

hurt hard-working Americans to pay for tax cuts for billionaires. Plain and simple.

More propaganda, more misinformation, more untruths. The reforms to Medicaid, which is an important healthcare safety net, and SNAP, previously known as food stamps, included in the Big Beautiful Bill, will strengthen and safeguard our safety net for those who actually need it.

And as for Medicaid, that money should not go to able-bodied adults. It should go to children, the disabled, and pregnant women. That is the original target of Medicaid. That is where the safety net is important. But if you are giving that money and spending money on able-bodied adults, obviously, that is going to detract from where the money should go to help those truly in need.

It is the same thing with food stamps, or the SNAP program. Why in the world should taxpayers subsidize somebody who is capable of working and contributing to themselves and their family and their community by subsidizing them through food stamps?

So a work requirement for able-bodied adults just makes sense. But I have been here in Washington, DC, long enough to know that common sense isn't all that common up here.

As I mentioned, the Welfare Reform Act of 1996, in a bipartisan fashion, implemented work requirements to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, which was a welfare program. It was remarkably successful in bringing those living in poverty into the labor force so they can earn a living; so they don't need to depend on Medicaid because, just maybe, they have private health insurance through their employer.

It just makes sense on all of these means-tested programs. By that, it just means to have certain income requirements. If you fall below, you qualify. Above that earnings level, you don't qualify anymore. But why shouldn't we have those work requirements for all means-tested programs? Well, we should, and we will.

Recent research from the Foundation for Government Accountability found that more than 62 percent of able-bodied adults who receive Medicaid don't work at all—62 percent able-bodied adults, sitting on a couch, playing video games, I guess. I don't know what you do all day—watch TV, if you are able-bodied and you are capable of working but you are not working.

With a national debt exceeding \$36 trillion a year and more than half of Medicaid beneficiaries who are able to work but are sitting home idly, requiring these folks to at least start looking for a job is a commonsense step in the right direction. We need to make sure that our safety nets are there for people who need them, not for people who don't need them. We need them to be secure for the seniors and those who have fallen on hard times, and we have to make sure others are not abusing the system while bankrupting the country.

Another way the Big Beautiful Bill safeguards our safety net is by strengthening eligibility checks. It is well known that people in certain income levels tend to fall in and out of eligibility for some of these means-tested programs. Let's say they are working but then they have lost a job, and until they can find another one, they need access to them. But once they get a job, then they no longer should qualify. So strengthening eligibility checks is an important reform—and not providing these benefits to illegal aliens.

You know, the Border Patrol tells me, in my many visits down there—and I have hosted many of my colleagues down at the border. They have said there are push factors and there are pull factors to illegal immigration. The push factors are the normal ones you would expect—poverty, violence in your home country—but the pull factors are the incentives that are provided to people who have come to our country illegally. And when we provide taxpayer benefits to people from other countries, it is a pull factor. It is an encouragement, an incentive, and particularly when there are no consequences to violating the law, as was the case during the 4 years of the last administration.

Our colleagues across the aisle apparently think it is OK to take money out of your pocket and to give it to illegal aliens for benefits, and they see no problem with incentivizing more and more people to come across the border illegally.

Well, this brings me to another important provision, which is important particularly to my State, the State of Texas. Thanks to the efforts of the Texas delegation in the House, this bill includes money to reimburse the State of Texas for border security measures that were undertaken in the absence of the Federal Government doing its job during the Biden administration.

Our international border is a Federal responsibility, but in the absence of the Biden administration enforcing the law, the State of Texas had no alternative but to implement Operation Lone Star to provide the Department of Public Safety and the National Guard to help secure the border, to help stem the flow of drugs, to help slow down the human trafficking, and to slow down and stop as much of the illegal immigration as they could. And that came at significant expense to State taxpayers. This is not the State's responsibility, but the State had to bear the burden. And this bill reimburses Texas taxpayers for that unfair burden that was left as a result of the abdication of responsibility by the previous administration.

These are just a few of the many important wins for the American people that are included in this Big Beautiful Bill. I wish we were in a different place, where our Democratic colleagues would actually work with us and try to prevent a multitrillion-dollar tax increase

on 62 percent of American working families. But in the absence of their willingness to work with us, we have no choice but to get this done with just Republican votes.

I encourage my fellow Republicans not to let the naysayers convince the American people that this is somehow bad for them when the opposite is actually true. This is also, finally, an important part of President Trump delivering on the promises he made when he won a historic election last November 5, and it is our job to deliver on that electoral mandate by passing this agenda.

This bill will do wonderful things for the 31 million people in my State and the 250 million people who call America home, and I look forward to supporting it when it comes to the floor in the coming hours and days.

I yield the floor.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Democratic leader is recognized.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I want the American people to understand exactly what is happening right now with Senate Republicans and their so-called Big Beautiful Bill. Senate Republicans are trying to pull a fast one on the American people. For weeks, they have struggled with the reality that most people hate this bill. Leadership has struggled to secure votes among their own ranks who know how bad the bill is, and now they have scrambled to meet an entirely arbitrary deadline.

So what did Republicans do late last night? It is hard to believe. This bill is worse—even worse—than any draft we have seen thus far. It is worse on healthcare. It is worse on SNAP. It is worse on the deficit. At the very last minute, Senate Republicans made their bill even more extreme to cater to the radicals in the House and Senate.

Republicans are about to move forward with a radical, thousand-page bill, just made public in the last several hours, without knowing how many trillions it will cost. They don't even want to know the CBO score. They are afraid to show how badly this will increase the deficit—on this bill, a major bill that affects every part of American life; hiding the bill, hiding the CBO scores—in defiance of their own promises to cut the debt. Deficit hawks out there on the Republican side in the House and Senate: This bill makes the debt worse and the deficit worse—even worse than before.

Future generations will be saddled with trillions in debt. Debt is abstract, but what does it mean for the average American: raising your costs—raising your costs to buy a home, raising your costs to buy a car, raising your costs on credit card bills.

And why are they doing all this? Why are they doing the biggest Medicaid cuts in history? Now it is getting close to a trillion dollars just in Medicaid alone. All to cut taxes for the ultrarich and special interests. And they did it while most Americans were asleep.

It is astounding that this is the product Senate Republicans have come up with because, for weeks, they kept saying they were somehow going to strengthen Medicaid; that they would “moderate” the House clean energy cuts; that nobody would lose benefits. Well, all of that has gone out the window. Those supposed moderates on the other side are falling like dominos, ready to move on a bill that does precisely the opposite of what they claim.

Many Republican Senators have admitted they are not happy with this bill. One said it will take away healthcare from working people, and yet they are still a yes on this bill. If Republican Senators are not happy with this bill because they know how badly it hurts their constituency, they should vote no. After all, they are U.S. Senators. They have the power to vote however they want. Did they forget that was an option? Are they all so afraid that they can't do what they know is the right thing for the American people? Just incredible. Incredible.

After weeks of hemming and hawing from Republicans, the bill that they are ready to proceed with is the most extreme version of their bill yet. I guess, when push comes to shove, leave it to Republicans to cave to their hard-right flank.

Under this draft, Republicans will take food away from hungry kids to pay for tax breaks to the rich. All the data shows Democrats don't like it; Independents don't like it; and Republicans don't like cutting SNAP, taking food away from kids, all to pay for tax breaks for the wealthy. The SNAP cuts—and I am sure we will hear from Senator KLOBUCHAR shortly—are every bit as bad as in the House, the worst in history, ever. Those cuts are cruel. Those cuts are un-American. But it is what Republicans are getting ready to do.

Meanwhile, Medicaid, where they have had so much controversy and back-and-forth—Medicaid will be fed to the sharks under this bill. In fact, we just got the news that CBO said the Medicaid cuts in this version are worse than any version of the Republican bill to date—nearly \$1 trillion in cuts just to Medicaid alone. And there are more cuts for ACA and Medicare.

Let me repeat: This version of the bill cuts nearly \$1 trillion in Medicaid alone, worse than any version we have seen so far—\$930 billion, to be precise—and that does not count the many billions and billions and billions more in cuts to ACA and Medicare, far worse—far worse—than anything we have seen so far.

The tiny tweaks that Republicans made to the provider tax will still deci-

mate State budgets and do nothing to protect hospitals in the coming years. And what about the rural hospital fund Republicans have spent the last few days touting? It is a drop in the bucket. This rural hospital fund is a figleaf. It is like putting a bandaid over an amputation and sending the patient home. When the rural hospitals start closing, just remember—the residents of those hospitals, the people who work in those hospitals—it is because of these cuts and no other reason. Rural hospitals, many of them, will close. This bandaid ain't enough to cover even a small percentage of them.

And healthcare costs will go up for everyone. Even if you don't have Medicaid, even if you don't have ACA, even if you don't have Medicare, your private insurance will go up dramatically—dramatically. Every month, people hate paying those health insurance premiums. They are going to pay a lot more under this bill.

And why are they doing all this? Why are they doing all this? We know why: tax breaks for billionaires—tax breaks for billionaires.

And now let's talk about another subject: the clean energy changes Republicans made last night. Frankly, I don't think even most Republicans realize just how radical these last-minute changes are. They are drafted to do one thing: to kill all wind and solar, all wind and solar. Solar: the cheapest—the cheapest way to produce new energy, the quickest way to produce new energy. We need more energy. AI is going to take up a lot of energy. If we don't have new sources of energy, all new sources—guess what—people's electricity bills will go up and up and up.

When it comes to clean energy, the Republicans basically reverted and somehow exceeded the extreme policies that came out of the House. For days, they worked to modify those provisions, many Republicans, to make them less bad. Now, they have made them even worse. And these are policies, by the way, plenty of Senate Republicans said they were going to change under this new draft.

Clean energy projects in wind and solar will now need to be placed in service—in service, not be done—in less than 2 years from now in order to qualify for a tax break.

And the provisions related to Chinese involvement—which, of course, we want to fight against China, but the best way to fight against China is have a robust solar industry. China is going to run the whole solar industry for the world, and if you think they are not going to make Americans pay more as Chinese customers pay less, forget it.

But anyway, on the provisions related to China, they made them almost unmanageable. It is going to kill nearly every wind and solar project out there because the standard is laughably unrealistic. What does it mean? Projects already in the works will shut down. It means that people will lose

their jobs—it is estimated 840,000 jobs. Add that to the healthcare jobs. Wow. Americans will pay hundreds of dollars extra a year on electricity as soon as the next year.

Thanks to the Senate Republicans caving in to Big Oil, it will be China, not the United States, that likely becomes the world leader in energy production in years to come. Self-destructive. Needless. Harmful to both our economic and national security. It just shows how tight Big Oil's grip is on Senate Republicans.

Remember, 80 percent of these clean energy investments, my colleagues, have gone to Republican districts. The investments support, as I said, over 800,000 jobs. Republicans are so beholden to the fossil fuel industry that they would rather kill jobs in their own communities than upset the Big Oil lobby. Disgusting, shameless, and done, of course, while most Americans were asleep.

Again, Republicans are trying to pull a fast one on the American people. Republicans are pulling a fast one even on their own Members and certainly on their own constituents. This will hurt the reddest of States badly.

If Republicans proceed, Senate Democrats will hold them to account. We will gear up for another night of vote-arama very soon. We will expose this bill piece by piece. We will show how it cuts healthcare, raises costs, rewards the ultrarich.

We welcome this debate, and if Republicans proceed and follow Donald Trump over the cliff with this bill tied to their ankles like an anvil, they will not only doom their own communities, they will doom their political fortunes—their own political fortunes—and have no one to blame but themselves.

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 legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MORENO. 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.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Mr. MORENO. Mr. President, as I said earlier and I predicted earlier, our Democrat colleagues have come out totally mischaracterizing this bill. So let me just go through this again very slowly so that they can watch it and listen.

The question really is, Is this a bill that helps working Americans or is this a bill that helps billionaires? Again, let me just pause on the irony that it wasn't too long ago when they were saying millionaires until they themselves realized that they became millionaires. Forgive me. Different topic.