

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.

If you take out a car loan for an American-made automobile and you can deduct that interest, the bill, in the text, specifies that you cannot make more than \$100,000 per year. I think by definition, somebody who makes less than \$100,000 a year is not a billionaire. So it is indisputable that that part of the bill does not help billionaires; it helps working Americans. Notice that was not addressed.

Second, no tax on overtime. I don't think there are a lot of billionaires that punch a clock. That is clearly something that helps working Americans.

No income tax on tips. Once again, I don't see a lot of billionaires serving us at restaurants or taking care of us at nail salons or barbershops. It is clearly something that helps working Americans. As I predicted, they did not address that particular provision.

No tax on Social Security, and that is capped at \$150,000 in income—again, by definition, not a billionaire.

A \$5,000 tax increase is prevented. That does not help billionaires; it helps working Americans that don't want to see their taxes go up. They didn't address that.

Now, when 10 million illegals invade this country and drive down our wages, drive up our housing costs, do you think Jeff Bezos or Mark Zuckerberg or Elon Musk is worried about the price of housing? Jeff Bezos just had a \$55 million wedding in Italy. I don't think he is worried about his housing costs going up.

I don't think there are a lot of criminal aliens who are going to Beverly Hills or Palo Alto or Martha's Vineyard to buy homes. They are going to places like Springfield, OH, where we saw our average rents go from about \$1,000 to two or three times that amount because we had a surge of 18,000 aliens in a city of 50,000 people. Insurance prices went up because we had a massive amount of car accidents and crashes. That is the real world. That happens, and that affects working Americans. What this bill does is it deports them.

Now, what isn't said by my Democrat colleagues is that they have a lot of their friends that love criminal-alien labor. They can't complain. They get paid a lot less money. That doesn't benefit working Americans. Working Americans don't have five gardeners and three nannies and a house in Martha's Vineyard, but my Democrat colleagues' friends sure do. Go spend a summer in Martha's Vineyard; you will see exactly what I mean. You will see decadence unlike anything you have never seen in your life—\$30, \$40 million homes, private jets to get there. Do you know what they do? They sip cappuccinos in the morning, talking about climate change when they heat and cool their homes 365 days a year. That is who funds the Democratic Party today. It is quite sad, honestly, because the Democratic Party used to be the party of the working class. It

used to be the party that would champion the things in this bill.

There is a \$2,200 child tax credit. Do you think that billionaires are really going to think about \$2,200 as a child tax credit as something that is really going to motivate them? Do you think billionaires are going to rush out and get married and have kids because they are going to get a \$2,200 child tax credit or do you think it is going to allow them to buy groceries?

The Democrat leader spoke about SNAP benefits and taking food away from children. Those are the kinds of hyperbolic statements that I think all of us here in the U.S. Senate should be above. Nobody is suggesting that we take food literally out of the hands of children, but what their policies did do over the last 4 years—inadvertently maybe; I will give them credit—was raise grocery prices to the point where working Americans had to make a decision at the cash register on whether to buy something or not.

I saw it with my own eyes. I saw it with my own eyes when I went to Giant Eagle in Westlake, OH, and I would see people come in to buy groceries, and they would have to make a decision—maybe the bigger cereal box, they can't do it. They have to go to generics instead of the Kellogg's because their grocery bill is just too high. Imagine what that feels like. You are a working American. You worked your whole life. In front of your children, you have to say look at them and say: I can't afford to get you cereal today. I can't afford to get you that extra snack you want.

They drove up the price of inflation. The One Big Beautiful Bill will lower it. They didn't talk about that.

They didn't talk about the \$1,000 fund that goes in for American citizens. Again, do you think billionaires care whether \$1,000 goes into a fund that could be maybe \$100, \$200,000 when those kids turn 25, 30 years old? I don't think that makes a difference to Jeff Bezos. I think his children will be just fine. It is something that helps working Americans. Again, they don't address that.

At least be honest about your objection to the bill, and their objection to the bill is pretty straightforward: They don't want President Trump to get a win.

Let's talk about healthcare. Do you think the billionaires worry about their healthcare premiums? Working Americans do. What are we doing? We are preserving these healthcare programs for the people who need them. We are strengthening Medicaid.

What they have allowed to happen is that States have been gaming the Federal Government, drawing down funds to pay for other projects and other benefits. And the people who are going to be eliminated from the Medicaid system are illegal migrants. We shall see whether in this bill they object to that provision, because in our current draft—again, they don't refer to this—it says that you cannot receive any

welfare programs unless you are an American citizen. They will have the opportunity to object and remove that from the bill. That doesn't help billionaires, but it does crush working Americans.

They didn't talk about the dangers all over the world. Congo and Rwanda just signed a peace deal in the White House yesterday. Pakistan and India averted a massive war. We now have a cease-fire between Iran and Israel. In 6 months, President Trump has brought peace and prosperity around the world. But our military was depleted because they insisted on funding a proxy war with Russia. We are fixing that.

They didn't talk about the investment in the Coast Guard. They would leave that out because, again, they want you to think that this bill is about billionaires. It certainly is not.

They didn't talk about the air traffic control system. My colleague has been here almost as long as I have been alive. He had the opportunity when he controlled this Chamber, controlled the House, controlled the Presidency, to fund a modernization of our air traffic control system. He didn't do it. He isn't talking about that.

Let's talk about the Green New Deal—the green new scam. Let's talk about that for a second. Let me just walk you through it if you are not familiar with what this is.

Let's say that you want to build a solar project, for example, in London, OH. You can go out and buy acres of land for way more than market value. Why? Because the Federal Government will pay you 30 percent of what you think the project is worth.

Let me just repeat that for a second. Let's say that a project is going to cost you \$10 million to build. The Federal Government will pay you 30 percent of what you think it is worth. That is in the Inflation Reduction Act. It is what they call fair market value.

So let's say you find a friendly appraiser that says: Hey, this solar project is really worth \$30 million. The Federal Government will write you a check for \$9 million of the \$10 million it costs to build that project.

If you are really savvy, you then go to a bank and say: Hey, look, I have this project that is worth all this money. Can you give me a loan?

Maybe they get half—\$5 million. Before it produces 1 electron, you have put \$4 million in your pocket. Do you really care if the project succeeds? Why would you? You just made out like a bandit.

This is why the Inflation Reduction Act, when it was passed, was supposed to cost about \$1 trillion, and it is costing exponentially more than that. These are scams on the American people.

Now, in Ohio, we have thousands of years of natural gas, thousands of years—the cleanest energy you can imagine, the most abundant, reliable energy. What did the Democrats,

through the administration, do? Completely kneecapped it—and liquid natural gas exports; made it virtually impossible to explore for new natural gas; removed permits from Federal lands; canceled the Keystone Pipeline. Who did that affect? Do you think that billionaire buddy of one of my colleagues who has a compound on Martha's Vineyard cares if his energy price went up 30 percent?

By the way, he doesn't even pay the bill. He has somebody who he knows that has somebody beneath him that has somebody beneath them that actually pays the bills. He has no idea if his energy price went up 30 percent. It wouldn't even affect their life.

I was with somebody in Martha's Vineyard a couple or 3 years ago. They gave a quote that I will never forget. I want to put this into the RECORD. It was a quote from one of my Democrat colleagues. Now, in the spirit of decorum, I will not mention their name, but here is the quote.

In front of a \$35 million home that most of the guests flew their private jets to, that had several boats anchored—with, by the way, gigantic outboard engines that used probably 30 gallons of gas every 5 minutes—they said the following quote—are you ready, Mr. President, for this quote? "If you want to live like a Republican, vote for a Democrat."

Think about how callous that is. He said the quiet part out loud.

I am proud that the Presiding Officer and I are part of a new Republican Party. I think the Presiding Officer and I represent a new vision of the Republican Party, a party that is about helping working Americans actually live a better life. That is why I am here. I know that is why the Presiding Officer is here, and I know that is why the Presiding Officer and I are so proud of this bill.

And, again, I will close with this, and I know there is lots of noise out there right now all over this building. We have an opportunity for the first time—first time—in American history to say that in this Chamber, in this Congress, with this President, we are going to make the lives of working Americans better the way I just outlined.

And while my colleagues—I don't expect them, it would be kind of, quite honestly, odd for them to agree with us on everything. Just don't lie. Just don't come out here on the floor and say this is a bill for billionaires. This is a bill for working Americans. And I would challenge any of my colleagues that are going to speak that when they make those statements, reference the page number and the exact line in the bill that helps billionaires, just point that out.

And by the way, on these solar scams, we are not banning solar panels; we are not banning windmills. What we are saying is we are not going to make you filthy rich if you build one of these projects. But if you want to build a

solar panel project somewhere in Ohio, you can do it. You are just not going to do it with massive subsidies from the Federal Government.

So, again, I will urge all of my colleagues, let's unite as a party. Let's show the American people that Republicans have the ability to govern; that we can come together to pass a transformative and historical bill.

I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from the great State of Minnesota.

#### ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I rise today to speak in strong opposition to the recently revealed Senate congressional budget bill. I will note that this is a 940-page bill that was just put out there at midnight. For me, that was a moment because, one, I realized that nothing has changed in terms of the proposal—it has actually added to the debt—and, two, from about \$3.4 trillion to one analysis says \$4 trillion, and it actually adds more Medicaid cuts, another \$100 billion, up to \$900 billion in Medicaid cuts. Those are the top lines, and I don't think anyone has had the time to look at every single detail of that bill, but to me it meant something else. That meant that I knew I was going to stay here, along with my colleague Senator SMITH, because we have a job to do that is really important on this budget.

But it was hard to not go home and grieve for one of my very good and beloved friends Melissa Hortman and her husband Mark, whose funeral was held today in our State. And I would have been there in person. Because of the gravity of the legislation we are considering today, I was able to watch it online.

One of the things that I most remember and will always remember from that funeral, in addition to the beauty of it, in addition to the trees and the bushes that awaited the guests outside because Melissa loved the beauty of the world and cared a lot about the world around her, but it was the words of our archbishop, Archbishop Hebda. It was a very religious service, full mass. My husband got to be there and take part in that mass.

But Archbishop said at the close of the ceremony, he quoted the new Pope, Pope Leo, who recently said that politics is one of the greatest forms of charity. Melissa always believed that. She believed that in how she lived her life and got things done for people. Whether it was school lunches or better paid family leave or more fairness for people in our State, she believed that to her core, and her husband did too.

When their kids wrote just a few days after their parents were murdered by a madman, their two kids in their twenties—one is going to get married in December, his fiancée was there, Melissa was planning the wedding—they

asked people to make the world just a little bit better. They said: Plant a tree, pet a dog—hopefully, a golden retriever—because they loved dogs so much, do something small or big.

So I figure that is what we are going to be doing the next few days, and this is big. But it is something that is going to make a difference to people in this country if we don't do something about this bill right now.

What does this bill do? It kicks 16 million people off their healthcare—16 million people off their healthcare—in order to finance tax cuts for the wealthiest, in order to give multimillionaires a \$400,000 tax cut? That doesn't make the world a better place.

Adding \$4 trillion in debt—a trillion of it is interest, which is going to make mortgage rates go up. It is going to make it harder for young people to be able, maybe, to get their first house or pay their rent. It is putting it on their backs. It is putting it on their shoulders.

That is why I don't see this as a Big Beautiful Bill, I see this as a "Big Beautiful Betrayal" of the hard-working people of this country.

Why are our colleagues scrambling to get this done in 2 days? Just because the President sets a deadline and says: Jump, and they say: How high?

Why are they always rubberstamping things that they don't actually believe in? We still know this newest draft, the 940 pages that no one has really read—we know that the bill still rips away healthcare for millions of Americans and closes hundreds of rural hospitals. It still shifts costs to States and threatens food assistance for families across the country. It still adds trillions of dollars to the Federal debt.

People in this country, the more they hear about this, the more they don't like it. A FOX News poll recently, 60 percent of the people don't like it; 2 to 1 people say: This isn't going to help me; it is going to help wealthy people.

People on Medicaid, they don't want to lose access to healthcare. One out of two people in assisted living are actually on Medicaid. You know, when my dad was in assisted living, he had some savings. He was married three times so a lot of that money had gone away. Better to talk about another time. But I knew the exact day that that savings was going to run out. I knew the exact savings day because I was going to move him over to a Catholic Charities place that actually took Medicaid because that was the day that his Medicaid would kick in. And it gave me some solace, even though he was in a place that didn't take Medicaid, that I had a plan for him. I had a place for him to go. He worked hard his whole life. Grew up in a hardscrabble mine. He deserved to have the end of his life be a life of dignity.

This is not what the American people voted for. When I get out to rural Minnesota—I visit all of 87 counties every single year. I have done 49 so far. So I have been in a lot of our rural counties