

Republican whom Trump first appointed, calling him a loser, stupid, corrupt, and incompetent, simply because he won't do exactly what President Trump wants.

And traditional firewalls will not work for this nominee. As the President's chief economist, Dr. Miran will almost certainly pick up the phone if Trump calls. He will be reading Trump's social media posts. He has every incentive to do Trump's bidding so he can return to his White House job. And even in the unlikely event that Dr. Miran acts independently, then Trump will simply fire him from the Council of Economic Advisers.

Most troubling, Dr. Miran has testified that he has received advice from White House lawyers blessing this arrangement. This kind of self-certification is dubious at best, but Dr. Miran has failed to produce it. That is why I joined Ranking Member WARREN and several of our Banking Committee colleagues in demanding that Dr. Miran share this analysis. And as is typical with this administration, he did not even respond to our request. Dr. Miran's stonewalling can only be read as a concession that this is a corrupt bargain.

Critical questions remain unanswered because of Dr. Miran's contempt of the Banking Committee, his evasion of our questions, and his refusal to provide details about this fraught proposal to retain his White House job while at the Fed. He must be straightforward and honest about how he intends to do this job, and he must acknowledge the reality that the President will have enormous influence and leverage over him.

We must have answers before the Senate votes on his nomination, which is minutes away, and we will not get those answers.

I will also be voting no because Dr. Miran has shown exceptionally poor integrity in this confirmation process. He tweeted in 2023 that no person "on the planet can go from highly political operative to politically neutral just because he or she gets a promotion. That's just not how human beings work." He said this during the Biden administration when a Fed Governor resigned to become an economic adviser to the President in the White House.

Dr. Miran himself now wants to move between the Fed and the White House. Under Dr. Miran's own standard, he would need to violate the laws of physics to be capable of acting independently.

Just last year, Dr. Miran wrote a 25-page paper proposing an overhaul of the structure and governance of the Fed. In that paper, he wrote that "short-circuiting the revolving door between the Fed and the executive branch is critical to reducing the incentives for officials to act in the short-term political interests of the president."

Yet, he is now racing through this revolving door. He called for specific re-

forms to shut this revolving door. Those reforms include prohibiting any Governor from returning to the executive branch for 4 years, removing the "for cause" removal protections for Governors, and the current President voluntarily refraining from removing any incumbent Board members or Reserve Bank leaders during his term.

At his confirmation hearing, Dr. Miran didn't even try to stand by his proposal. He testified that this "proposal was a package deal. It was a suite of checks and balances, and it's highly inappropriate to take one check or balance outside the context of the overall package."

However, Dr. Miran badly mischaracterized his own work. In his paper, Dr. Miran never said that these proposals were a "package deal" or that they must be implemented in an all-or-nothing manner. To the contrary, he wrote that this "proposal can be implemented in a piecemeal fashion, one policy at a time, if legislatively easier."

Well, he has a chance to implement it one point at a time by simply resigning from the Council of Economic Advisers.

This nominee is asking for the American people's trust to set the Nation's credit and monetary policy. By misleading the Banking Committee, which was deliberate, he has demonstrated that he cannot be trusted with this responsibility.

Like so many of this administration's nominees, Dr. Miran knew that standing by his previous views would take him out of the running, so he disavowed them to avoid getting crosswise with President Trump, who wants to get his man confirmed to the Fed today, which happens to be the day before the Fed's next meeting to vote on interest rates.

Trump's former economic adviser Larry Kudlow said the quiet part out loud on a podcast last week. He said:

The bottom line is: Trump is going to take over the Fed."

Dr. Miran's appointment is a critical piece of Trump's hostile takeover, along with the attempted ouster of Governor Cook and the continued attacks on Chair Powell.

When the Fed becomes controlled by Trump's yes-men, it won't speak with enough authority to achieve its mandate. Inflation will get out of control, higher prices will persist, and rates on credit cards, auto loans, and mortgages will go up. Americans will be asked to pay more to finance our Nation's enormous and growing public debt. This outcome is unacceptable while millions of Americans are struggling to cover increased costs on everyday expenses.

I would like to close by quoting former Republican Senator Pat Toomey from Pennsylvania, a native of Rhode Island who ably served as the ranking member of the Banking Committee. In 2021, he spoke against one of President Biden's nominees to the Federal Reserve and said:

"The American people deserve a serious nominee who . . . will serve without a political agenda. . . . It is exceptionally important to keep politics out of monetary policy."

Applying Senator Toomey's principles, Dr. Miran has not demonstrated his ability to "serve without a political agenda." He has not demonstrated that he is a "serious nominee," and he has not demonstrated that he "will serve without a political agenda." Instead, he has demonstrated his loyalty to President Trump and essentially thumbed his nose at the Senate. He has already compromised his independence through his plan to hold on to his White House position.

I urge my colleagues to vote against this nominee not only for the benefit of the Federal Reserve but for the integrity of the U.S. Senate.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. CASSIDY. I know of no further debate on the nomination.

#### VOTE ON MIRAN NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Cassidy nomination?

Mr. CASSIDY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Montana (Mr. DAINES), the Senator from Utah (Mr. LEE), the Senator from Wyoming (Ms. LUMMIS), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) is necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 47, as follows:

#### [Rollcall Vote No. 519 Ex.]

#### YEAS—48

Banks	Fischer	Moran
Barrasso	Graham	Moreno
Blackburn	Grassley	Mullin
Boozman	Hagerty	Ricketts
Britt	Hawley	Risch
Budd	Hoeben	Rounds
Capito	Husted	Schmitt
Cassidy	Hyde-Smith	Scott (FL)
Collins	Johnson	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Justice	Sheehy
Cotton	Kennedy	Sullivan
Cramer	Lankford	Thune
Crapo	Marshall	Tillis
Cruz	McCormack	Tuberville
Curtis	Moody	Wicker
Ernst		Young

#### NAYS—47

Alsobrooks	Hassan	Murray
Baldwin	Heinrich	Ossoff
Bennet	Hickenlooper	Padilla
Blumenthal	Hirono	Peters
Blunt	Kaine	Reed
Booker	Kelly	Rosen
Cantwell	Kim	Schatz
Coons	King	Schiff
Cortez Masto	Klobuchar	Schumer
Duckworth	Lujan	Shaheen
Durbin	Markey	Slotkin
Fetterman	Merkley	Smith
Gallego	Murkowski	Van Hollen
Gillibrand	Murphy	

Warner	Warren	Whitehouse
Warnock	Welch	Wyden

## NOT VOTING—5

Daines	Lummis	Sanders
Lee	Paul	

The nomination was confirmed. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCHMITT). Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

The majority leader.

## LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

## EXECUTIVE SESSION

**AUTHORIZING THE EN BLOC CONSIDERATION IN EXECUTIVE SESSION OF CERTAIN NOMINATIONS ON THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR**

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider the en bloc nominations listed in S. Res. 377.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Jessica Kramer, of Wisconsin, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Dario Gil, of New York, to be Under Secretary for Science, Department of Energy.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Brandon Williams, of New York, to be Under Secretary for Nuclear Security.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Tristan Abbey, of Florida, to be Administrator of the Energy Information Administration.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Leslie Beyer, of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Theodore J. Garrish, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Nuclear Energy).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Brian Morrissey, Jr., of Virginia, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury the nomination of Andrea Travnicek, of North Dakota, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Justin Overbaugh, of Florida, to be a Deputy Under Secretary of Defense.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Scott Pappano,

of Pennsylvania, to be Principal Deputy Administrator, National Nuclear Security Administration.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Michael Cadenazzi, of Rhode Island, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Sean O'Keefe, of Virginia, to be a Deputy Under Secretary of Defense.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Michael Obadal, of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of the Army.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Katherine Sutton, of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of William L. Doffermeyre, of Texas, to be Solicitor of the Department of the Interior.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Kyle Haustveit, of Oklahoma, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Fossil Energy).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Matthew Napoli, of Virginia, to be Deputy Administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation, National Nuclear Security Administration.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Richard Anderson, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Conner Prochaska, of Texas, to be Director of the Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy, Department of Energy.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Tina Pierce, of Idaho, to be Chief Financial Officer, Department of Energy.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Jonathan Brightbill, of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Energy.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Robert Gleason, of Pennsylvania, to be Director of the Amtrak Board of Directors for a term of five years.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Sean McMaster, of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Donald Bergin III, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Veterans Affairs (Congressional and Legislative Affairs).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of John Squires, of Florida, to be Under Secretary of Commerce for Intellectual Property and Director of the United States Patent and Trademark Office.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Daniel Aronowitz, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Michael Dodd, of Indiana, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (New Position).

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of William Gillis, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Jules Hurst III, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Brent Ingraham, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of George Wesley Street, of Virginia, to be Director of the National Counterintelligence and Security Center.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Peter Thomson, of Louisiana, to be Inspector General, Central Intelligence Agency.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Jeffrey Bartos, of Pennsylvania, to be Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations for U.N. Management and Reform, with the Rank of Ambassador, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Jennifer Locetta, of Florida, to be Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Dudley Hoskins, of the District of Columbia, to be Under Secretary of Agriculture for Marketing and Regulatory Programs.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Scott Hutchins, of Indiana, to be Under Secretary of Agriculture for Research, Education, and Economics.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Benjamin DeMarzo, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Jovan Jovanovic, of Pennsylvania, to be President of the Export-Import Bank of the United States for a term expiring January 20, 2029.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Richard Fordyce, of Missouri, to be Under Secretary of Agriculture for Farm Production and Conservation.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Paul Roberti, of Rhode Island, to be Administrator of the Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety Administration, Department of Transportation.