

Amazingly, we had to do that year after year. It was always a challenge. We started dealing with fentanyl in the serious manner that it needed to be dealt with. We passed that and made that law.

We passed the GENIUS Act, which puts the United States on the forefront of digital currency. This is not cryptocurrency. This is dealing with stablecoins, which is similar to a traveler's check only in digital form, to say, dollar for dollar, this creates new competition for credit cards and online shopping. It creates a way to do this to be able to put the United States and American currency in the lead in the digital world while still protecting physical currency and guaranteeing that physical American currency continues to exist.

Just those alone would be significant to get out when beginning a session, but we are not close to being done. The Senate has held more than 440 votes just this year so far. That is more than most years of the Senate, in total, in the last 30 years that we have done just in the first 6 months. That is more votes in the beginning of any session since the Reagan administration. We began with 10 straight weeks—day after day after day—of just pounding away to get stuff done.

We have worked on nominations, and this body is still working on confirmations even right now. We have confirmed, so far, 119 of President Trump's nominees. To compare that to this same spot 8 years ago in the first term of the first Trump Presidency, they had 56 who were done at this point. We have now done 119. We have done twice as many confirmations now as what we did under the first Trump administration, but we still have quite a few to go. This has been, though, doing this the easy way or the hard way for the past 7 months.

You see, confirmations typically are done by voice vote here in the U.S. Senate because we have work to do on legislative work as well. Unlike the House, we do personnel, and we do policy. We have to switch back and forth between the two often, but every time we are working on the personnel side—the confirmation side—every single nomination takes about 3 hours to file on them and to go through the whole period. There is also a day of waiting for those. But those are typically done just for the high-profile nominees. They are not typically done for every nominee. There are about 1,200 people who have to be confirmed. So, typically, things are done by voice vote.

Under President George W. Bush, 90 percent of his nominees were actually done by voice vote in the Senate. Under President Obama, 90 percent of those were done by voice vote. Under the first President Trump term, 67 percent of his nominees were done by voice vote. So far, in this Senate, zero—zero for every single nominee, even if it were the protocol officer for the State Department or a legislative

affairs person in an Agency or the deputy secretary assistant of something—literally those who no American other than their families know who they are. They had to go through the full 3-hour process and the intervening day to slow this down.

That has not happened to any President ever in the history of the country—ever. No President has ever faced this kind of obstruction ever for their nominees. We have still done 119 of those by staying and working at night and by staying and working on weekends. We will continue to do this the hard way or the easy way.

Quite frankly, President Trump should have the same respect as every other President in American history. He should be able to get his staff, so we will continue on this process as we already have. We will just keep moving through the process because what we are doing is trying to get the work done for the U.S. Senate.

We have taken on some issues that haven't been taken on in a long time. We did a rescissions package. That has not been done in 35 years. We not only talked about it, but we passed it, and we made it law. We as a body examined some areas, and we said: This seems like wasteful spending to me; we shouldn't do it.

We literally voted, took it out, and saved the American taxpayers \$9 billion from this year's budget. That has not happened in 35 years to be able to do that. How did we do that? Well, we identified some areas of waste in foreign aid and said: Do we really need to have this as a top priority?

We took away the funding that was used last year to create environmentally friendly reproductive health education for children in foreign countries. We took away the funding for Iraqi Sesame Street and for the Melanesian Youth Climate Corps. We took away the funding that created the grant for vegan food in Zambia. We took away the funding for the pride festival in southern Africa. We took away the funding for social media mentorships in Serbia and Belarus. We took away the funding for gender diversity for the Mexican street lighting industry.

We took away \$1 billion of funding from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. When many people said, oh, gosh, this is going to lead to the end of NPR and PBS—and it absolutely is not because, with NPR, 90 percent of it is funded by corporate and private funding already. This was the last 10 percent. Literally, this was something that was attempted to be done in 1983 under the Reagan administration to say: Why do we have federally taxpayer-paid journalists? Why don't we have that in the free market? If it made sense in 1983, it certainly makes sense now. In 1983, there were about four channels. Now, there are thousands. So what Reagan couldn't get done, we just got done.

That is a pretty productive Senate, but we are not close to being done with

the things that have already been accomplished just in the last 7 months.

ONE BIG BEAUTIFUL BILL ACT

Mr. President, the One Big Beautiful Bill has been an interesting big, beautiful conversation. The one big, beautiful conversation is about what all is in it.

Well, it has been public for a long time. The House passed it, and it was over 2 months before the Senate was able to take it up. Even when we took it up in the Senate, we brought it out committee by committee, so everybody could see it, read it, and review it. It was 940 pages, but it was very public for weeks. We wanted everyone to be able to see what is in it. Quite frankly, there was so much that got done in that bill that people are still digging through it and going: Oh, I didn't know "that" happened.

It has been interesting the number of people whom I run into who say: I am finding out more about the bill, and the more I find out about it, the more I am grateful for its passage.

It has been really encouraging, when I get to go back home on weekends, to be able to chat with folks. My favorite so far was when my wife and I had dropped by a Dollar Tree store. I am there at the cash register, and there is a very nice lady who looked like she was in her midseventies. We were chitchatting, and she said to me: I saw you on the news, explaining the bill. I have looked at it even more, and I am so grateful because, as a working senior, I am going to get a big benefit for my taxes, and I need the help.

Then she smiled at me, and she said: You put some new work requirements into that bill. Thank you, because everybody needs to work like I do.

It was a great conversation, actually, to be able to chat with her and to be able to hear that she gets it—this bill and the things we were able to work in. We did a lot of things we tried to do for a long time but that we were able to get done.

One of the things that I worked on a lot was the issue of what is called full expensing. It is used by a lot of manufacturers and a lot of small businesses. You see, when they buy a big piece of equipment, they are allowed to write off the expense over several years. Well, that works for their taxes except for the first year, often, and it is a killer for them because, when they get a big, new piece of equipment, they often have to borrow money to pay their taxes that year because they can't afford to get both the new piece of equipment and still pay their taxes and the other expenses. So they either don't get the new equipment or they have to delay, delay, delay, delay to do it. What does that do? That decreases productivity.

It makes no difference to the Federal income in the Treasury to say you get to write it off in 1 year or you get to write it off in several years, but it makes a huge difference to that small business or that manufacturer to say

the year you have the big expense is also the year you get to write it off. We got that done. And not only did we get that done, we made that permanent tax policy. It is just the right thing to do to be able to say, when a business has a major expense, they get to write that expense off in the year that it happens like every other expense.

For years, I have worked on an issue about charitable giving. The top 9 percent of Americans can write off their charitable giving; everyone else cannot. I think that is wrong. I have always thought that was wrong. We were able to put it this year into the One Big Beautiful Bill—a bill that I had—to be able to make sure that, if you give to a nonprofit, you are able to write that expense off completely. You are able to write that off and to say this expense—up to \$2,000—is a deduction on their taxes. That is helpful to every single taxpayer who actually gives to nonprofits or to their churches or whatever charity. It makes a big difference to be able to do that. We didn't just talk about that; we actually got that done.

There is the no tax on Social Security for seniors that I have already talked about. There is the tax credit for businesses that create a childcare facility onsite to encourage more childcare facilities and to be able to do it closer to the workplace. That is very beneficial for their families. Extending the paid family medical leave, that is something that we were able to get done and not just talk about. We were able to get it done.

My Democratic colleagues and President Biden created a new requirement that, if you have more than \$600 that you do on Venmo or PayPal, you have to have a whole new reporting system in the IRS. Well, it drove Americans crazy to say: What in the world? Why do I have to do that new reporting system? For many families, that is how they will reimburse their kids or another family member for a purchase or whatever it may be. But if you exceed \$600, you are now going to have to do a new IRS reporting for it?

Do you know what we got done this year? We killed that and said that is ridiculous. People shouldn't have to report all of what is actually happening in their Venmo and PayPal accounts back and forth with their family members. That is not something that the IRS needs to be able to track.

For family farms, we were able to do a significant amount of the farm bill already in changing reference prices and a lot of the different programs that were desperately in need of an upgrade. We didn't just talk about that as we have for several years; we actually got that done.

We also fixed the death tax. That is something that was about to expire. A lot of folks on family farms may be liquidity poor, but they are asset rich. They have got land; they have got tractors. The fear is always for their fami-

lies, when the families pass away, in that the kids are going to have to sell the farms just to be able to pay the taxes. Well, do you know what? We fixed that for family farms and finally got that done.

This has been an incredibly busy season. We improved and modernized air traffic control. We not only talked about that; we got that finished and allowed additional funding to be able to modernize that system which people all over the country have looked for.

We are modernizing our Navy, and we finally got the opportunity to be able to modernize our Coast Guard, which has been in desperate need literally for decades for improvement along our ports.

We were able to make changes on our southern border. Now, I have passed on several different bills that I have actually filed but that we are working through the process on to be able to do more inspections southbound and more inspections northbound. In the meantime, we were able to add new border walls; we were able to add new Border Patrol agents, new ICE agents, and new detention facilities. We have not just talked about those things; we have actually passed it and made it law. Those things are done.

It has been an incredibly busy season. In May, when I was at Otay Mesa Port of Entry in California, right along the border with Mexico—it is one of the busiest ports in the world—I could see the infrastructure problems that were there. When I visited with the Coast Guard, when I was there off the coast, I talked to them about the challenges that they have with the land port of entry being so close now and with so few people, thankfully, even trying to cross our southern land borders. Now, literally, people are getting on jet skis in Baja, CA, and are trying to head out to the ocean to try to land in San Diego, and our Coast Guard is the one that is interdicting that.

So I was able to work through a process this year to be able to upgrade the radar system, the camera system—all the things they desperately need for the Coast Guard. We didn't just talk about that this year. When I came back in May, we worked on the process and actually got that done. We got that passed into law. That is funded, and now that technology is being added, which is desperately needed to be able to secure our southern border. Those are the things that need to get done, and that is getting done this year.

I am grateful to be able to see the things that we have been able to work through the process on. We still have multiple things to do, but we have multiple things in process.

For instance, I have worked on cell phone jamming reform issues for years in our prisons. TOM COTTON and I have partnered together on this to be able to find a way to block those illegal cell phones in our Federal and State prisons and in our local county jails that are smuggled in and that are used to be

able to literally stop victims outside of the prison. That has got to stop. We are working through the process to be able to make sure that is available because we want to make sure that we can actually put an end to that.

I have introduced an act. Protecting Children Over Profits is what it is called. It deals with tech companies that when law enforcement has to do a subpoena when there is child abuse or child pornography on their site, those tech companies that, by their rules, are not supposed to have that at all, those tech companies then charge local law enforcement to be able to do the search for it. That has got to end. They know they are just creating a disincentive to local law enforcement to even follow up on that. It is not supposed to be there at all, so we are finding a way to be able to get rid of that.

Something else has come up that deals with our rural nursing homes. For our rural nursing homes, they have had a real challenge because the Biden administration put in a new rule that had new requirements for additional nurses and personnel. That all sounds really good, but in most rural nursing homes, they flat out don't have the people to be able to do it. So that was leading to the closing of rural nursing homes.

We were able to reverse that and to be able to say that should not be that way; allow the rural nursing homes to be able to handle their staffing and to be able to stay in business. The last thing we want is the closure of rural nursing homes and for people who need nursing care to have to travel 50 or 100 miles to be able to get to it. That means their family can't connect with them. We didn't just talk about that; we were able to get that done.

This year, it has been fun working on a lot of specific Oklahoma projects. Anyone who is in Tulsa, OK, who drives down I-44 right now will often drive down and see these bridge supports that those of us around Tulsa affectionately call "Tulsa Stonehenge." It has been up for quite a while, those bridge supports, but no bridge is actually on top of them, and it does look like a modern Stonehenge.

Do you know what? We were able to secure the funding to actually get that finished so we don't just have bridge supports up in one of the busiest intersections in all of Oklahoma. We are able to get that intersection done.

If you are in southern Oklahoma, you know the Roosevelt Bridge. And if you ever traveled across it, you have white knuckles—a bridge that is named the Roosevelt Bridge because it was built during the Roosevelt administration. That bridge is still one of the most important bridges in southern Oklahoma, crossing over Lake Texoma. Schoolbuses and semis and families who are coming back and forth on vacation, folks coming back and forth to work, literally, have a high-risk encounter every time they cross that bridge. We were able to get the funding

secured for that to finally start the process of replacing that bridge. It is in desperate need to actually get done.

We were able to get so many things done this year, and we are halfway through the year.

One quick story. I am so incredibly proud of a lot of our caseworkers who are back home. We focus on the needs of the constituents in Oklahoma. The field staff that we have traveling around the State do a remarkable job helping people problem-solve, but I have to highlight one quick story.

We had a veteran who was 106 years old who was a World War II veteran. He was in Edmond, OK. He had actually never received his medals after he served in World War II, never. His family had thought about it, and he had thought about it for a long time, but the records were long gone.

So my team jumped on it. We did the research, worked with the U.S. Army. We were able to track down some very old World War II records and were able to get to Mr. McGregor his medals.

It made it even more fun because we were able to deliver them to him just over a month ago, on Father's Day weekend, when his whole family was able to come in and was able to stand there with him as he—that World War II veteran—finally received the medals and the gratitude from a grateful nation.

It is an honor to be able to work on so many tax policy issues and other things, but it is an absolute privilege to be able to honor people worthy of honor. And there are a bunch of great Oklahomans like that.

We have more to do, and we will keep going on this. It has been a great start to a year, but we are just getting started.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

NOMINATION OF CASEY MULLIGAN

MR. MARKEY. Mr. President, as ranking member of the Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee, I rise today to oppose the nomination of Casey Mulligan to be Chief Counsel for Advocacy at the Small Business Administration.

On April 2, the committee reported out the Mulligan nomination by a vote of 10 to 9. Not one Democrat voted in support.

Dr. Mulligan represents yet another radical departure from the norms we should expect from government, courtesy of the Trump administration.

The Office of Advocacy was created to serve as an independent voice for small businesses. It is charged by statute with examining how Executive actions affect small businesses. However, Dr. Mulligan, an economist at the University of Chicago, subscribes to an ultraconservative school of thought that opposes regulation in almost any form.

Dr. Mulligan actually rejects regulations that protect the environment, safeguard fair treatment of workers, and keeps products from injuring con-

sumers. He has a decades-long track record of questioning basic protections that most Americans take for granted. He has cast doubt on the need for a mandatory minimum wage. He called into question paid sick leave and unemployment insurance. He vigorously opposes ObamaCare and even went so far as to make the absurd argument that ObamaCare was responsible for making the great recession even worse.

This is the leadership that President Trump envisions for the independent Office of Advocacy. But this office is just too important to entrust to someone like Dr. Mulligan.

As I stand here, countless small businesses across the Nation are facing the threat of closure because of President Trump's destructive trade war. Yet since coming under the control of this administration, the Office of Advocacy's Trump-appointed interim leadership has not yet held a single roundtable about tariffs or even, as far as anyone can tell, published a single word about how tariffs might be harming small businesses across our Nation.

We have 13 million small businesses in America. Do you think that would be something that the Small Business Administration would be thinking about?

How is it that an office whose sole purpose is to call attention to how small businesses are affected by administration policy has failed to mention tariffs even once? Are they talking to small businesses or are they looking over their shoulders and saying, "No, we are just going to remain silent about the obvious," worried that anything that runs counter to the Trump administration's policy will lead to their dismissal.

That is my concern, and that should be America's concern. If the interim leadership at the Office of Advocacy is too scared to raise the obvious point that small businesses are being crushed by the Trump tariffs, we can only imagine what the President's hand-picked nominee will do if he is confirmed.

The Office of Advocacy needs strong, independent leadership that can stand up to the administration when small businesses are under threat.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on this nomination so that our Nation's 34 million small business owners have a real advocate looking out for them and not just another Trump yes-man.

At this point, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION

MR. MARKEY. Mr. President, I want to start tonight by addressing those on my side of the aisle.

My friends, I am taking the floor with a simple message to you: Don't give up. We cannot give up. We can't afford to give up. The American people are demanding we don't give up. They are demanding we get up, and we fight back.

We have to fight back against the attacks on our healthcare system, against the attacks on families across our country—especially the poorest—on reproductive rights. We can't give up on our neighbors seeking asylum or education through our country's lawful processes. We can't give up on affordable energy that keeps the lights on, bills low, and our air clean—wind, solar, all-electric vehicles, battery storage technologies; the future. We can't give up.

Republicans have taken a battering ram to the American healthcare system, a system that was already too expensive, too inaccessible, too complicated for too many Americans. And what have they done? They have passed legislation to slash \$850 billion from Medicaid, \$500 billion from Medicare, \$300 billion from the Affordable Care Act, and they are slashing NIH research—research on Alzheimer's, cancer, diabetes. Alzheimer's—slashing the funding to find a cure for the diseases which run through every family in America, just slashing it. Slashing the Centers for Disease Control, slashing it. Just an absolute evisceration of the healthcare system in our country.

And what are we going to see? According to the Yale University, 51,000 additional deaths per year over the next 10 years. A half a million people dying because of those cuts in those programs. That is what the Republicans have done in their Big Beautiful Bill. People are going to die because of that.

And how have they done it? Well, Trump and his backers have done this by breaking the basic functions of democracy, violating institutional norms, and treating people's lives as expendable. He has done it through corruption, intimidation, illegal power grabs, and plain cruelty.

Already, the Republicans cut \$2.5 billion from the National Institutes of Health, \$11.4 billion from the Centers for Disease Control, and cut programming for mental health, environmental health, and reproductive health. People are about to receive notices that their insurance costs are going up. They are going to be skyrocketing. Hospitals and Planned Parenthood clinics are already closing. Americans aren't experiencing this one at a time because it is happening all at once across our country.

Republicans acted on Trump's Big Oil-funded vendetta against wind and solar energy by cutting incentives for the cleanest and the cheapest sources of electricity, all to pad the pockets of their fossil fuel friends: the oil, the gas, and the coal industry.

The companies that have created the climate crisis are the ones that have