died and suffered in these schools.

Thousands of children were ripped from their families in the name of assimilation. Thousands of children were the victims of physical and sexual

abuse. And thousands of children were forbidden from practicing their culture and speaking their Native languages.

The operation of Federal Indian boarding schools by the U.S. Department of the Interior is one of the darkest chapters of American history, a chapter whose consequences are still being felt deeply by boarding school survivors, their families, and Tribal communities.

The Federal Government funded more than 400 Indian boarding schools over the course of 150 years, one of the earliest being the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, where Wampanoag children from my own home State of Massachusetts were stolen from their families, sent hundreds of miles away, and subjected to cruel and inhumane assimilation practices.

When Captain Richard Henry Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian School in 1879, he imbued it with this model:

Kill the Indian, save the man.

But we know all too well that these boarding schools did only the former. They acted as a violent means of assimilation and an essential tool in the U.S. Government's dispossession of Native people's aboriginal rights, land, and culture. Children as young as 4 years old were subjected to systemic, violent abuse.

The Department of the Interior's recent investigation found that children were renamed from Native names to English names; had their hair cut off; were discouraged or prevented from using their languages, religion, and cultural practices; and organized into units to perform military drills.

The Department of the Interior has since identified marked and unmarked burial sites at 53 schools. This is just the tip of the tragic, horrifying, unacceptable iceberg of our history.

In a confidential message to Congress, Thomas Jefferson said about Native people that "when they withdraw themselves to the culture of a small piece of land, they will perceive how useless to them are their extensive forests, and will be willing to pare them off from time to time."

He directed Congress—Thomas Jefferson—to "encourage them to abandon hunting" so that "the extensive forests necessary in the hunting life, will then become useless."

What was once a plot to take Native land also became the foundation of our Nation's century-long legacy of forced assimilation, displacement, and, ultimately, attempted eradication of Native language, culture, and the people themselves.

We have not simply a moral responsibility but a legal obligation to the welfare of Tribes across the country to uphold treaty rights and to recognize the dark history of our own country. And this obligation cannot be met without securing truth, justice, and healing for every Native person, family, and Tribe affected by these genocidal policies.

In Massachusetts, we have seen the healing process in action. After cen-

turies of forced assimilation led to the extinction of the Wopanaak language, members of the Mashpee, Aquinnah, Assonet, and Herring Pond Wampanoag communities came together to widely reintroduce and reengage with their ancestral language.

Today, the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe's school serves as a shining example of how Native students can thrive when they are surrounded by their language and their culture and not stripped of it.

But Tribes should not be left to fight alone to recover what was stolen from them by the American government. Passing the Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act would be an essential step to turn the American government from an historic enemy to a future ally in righting these wrongs.

So I thank Senator SCHATZ. I thank him for his great leadership on these issues and for his excellent staff. I thank Senator MURKOWSKI for organizing this floor time for us to bring attention to this part of American history that we must never forget; and Senator WARREN for introducing this important legislation that begins to put us on a path of truth and healing.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, I want to thank everybody for being part of this series of very compelling speeches about the atrocities that the U.S. Government perpetrated against the first peoples of the United States.

For over 150 years, the U.S. Government stole hundreds of thousands of Native children from their families and communities and forced them into federally run and supported "boarding schools," often far away from their homes. These institutions, by design, worked with efficient, brutal, and systematic diligence to force Native children to abandon their culture, abandon their language, and abandon their very identity through unspeakably cruel punishment, abuse, and neglect. As one school superintendent noted: "Only by complete isolation of the Indian child from his savage antecedents can he be satisfactorily educated."

These inhumane policies were part of the government's longstanding colonial project to rob Native people's land through assimilation. The goal was to "civilize" Native children by killing the Indian in him and saving the man. That was the motto at the time: Killing the Indian and saving the man.

These were not faraway bad guys. These were employees and agents of the U.S. Federal Government. To hear this history today is appalling, it is infuriating, it is heartbreaking, because as the late Senator Ted Kennedy put it, it "challenges the most precious assumptions about what this country stands for—cultural pluralism, equity and justice, the integrity of the individual, freedom of conscience and action, and the pursuit of happiness."

But it is not just the history that demands a reckoning. It is also the lasting legacy of these immoral policies, which continue to this day. The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, which I chair, has heard devastating testimony from survivors, descendants, communities, and leaders about the impact of these schools decades later—a legacy of enduring trauma passed down from parent to child to grandchild to great-grandchild, fracturing families and communities over and over again.

I want you to imagine a Native community with no kids left, just the parents and grandparents. Imagine, not just the trauma for that group of children who were abducted, but what kind of community is left there. As a parent, I would be absolutely catatonic for the rest of my life—across Indian reservations and Hawaiian homelands and Alaska Native communities, from coast to coast in cities and in rural communities. And we see it manifest in so many ways with Native communities, whether it is higher rates of mental health challenges or substance abuse or suicide.

So it is not enough to just face up to the wrongs of the past; although, that is essential. It is equally important to provide justice and support for survivors and descendants. The Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policies Act does both of these things. The bill establishes a Truth and Healing Commission as well as several advisory bodies tasked with uncovering the full scope of what took place at these schools. The Commission will provide a platform for survivors to share their experience, for the Nation to hear and acknowledge their pain. Doing so ensures that these stories are preserved and that the atrocities are never forgotten.

Importantly, this bill is sensitive to the trauma experienced by survivors and descendants and requires the Commission to provide them with trauma-informed care.

Ultimately, the Commission's final report will provide a comprehensive account of the boarding school era and recommendations to Congress for future action.

Madam President, before I close, I want to take a moment to directly acknowledge the survivors, the descendants, the families, and the communities that have been devastated by these policies. Some of them are here with us today in the Gallery. Their advocacy and courage have been the driving force behind this bill. And the fact that we have reached this point—having passed the bill unanimously out of Committee and ready to consider it before the full U.S. Senate—is testament to their unwavering commitment to truth and justice.

Their stories will not be forgotten. This bill is not just a legislative act; it is a moral imperative. It is our duty to unflinchingly confront the full scope of this shameful history and help to heal the deep pains this very body helped create.

We can't change the past, but we can and we must shape a better future—a future where the mistakes of the past are never again repeated, where every child can grow up with pride in their heritage and their identity.

I urge my colleagues to join me and Senator MURKOWSKI and all of the previous speakers and the author of this bill, Senator WARREN, in supporting this important legislation. Too many have waited too long for truth, for closure, and for justice. By passing this bill, we can finally begin the work.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SCHATZ. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to legislative session for a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TOWN OF SINCLAIR AND THE SINCLAIR REFINERY

Mr. BARRASSO. Madam President, I rise today to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the town of Sinclair and the Sinclair Refinery in Sinclair, WY.

The town of Sinclair is undeniably unique and filled with a rich history of rural industrialization. Located in Central Carbon County, Sinclair is home to 366 residents. Its residents are fortunate to live in the charming and quaint "Oasis in the Desert."

Frank Kistler, the head of Producers and Refiners Corporation—P&R Co.—came to Wyoming in 1922 to find an area suitable for a refinery location. He chose a site close to the town of Rawlins, along both lanes of the Lincoln Highway. The ground was broken for the refinery in October 1922. The town was not yet established, so corporation officials lived in Rawlins. Workers resided in "Rag Town," run-down tents and shacks on the south side of the Union Pacific train tracks. March 13, 1923, marked the first day of operation for the Producers and Refiners Corporation Refinery. News about the refinery spread throughout the region, and business started to boom.

The land adjacent to the refinery was bought by P&R Co. in 1922–1923 so it could be used as a townsite. The refinery post office began receiving letters using the initials P&R Co. This led to the name "Parco" for the new town.

In 1924, Frank Kistler hired Fisher and Fisher, a Denver architectural firm, to design the style and layout of the town. The result was a Spanish colonial revival style, with a central plaza and fountain commemorating Frank Kistler. Most of the original

buildings remain standing today, illuminating the town's rich history and development.

With the town established, a community began to form. People flocked to the Parco Inn, a bustling 60-room hotel spanning an entire block. The Parco Inn housed a dry cleaner, bar, cafe, clothing stores, and a barber shop. It was the main attraction for the booming town and remains an important relic today.

Low crude oil prices during the Great Depression caused Frank Kistler's firm to sell the Parco holdings in 1934. The firm was purchased by Consolidated Oil—later Sinclair. The name Parco was changed to Sinclair in 1942. In 1967, the Sinclair Refining Company sold the townsite and buildings to local residents.

During World War II, the oil market improved due to increased demand. The war efforts comprised 24 percent of the Sinclair Corporation's total business. As the oil industry constantly shifted over the years, Sinclair continued to adapt and evolve.

The refinery is a cornerstone for the people in Sinclair and surrounding communities. Sinclair believes "if you take care of your people, your people will take care of you." The corporation focuses on job and community prosperity, which can be seen by their support to the residents of Sinclair and Rawlins, WY.

In 2022, the HF Sinclair Corporation was formed when Sinclair joined HollyFrontier Corporation. The Sinclair refinery is one of two operated in Wyoming by HF Sinclair.

Serving the greater Rocky Mountain region, the Sinclair Refinery runs a mix of Canadian and United States sweet and sour crudes. They process 94,000 barrels per day. The refinery site also contains a 10,000 barrels per day renewable diesel unit. This unit participates in the Low Carbon Fuel Standard Program pathways in California and British Columbia.

The Sinclair Refinery has 475 employees and an average of 350 contractors. During "turnarounds," there are over 3,000 contractors. Thank you to vice president and refinery manager Jim Ruble and his dedicated staff who keep this refinery in operation.

The town of Sinclair is led by mayor Cullan Meeks, vice mayor Michelle Serres, clerk/treasurer Becky Slater, assistant treasurer Gina Helmetag, and council members Forest Ortiz, David Robinson, and Brennan Dunlap.

On August 17, 2024, the town and refinery will celebrate this momentous occasion. They will commemorate their joint history with many festivities including a parade, lunch, a children's carnival, entertainment acts, and music bands. A fireworks display will close out the celebration.

It is an honor for me to rise in recognition of this significant milestone. I applaud the workers and citizens who have worked tirelessly to contribute to the success of this booming oil town