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Senate

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. GRASSLEY).

PRAYER

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

Let us pray.

"God of our fathers and mothers, whose almighty hand leads forth in beauty, all the starry bands of shining worlds in splendor through the skies, our grateful songs before Your throne arise."

Lord, give the Members of this body Your special grace. The responsibility they face is difficult and daunting. Lord, let Your light and truth infuse this place today, and may our lawmakers depend completely upon your transcendent wisdom. Use them as children of light and heirs of Your everlasting inheritance. May their lives ever praise Your wonderful and Holy Name.

In the Name of Him who is perfect justice and unlimited compassion. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

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

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEEHY). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to executive session and resume consideration of the following nomination, which the clerk will report.

The senior assistant executive clerk read the nomination of William Long, of Missouri, to be Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the remainder of the term expiring November 12, 2027.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

38TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BRANDENBURG GATE SPEECH

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, 38 years ago on June 12, 1987, President Ronald Reagan stood at the Brandenburg Gate and called for the General Secretary of the Soviet Union to tear down the Berlin Wall.

That wall was originally built to prevent people from fleeing communist East Germany into democratic West Berlin. The legendary line that President Reagan spoke:

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

Now, those lines were nearly left out of the speech after the advisers from the State Department and the National Security Council claimed that the statement was, in their words, "too provocative."

But President Reagan stood his ground. He wanted to speak directly to the hearts of the divided world and take a moral stance against tyranny. President Reagan's words resonated with millions of East Germans. These East Germans dreamed of freedom. Two years later, the wall came down. It turned out that Reagan's words were prophetic—not provocative. Russia only understands strength. We still know that today.

I have reminded my colleagues of this fact in the context of the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Weakness is what provokes a KGB man like Putin. Presi-

dent Biden was too timid in his approach, trying to manage escalation. Had the West instead given the Ukrainians what they needed earlier, they might have pushed Russia out of their country by now.

President Trump ought to not make the same mistake that President Biden made. I think Putin thinks that he can play President Trump. Putin's lackey, former "puppet" President Medvedev, admitted recently what Russia wants is not peace but in his words "swift victory" and, again, in his words a "complete destruction" of the Ukrainian Government.

Putin will only respond to strength, and this Congress ought to give President Trump the tools to stand up to Putin with strong sanctions that plug the loopholes in the current Biden sanctions.

I yield the floor.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

LOS ANGELES PROTESTS

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, Donald Trump's order mobilizing U.S. troops to an American city sets a dangerous precedent for our civil liberties. As I have said, violence is not the way to achieve justice. Freedom of speech is fundamental, but it must be exercised peacefully and lawfully. And the vast majority—the overwhelming majority of protests have been peaceful, and they are exercising their American right, their privilege, to peacefully protest. That has been with our country since its founding.

But sending troops to an American city against the wishes of local officials is outrageous, unnecessary, and reeks of authoritarianism. That is what authoritarian countries do.

Using troops on U.S. soil should only ever be used as an absolute last resort. The last time it happened without State consent was 60 years ago to protect civil rights heroes.

What Donald Trump is doing, rather, is spoiling for a fight. He wants chaos.

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



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He would love any excuse to divert attention. And doing it this way is—he does it all the time. This is one of the most shameful, awful ways you can do it.

Our troops don't deserve to be exploited in this way, to be used as pawns in a nakedly political fight. It is a deep disservice to them and to all service-members and law enforcement who serve our country and protect our community.

And why is Donald Trump doing this? To divert attention. He knows that his "Big Ugly Bill" is highly unpopular with the American people. The more they learn about it, the more they hate it. He knows he has got big trouble with his fight with his erstwhile friend Musk. He knows that the tariffs are hurting the American people. So he seeks to divert attention. That is his MO. But what it does is create chaos. And the American people don't like chaos.

And so I urge the President to immediately reverse course at once, remove all of the troops and the marines, and let local law enforcement do their jobs to keep the peace, as the Governor of California and the mayor of Los Angeles said they are perfectly capable of doing.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT

Mr. President, when Republican Congressmen went home after voting for their Big Beautiful Bill, they got a lot of flak from people back home because the more Americans look at this, quote, "Big Beautiful Bill," the more they realize it is an ugly mess.

By now, we have heard from so many Republicans in the House saying they didn't like this provision, they didn't like that portion of the bill. Some say it cuts Medicaid too deep. Some say it adds too much to the debt. Some say they didn't even get to read the bill, and particularly the energy provisions, clean energy provisions—very popular, creating hundreds of thousands of jobs, reducing our dependence on China—was done in the dark of night at the last minute so it virtually kills clean energy tax credits that have been so popular in this country.

The bottom line is this, though, a Congressman's core power is the power to vote. That is what the Constitution gave them. And House Republicans who say they don't like the bill should exercise that power today.

They have a unique opportunity to make the very changes they have been talking about for weeks. Because of technical mistakes that we Democrats pointed out, the Republicans have to take their bill back and not send it over here until they make those technical corrections.

But if even a handful of Republican Congressmen who say they don't like this provision or that provision vote no until those other provisions, those much more serious provisions are changed, they could get it done. They could stop the vicious cuts to Medicaid. They could stop the closures of rural

hospitals. They could restore the clean energy tax credits and save jobs in their own districts. Remember, at least 70 percent of those clean energy projects are in red States.

Whatever policy they told the people back home they didn't like, they can now change it. It is a golden opportunity. If House Republicans mean what they say—those who say they don't like the bill, this part of it or that part of it—if they truly want to change the bill, now this is their chance. This is the golden key, Republicans in the House. You have a chance—a real chance—to change the bill. It is in your hands. But don't go home and tell your constituents you are really against this provision if you don't act on it.

This vote will show whether House Republicans are actually worried about the cuts to SNAP, to Medicaid, to Medicare, to clean energy jobs like they claimed or if it was just empty talk.

House Republicans vote no, and you can change the bill for the better, but if you go along and vote yes after all that complaining, you will show people back home that when push comes to shove, you will cave to Donald Trump.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Mr. President, on climate, this week Republicans continue their tortured efforts to ram Donald Trump's Big Beautiful Bill through the Senate. Now some Senate Republicans are starting to balk at the fact that their bill is a clean job killer. It virtually ends all of the tax credits that we gave to wind, solar, and other clean energy.

If Senate Republicans have any desire to lower energy costs and avoid shipping energy jobs overseas, they should hit the eject button on this Big Beautiful Bill and start over. Experts from across the political spectrum are starting to agree that Donald Trump's bill is far too radical and deeply flawed and, to boot, it was passed in the dark of night, where many Republicans didn't know what is in it, and a few even admitted that publicly.

On jobs, their bill would kill over 800,000 good-paying clean energy jobs by 2030 alone. That would be a disaster for the economy, just as clean energy is taking off. These jobs will last for generations. Clean energy tax credits made them possible, and 85 percent of the investment generated by these credits have gone to red States.

Did you hear that, Republican colleagues? If Republicans proceed with the bill, they will put Americans out of work in their own States, and the American people, and these workers in particular, are starting to see it.

Just last week, a battery plant in South Carolina paused a billion-dollar project because of "policy uncertainty"—in other words, because of Republican sabotage.

And the closure in South Carolina is a canary in the coal mine if there ever was one. If Donald Trump's bill passes, more jobs disappear.

And talk about costs, it is going to add \$32 billion on household energy costs.

And, today, we got the news that Donald Trump's bill is worse than we thought. Americans will now pay up to \$170 billion—not \$32 billion—more on energy.

Let me say that again: \$170 billion more for the American consumer to pay on electric bills, for small business to pay on electric bills.

Republicans, because they just want to so embrace the radical, anti-clean energy, fossil fuel group, they will raise American's costs by a dramatic amount.

They also make us dependent on China. China is gaining in solar energy. If we cut it off, China will dominate the world, and our children and grandchildren will be at China's behest.

It will push about \$80 billion in solar and battery manufacturing jobs overseas—more jobs in Chengdu, fewer in Cleveland and Charleston.

We all know that AI and crypto are going to cause American energy demand to spike in the coming years. Why the heck would you cut off one of the sources? There are many who say: all of the above. OK. But why cut off one part of that "all of the above" because the radicals—not the mainstream, but the radicals—in the fossil fuel industry are almost religious in their hatred of clean energy because they know it is the future and will eventually displace them.

And that is why, this week, I have been working 24/7 with so many different people—whether it is workers or companies or Governors—to spread the word on how bad this is and ask all of America: If you don't like these provisions, if you think you will lose your job, if you think it will raise your costs, call your Republican Senator and tell him to change it.

Most of the Republicans didn't like it to begin with, but it was rushed through in the dark of night.

NOMINATION OF WILLIAM LONG

Mr. President, finally, on the IRS nomination, Mr. Long at the IRS would be a gut punch to the American taxpayer. It is clear to anyone with a pulse that Long was only suggested to run the IRS because of his long-time fealty to Trump. We all know that Donald Trump prioritizes loyalty over experience, but even by the President's standards, Long is a shockingly bad nominee.

Ideally, at the very least, you want the person in charge of collecting Federal taxes to be independent, qualified, and free of scandal. When it comes to independent, qualified, and free of scandal, Long is 0 for 3. He is neither independent nor qualified nor free from scandal. His only quality for the job is his fealty to Donald Trump.

During his time in Congress, Long didn't amass any credible tax experience. He didn't serve on the Ways and Means Committee, never authored a single original piece of legislation, and