

AMENDMENT NO. 2314 TO AMENDMENT NO. 2313

Mr. THUNE. I have a second-degree amendment at the desk.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. THUNE] proposes an amendment numbered 2314 to amendment No. 2313.

Mr. THUNE. I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

(Purpose: To improve the bill)

Strike "6 days" and insert "7 days"

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 111, Brett Shumate.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant executive clerk read the nomination of Brett Shumate, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Attorney General.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, we are rapidly approaching floor consideration of our reconciliation bill, and Democrats are melting down. I am pretty sure the Democrat leader was on the floor every day last week bemoaning the bill and emphasizing how Democrats are going to fight with everything they have got. That is right, with everything they have got. Democrats are going to use every resource at their disposal to fight against extending tax relief for American families.

They are going to fight against funding to secure our border. They are going to fight against funding to equip our military. They are going to fight against unleashing American energy. And they are going to fight against all our efforts to make America safer, stronger, and more prosperous.

And I guess it is not that surprising. After all, Democrats' previous pledges not to raise taxes on anyone not making less than \$400,000 a year often felt a little bit begrudging.

When you are constantly looking to expand government, I guess it makes sense that you would be more interested in raising taxes than in allowing Americans to keep more of their hard-earned money.

And if the Biden border crisis taught us anything, it is that Democrats have, essentially, no interest in securing our borders at all. And speaking of President Biden, after years of Biden budgets that deemphasize investing in our

military, I guess it is no surprise that filling the gaps in our readiness is not a Democrat priority.

Democrat hostility to conventional energy is also well-known. And so, again, I guess it is no surprise that Democrats are opposed to unleashing America's energy resources. But it is worth thinking about the essence of what Democrats are endorsing by fighting against this reconciliation bill.

They are endorsing a \$2.6 trillion tax hike on Americans making less than \$400,000 a year—\$2.6 trillion. Without our bill, a typical family of four making \$80,000 will be sending an additional \$1,700 to Uncle Sam next year—\$1,700. Apparently, Democrats are OK with that. Democrats are also implicitly endorsing a continuation of President Biden's lax policies at our border, along with an increasing—and increasingly dangerous—erosion in our military capabilities.

The Air Force has the smallest fleet in its history, and a large proportion of that fleet is not mission ready. Our Navy fleet is already smaller than China's, and without new investment, that problem will only get worse in the next few years.

And in the defining technologies of tomorrow's wars, space, AI, hypersonics, and cyber, China is gaining quickly or already has an edge. On top of that, we are falling seriously behind when it comes to maintaining an adequate supply of munitions. But none of this—none of this—seems to matter to Democrats.

In fact, nowhere in the hysteria that they are fomenting over this bill is any perceptible recognition of the importance of the priorities our bill is addressing—from securing our border to bolstering our national defense to preventing a massive tax hike on American families.

Indeed, judging from the Democrat leader's speeches last week, Democrats' biggest concern right now is ensuring that illegal aliens and able-bodied adults who refuse to work can stay on Medicaid.

The leader certainly didn't put it that way, of course, but his obsession with the Medicaid provisions of our bill certainly suggests it.

I think it is fair to say the Democrats lost last November because they didn't speak to the concerns of voters who were tired of the Biden inflation crisis and the Biden border crisis and Democrats' focus on far-left ideologies.

And judging by Democrats' opposition to our bill and their complete lack of interest in the issues our bill addresses, I think it is fair to say the Democrats haven't learned much since.

Americans are looking for the things our bill will provide, from the economic benefits that will come with continued tax relief to a secure border and a secure, stable, and affordable energy supply.

Republicans are going to deliver, no matter how hard Democrats fight to stand in the way.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant executive clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. 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.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, what is the hurry? What is the big hurry on this Big Beautiful Bill that President Trump wants to see the Congress pass?

Well, the hurry is to make sure we don't stop and read it. It is 1,000 pages. And as we read it, we discover things included in that bill that passed the House of Representatives which may not be appealing to the people across America. The House of Representatives passed this bill by one vote.

It ends up having a direct impact on many people across this country. Just imagine this, if you will. They are considering a bill, a tax bill, that will eliminate health insurance coverage for 16 million Americans. More people and families will lose health insurance coverage by virtue of this Big Beautiful Bill than any legislation we have passed in modern memory. In fact, just the opposite has been true. I have been here under the Affordable Care Act with President Obama when we expanded the reach of health insurance. Now, President Trump has us going in the opposite direction.

Some Republican Senators, like JOSH HAWLEY in my neighboring State of Missouri, have criticized this because he realizes how many people he represents count on Medicaid, the basic government program for health insurance. Senator HAWLEY says, even as a Republican, he can't support that provision. No one should support that provision.

If you ever lived in a moment in your life with a sick child—seriously sick child—and no health insurance, you will never forget it. I know. I have been there. To think that 16 million families would lose their health insurance is impossible to imagine.

We received a report from the Congressional Budget Office just last week. They are neutral. They are not Democrats; they are not Republicans. They revealed that the Republican proposal would cost 16 million families their health insurance coverage, the biggest cut to healthcare in American history.

No wonder then that Republicans want to move this bill quickly. They don't want to talk about the impact it is going to have on the Medicaid Program. Medicaid, of course, is a program that provides health insurance based on a person's income. Lower income individuals qualify for it; those in higher incomes don't.

The facts are coming out now that many of the Republicans in the House are saying: Well, we didn't read the bill when it went through there. They have

a chance to read it now. Republican and Democratic Senators have a chance to read it here. To make sure that the Senate Republicans don't make the same mistake as the House, here is a more detailed breakdown.

With this analysis from the Congressional Budget Office, we have new estimates on how this bill impacts each and every State. Two hundred ten thousand people in my neighboring State of Missouri, Senator HAWLEY's State, could lose their health insurance coverage—210,000. In Iowa, nearly 100,000 people can lose their health plans. And our neighbor Indiana, 250,000 Hoosiers could lose the peace of mind that comes with having health insurance. It is the same story coast-to-coast: 40,000 people in Maine, 26,000 Alaskans, they are all going to be victimized.

You say to yourself, What is it that is so compelling that the Republicans feel they can stand up and tell 16 million people in America you lose your health insurance? What will they use that money for? What will they take it to the bank for? For something very basic, tax cuts for the wealthiest people in America.

Oh, there they go again, Democrats talking about tax cuts. Many of the Republicans deny that this is going to happen, but the facts are there. They estimate that the top 0.1 percent of wage earners in America under the Republican plan that passed the House will get an annual tax break of \$400,000. Republicans quickly add: Go ahead and tell the rest of the story. Everybody gets a tax break.

OK, let's go down to the other end of the spectrum: \$400,000 for 0.1 percent wage earners. What about those making minimum wage? What will they get as a tax break? Twenty dollars a month. Twenty bucks a month while the cost of healthcare goes up and the cost of their margins go up—\$20 a month. This, to me, is absolutely indefensible.

Friday, I visited a hospital in Chicago. It is a special hospital. It is La Rabida, a children's hospital on the South Side of the town right on Lake Michigan. It is a wonderful hospital. Ninety percent of the families that bring their children to La Rabida Hospital qualify for Medicaid. These are families of limited means, and they turn to this highly professional hospital which has a reputation of caring for the poorest kids as well as the richest kids. They treat them all the same, and they treat them well.

When I visited the hospital, they told me a story of one of their patients. Her name is Leyone. She was born prematurely, 26 weeks. When she was born, she was only the size of the palm of your hand. She was given just days to survive. She needed a ventilator, tracheotomy tube, central line, an IV-like device that brought medicine to her heart, and much, much more.

Today, Leyone is 4 years old. It is a miracle. Thanks to the incredible care

provided by La Rabida and the love of so many people, she is here.

Leyone's family was covered by Medicaid, the most highly targeted program for cuts in this Big Beautiful Bill.

Ninety percent of the patients that come through the doors of La Rabida Children's Hospital in Chicago are on Medicaid.

What is going to happen to that hospital? I will tell you what the hospitals tell me. Many of them are barely getting by, barely—not just in the city of Chicago but my downstate areas as well. They came out to see me 3 weeks ago, 20 hospital administrators from downstate Illinois. On their own, they wanted to tell me the story that the bill that passed the House of Representatives—the big beautiful Trump bill, the tax bill we are talking about here—will be devastating to these hospitals. Some of them won't survive.

What does it mean to a small- or medium-sized city that is lucky enough to have a good hospital and lose it? Well, the obvious: If you need emergency medical care, it is a longer drive. If that baby is about to be born, it is a longer drive.

When it comes down to treatment, these hospitals provide the first in urgent care, and if that hospital closes, what happens? Well, it takes longer to get that care. In addition to that, it also means that a major part of the local economy is gone—gone. How are you going to attract a business or keep a business when you lose your hospital? That is what is at stake here because of the cuts in the Medicaid Program.

So the Trump Big Beautiful Bill is designed to cut the program that these hospitals rely on most—the Medicaid Program.

Now it turns out that because they add so much to the deficit—trillions of dollars to the deficit—for this tax cut, you are also facing the possibility of something called sequestration. What that means is that there will be less coverage for Medicare.

Medicare is a program created in the 1960s under President Lyndon Baines Johnson that provides for families who are elderly and need some help in paying medical bills. It worked miracles. People started living longer and being healthy and being able to survive. But now they want to cut back on Medicare as part of sequestration. This would be devastating to the many people who count on it.

It is not just La Rabida that would face devastating consequences under these Medicaid cuts; red States and blue States will also suffer. When you cut \$800 billion out of Medicaid, hospitals that are on the edge close. Already today, 26 rural hospitals in Kansas—26 hospitals in Kansas—and 9 in Missouri are at risk of immediate closure. This Big Beautiful Bill could push them over the brink.

According to America's Essential Hospitals, uncompensated care costs for hospitals will increase by \$42 billion

in a single year under this Republican Big Beautiful Bill. For the rural hospitals that are hanging by a thread, this bill could permanently close their doors.

Hospitals are not the only ones. The Medicaid Program provides for help in paying the bills of over half of the people who are in nursing homes. So if your parents or grandparents are in a skilled care facility or in a nursing home and you are happy with where they are and you want to keep them there, you have a new challenge. If the Big Beautiful Bill providing tax cuts for the wealthiest people in America passes, the compensation to that nursing home will go down. When that goes down, many of these nursing homes are going to close, and the choices for someone you love in your family will be limited.

As if an increase in healthcare premiums isn't enough, the cost of basic goods will skyrocket under this Republican plan. The "Big Beautiful Betrayal" will raise energy bills up to \$400 a year for families and 10 percent for businesses. Remember what I told you the tax break was for people who are on a basic income in this country—20 bucks a month? Well, it turns out \$400 a year, which is dramatically more than 20 bucks a month, is going to make it even harder. It will increase costs by hundreds of dollars a year for 80 million households, all while giving \$400,000 to Elon Musk and the wealthiest Americans.

If housing weren't already too expensive, many Americans will see their mortgages increase by \$600 a year. Want to follow your passion and start a business? Small business loans are estimated to increase under the Big Beautiful Bill by \$1,000 a year. Tariffs are estimated to raise costs for American households by around \$2,500.

If this last election were about the cost of living and giving families a fighting chance to survive paycheck to paycheck, this bill is devastating for those who aren't the wealthiest in America. I urge everyone to learn the facts and know what effect this Republican tax bill will have on families across my State and others.

This year, for the Fourth of July, the most American thing we can do is, on a bipartisan basis, stop this disaster. What does it take to say pause? stop? We don't want to cut Medicaid. We don't want to take health insurance away from 16 million people. We don't want to see the expenses of families going up. What does it take? It takes four—four—Republican Senators who will step up and say: This is a mistake.

Donald Trump is trying to rush us into something which is not good for American families. It is good for billionaires. If you happen to be in that category, this is a great day for you. But for ordinary families who are struggling with their regular bills they have to pay, the Big Beautiful Bill is a big, beautiful betrayal of American families.

LOS ANGELES PROTESTS

Mr. President, I have said this over and over in the Senate Judiciary Committee, and I will say it here: I condemn violence and vandalism, including violence against law enforcement. There is no place in legitimate protest for that to occur. What is happening in Los Angeles has been brought to my attention over the weekend and is something we need to address. However, addressing it effectively means not grandstanding but giving law enforcement the resources they need to control the situation.

Neither the Governor of California nor the mayor of Los Angeles asked for the National Guard troops that President Trump sent in. Governor Newsom said the decision to deploy the National Guard without appropriate training or orders risks seriously escalating the situation.

What is clear is that President Trump manipulated these protests as an excuse to politicize the military and divert resources from pressing national security and disaster relief responsibilities.

At the end of last week, a police-woman in Chicago was gunned down in the middle of the night. It happened several years ago with an officer named Ella French. I came to know her family and her mother, and I came to learn and respect what a wonderful young woman she was. She gave her life as a Chicago policewoman. Another police-woman lost her life at the end of last week.

What are we going to do to stop violence in the streets of this country? Certainly, devoting more and more law enforcement resources and people to amass the migration of people out of this country is not the highest priority. If there is a dangerous person, we should never let him in. If they commit crimes that are serious while they are here, we should throw them out, period—no ifs, ands, or buts. But looking at what is going on in Los Angeles, it doesn't serve that purpose. It creates fear and chaos to further a divisive agenda, with little in positive consequences.

The last time a President sent in the National Guard for a domestic operation without the request from the State's Governor was during the L.B.J. administration in the 1960s. President Johnson did it in 1965 to protect civil rights demonstrators in Alabama.

This weekend, the President wrote on social media that Los Angeles was "invaded and occupied" by "violent, insurrectionist mobs" and directed three of his top Cabinet officials to take any actions necessary to "liberate [LA] from the Migrant Invasion."

His FBI Director Kash Patel also wrote on X:

Hit a cop, you're going to jail. Doesn't matter where you came from or how you got here or what movement speaks to you.

Interesting. Kash Patel, the head of the FBI, is also the choral director of the January 6 defendants who raided

this Capitol, those who beat the hell out of cops who were protecting my life and others and put many of them at risk of serious medical injury. Some of them ultimately died from the experience.

It seems President Trump and Mr. Patel forgot what happened on January 6 in the U.S. Capitol when a violent mob, summoned by a bitter, defeated former President, ransacked the Capitol Complex. You may remember seeing the scenes, Mr. President. The insurrectionist mob, the rioters, came into the Capitol on January 6 and looked through my desk. You could see it on C-SPAN. They sat in the Acting President pro tempore's chair, gaping away as they considered themselves the real patriots in America.

On the first day back in office—the first day back in office—in his second term, what did President Trump do to these cop haters? He issued a blanket pardon for over 1,500 of them—to release them—despite their convictions. They had been convicted for that riot that took place in this building, including those who violently assaulted law enforcement officers. It appears FBI Director Patel's comment of "Hit a cop, you're going to jail" only applies to people President Trump doesn't agree with.

On Wednesday, we will hear from Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth in the Senate Appropriations subcommittee. I hope he is prepared to address this inflammatory deployment of the National Guard.

Violence is never acceptable. We shouldn't be making grandstanding moves of diluting the real impact that is needed from good law enforcement.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MURPHY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. BRITT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

AIR FORCE ONE

Mr. MURPHY. Madam President, the U.S. Constitution and the American people give the American President vast power: the power to decide how billions of dollars are spent; the power to oversee the entire Federal criminal justice system; the power to sell arms around the world, to deploy millions of American soldiers, to negotiate peace treaties.

We give him these powers—the Constitution gives the President these powers—so that he uses them on our behalf, to deploy that vast power of the American Presidency to increase our quality of life, to protect the American people. We place immense trust in the President not to abuse these incredible authorities that are given to him.

But Donald Trump is abusing that authority in ways that, honestly,

shock the conscience. Donald Trump is using the power of his office not to help or protect us but to enrich himself and his family. He is doing it publicly, brazenly, out in the open. He is, in effect, daring us—specifically, daring the legislative branch, the coequal branch—to stop him.

Nearly 3 weeks ago, news broke that the White House had dialed up one of our key allies in the Middle East, the Government of Qatar, and it asked that the Qataris give the President a luxury jet that is reportedly worth upward of \$400 million.

Now, the nicest jet that I have ever been on is Air Force One, and it is really nice. But the jet that Trump wants to make Air Force One—that he is asking for from the Qataris—makes Air Force One, the current version, look like a tenement house. The Qatari jet that he is asking for, its interior is designed by a famed French designer, complete with a flowing grand staircase, sculpted ceilings, plush carpeting, leather couches, and gold furnishings. The plane has been called the world's most luxurious private jet. It includes nine bathrooms, five kitchens, swanky lounges, and a master bedroom suite.

The arrangement that Trump proposed to the Qataris would briefly pass the jet through U.S. Government hands—but only, as reported, for just a year or two—before it would end up belonging personally to Donald Trump. The U.S. Government would essentially be a straw purchaser. The real owner of the jet, for all practical purposes, would be Donald Trump.

Now, this kind of gift, a \$400 million luxury jet, has no precedent in American history. No President has ever asked for—never mind been given—a \$400 million gift from a foreign nation. Why? Well, because Presidents know that that is crossing a line; that is a massive abuse of their power.

The leverage that Presidents have over other countries that they could use to ask for millions of dollars in gifts, it is supposed to be used to benefit the Nation's security, not to enrich themselves. But, also, it is just illegal. There is a very specific clause in the Constitution that forbids this kind of gift from a foreign government to a President, and this body is supposed to be in charge of helping to enforce the Constitution. Our Founders wrote that clause into the Constitution because they worried about this exact situation, where a President is using his authority, like a Monarch or a King, to make himself the richest person in the world.

Now, the Qatari Government feels like it had little choice but to say yes when asked for this \$400 million gift—again, briefly to the U.S. Government but really, for all practical purposes, to the President. They felt like they had no choice precisely because an American President has so much power; they have so much leverage, especially over a vulnerable country in the Middle East.