

We are not fighting here for big business. We are not here fighting for insurance companies. Small businesses are in desperate need to lower the cost of healthcare. For every business I talk to, every union I talk to, every self-employed person I talk to, the cost of healthcare is a top-three issue. And these pillars will help address that.

This plan was not made overnight. This plan, as I said, started really back in 2010 in a surgeons' lounge.

And when I was elected to come here in 2016, this is one of my three or four issues that I wanted to address. And I have continued to revise and refine and improve this plan from year to year to meet this moment. In fact, it was 2018 that now-Speaker MIKE JOHNSON and I put together a comprehensive replacement bill for the ACA.

And here we are today, no better off. Prices are skyrocketing, and we continue to struggle.

I am encouraged. I think we have some momentum. I continue discussions across the aisle. And what I hear my friends across the aisle saying is that we share a lot of the same goals. We want Americans to have affordable, meaningful healthcare.

And by the way, again, a \$15,000 deductible for a family making \$120,000 a year—that \$15,000 deductible is not the same as access to care.

This is not a conclusive list. There needs to be more. There are more things we can do. We need to expand healthcare association plans. We need to allow insurance to be sold across State lines. We need to take on the PBMs. This is just the start, but this would be a backbone. And I don't know why any of my friends across the aisle would be opposed to any one of these particular pillars.

Our text for our bill is out. The legislative text is out there now. We welcome cosponsors. We welcome this as an opportunity to build toward a bipartisan bill in January.

Americans deserve transparency. They deserve accountability. They deserve affordability. And this plan delivers it.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 1829

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I am going to raise a different issue on the floor, and I am going to be joined in that issue by the cosponsor of the legislation, Senator HAWLEY of Missouri. So I will speak to the measure and then defer to him and then make a motion, which I believe the Senator from Oregon Senator WYDEN is going to respond to.

Mr. President, I come to the floor today to ask the Senate to pass the STOP CSAM Act, bipartisan legislation that would finally open the courthouse doors to survivors of child exploitation and their families.

Too many parents in America live in fear every time their child logs into a phone, a tablet, or video game console.

They know the internet has, unfortunately, become a hunting ground for predators of children.

Earlier today, the Senate Judiciary Committee learned more about the horrors facing our children online, and we heard from one of those families.

Three years ago, 17-year-old James Woods—an honor student, an accomplished track athlete from the State of Ohio—died by suicide after being targeted by predators on Instagram. We asked his mother today: How long did this relationship online last?

She said: Start to finish—the finish was the end of her son's life—19 hours.

They tricked James into sending them sexually explicit photos, and they threatened to ruin his life if he didn't pay them to destroy the photos. His tormentors sent him 200 messages in 19 hours, encouraging, finally, that he end his life, which he ultimately did.

In January 2022, 13-year-old Jay Taylor—an artistic, compassionate child from the State of Washington, gifted in math—died by suicide after being targeted by predators on Discord. Jay was pursued by a group who used Discord to bully him into taking his own life, which was live-streamed for his abusers to watch.

These are two examples of cruelty and danger for kids that they can encounter on online platforms. How do we do something to stop this?

In 2014, the National Center for Missing & Exploited Children, called NCMEC, received 1.1 million cyber tips of child sexual abuse material, known as CSAM. By 2023, less than 10 years later, the number of cyber tips have exploded to 36 million—from 1 million to 36 million—and every one of those reports represents a child harmed, exploited, and degraded.

As I have heard and learned more about the horrors of online child sexual exploitation, I have made it my mission to try to put an end to it. That is why I worked with survivors, prosecutors, law enforcement, victim advocates, and my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to write a bill that responds with the urgency this situation demands. The bill is called STOP CSAM. The lead sponsor, beginning this year, is Senator JOSH HAWLEY, Republican of Missouri, and the cosponsor is DURBIN, Democrat of Illinois. I would like to thank Senator HAWLEY for being the lead sponsor who voted unanimously with the Judiciary Committee to advance this bill last year.

And I want to recognize the extraordinary survivors and advocates who continue to make this legislation possible by their impassioned pleas. Unfortunately, due to Big Tech's deep pockets, it has not been easy to pass a law to finally hold the tech industry accountable for the harms they cause.

Ask any parent or child walking around holding a cell phone if they are worried about what is going on, on that cell phone, and I will tell you they are. They hope that their children are doing the right things and not being lured

into a trap by somebody on the other end of the line. The same thing, of course, is true with computers.

So when STOP CSAM didn't pass the Senate last year, Senator HAWLEY and I were determined to bring it up this year.

Because Big Tech has failed to take the steps to keep kids safe when they are online, it is imperative that Congress do something for the parents and the children who are victims.

The STOP CSAM Act takes a comprehensive approach to stemming online childhood exploitation. Most significantly, it creates accountability. It pierces the broad immunity granted to Big Tech by section 230 of the Communications Decency Act.

I can't think of another element of our economy that is free from any worry of being sued. If you drive in a haphazard and reckless way, you will be held responsible. But when it comes to this industry, they conduct their business with little or no regard for the victims. They are immune from responsibility under section 230.

STOP CSAM, which we bring to the floor today, changes it. It does one simple thing: It allows the victims to sue tech platforms and app stores that promote or aid and abet online child sex exploitation.

Survivors deserve a day in court. I just guarantee you, if there is civil liability on the line here, the industry is going to change and rework their online offerings to protect children. Right now, they could give a darn.

STOP CSAM also forces transparency onto Big Tech by requiring the companies to submit annual reports describing their efforts to protect children. This is more than a box-checking exercise. This bill requires providers to disclose concrete steps they are taking to protect children.

We have all seen the headlines. We all know the worry. Tech companies promise to improve but only repeat the same conduct over and over again at the expense of children.

Last year, half of all cyber tips provided by tech companies included insufficient information to be actionable by law enforcement. Civil liability will change that.

The STOP CSAM Act passed unanimously out of the subcommittee this summer. That unanimity is no accident. It reflects an understanding of what we need to do to protect children.

I am honored to have as my colleague in this effort Senator JOSH HAWLEY of Missouri, and I yield the floor to him.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, I want to thank Senator DURBIN for his incredible leadership on this issue. It is truly a privilege to partner with him on this effort.

And I just want to say that the premise of this bill is very simple. It is simply this: that our children are not safe online. And I know that because the statistics tell the story. Just looking at the number of reports of child

sex abuse material online the last year for which we have full data, the number of images, sexually abusive images online surged to 104 million. Think about that—104 million reported sexually abusive images. That is up from merely 450,000 as early as 2004. In the space of 20 years, we have seen an explosion of sexual abuse material online.

The data does not lie. Our children are not safe. But I also know it because whistleblowers tell us. The experts from these companies tell us the truth. I will never forget sitting in the Senate Judiciary Committee and listening to whistleblowers from Meta talk about the steps their company had taken to target their products toward children. And I asked one of these whistleblowers: How many kids who come to your platform would you estimate are exposed to child sex abuse material?

She thought for a moment, and then she said: I would say 100 percent.

I said: Wait a minute. A hundred percent? One hundred percent?

She said: Every child who gets on a Meta platform—whether it is virtual reality, whether it is Instagram, whether it is Facebook itself—every child who is on that platform for any length of time will be exposed to child sex abuse material, every single child.

The tech companies themselves tell us, but I also know our kids aren't safe online because I am a father of three children. My oldest is 13 now. I have got a 10-year-old and a 5-year-old. And my kids don't have devices. They don't have phones, and I am going to keep it that way as long as I possibly can. But I tell you what, my wife and I every day worry about what our children will be exposed to online.

And I have listened to parent after parent come before this body, take an oath, and testify about the ordeals their own children have been through.

Another employee at Meta testified about his own child—a daughter—who signed up for an Instagram account and almost immediately was bombarded by predators and sex abusers looking at her images, direct messaging her, soliciting her for various sexual acts. It caused him to ask himself: What are we doing at these tech companies? Is there no amount of decency? Is there no respect for the basic privacy and security of our children? Our children are not safe online.

And I also want to say that this bill is based on another important principle, a simple one, which is that no amount of corporate profit justifies the exploitation of our children. All the Big Tech companies are rich beyond belief. They are the wealthiest companies, the richest, biggest companies, not just in America, not just in the world, but in the history of the world.

But I just want to say that no amount of money justifies subjecting our children to sexual abuse. No amount of money justifies “sextortion” of children on these platforms.

I don't care what Facebook's market cap is today or tomorrow. I don't care how much money Google makes next quarter. It does not justify the degradation of American children, not now, not ever. And this body has a moral obligation to stand for that principle and to vindicate it for every parent and every child in America. It is why we are here. It is our obligation and our responsibility, and that is what this bill does.

This is a very simple bill, as Senator DURBIN described. It simply allows the victims of sex abuse material or their parents to get into court and to make their case against these companies. And it is not unfair to the companies. The companies are held to a very simple standard: Did they knowingly or recklessly host this content?

Now, let me just say this: We all know that these companies will deploy algorithms to the end of the Earth in order to target our kids, in order to advertise to our kids. They know every detail. Every scintilla of action that occurs on their platforms, they know about it because they are making money off of it.

And yet when we bring them before this body and put them under oath, the executives of these companies say: Oh, we couldn't possibly get rid of all the CSAM, all the sex abuse material. We just don't have the technology for it.

Oh, yes, they do. They do. But they don't want to root out the CSAM because they are making money on it because sex material online drives engagement online, which drives more eyeballs online, which drives advertising dollars online, and that is what they care most about.

It is time to give victims and parents the rights that every other American has, which is to get into court and to have their day in court and to protect their children.

This bill doesn't touch encryption. It doesn't destroy privacy rights. It protects all of those things, but, above all, it protects children. It protects our children online, and it is long overdue.

I will just finish with this: I wish I could persuade my colleague, who I think will soon object, to agree with us on this, but I certainly respect his view. The scandal is not that 1 or 2 or 10 or 20 Senators would take a different point of view. That is fine. The real scandal here is this bill cannot get a vote on the floor of this Senate. It passed unanimously—not once but twice out of committee—unanimously out of the Judiciary Committee of the United States.

Now, for years in a row, it can't get so much as a vote on the floor of the Senate. That is why Senator DURBIN is here today. That is why I am here today. That is a scandal. It is absolutely indefensible.

I haven't heard a word of explanation, but I know the reason. The reason is the Big Tech companies are opposed to it, and the reason for that is the Big Tech companies would lose

money. And they will spend no amount of money—there will be no limit to what they would spend to stop legislation that they don't want from moving on this floor.

It is time this body demonstrated its independence. It is time to demonstrate our loyalty to the people who put us here, not the corporations that write the checks and call the shots and run the TV ads and make their threats of their campaign contributions.

It is enough of that. It doesn't say “We the corporations” in our Constitution. It says “We the People.” It is time for the people to have their say. It is time for this body to vindicate their rights. It is time for us to vote on this bill.

I yield to the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority whip.

Mr. DURBIN. In a few minutes, we made the case. When a conservative Missouri Republican and a progressive Illinois Democrat can agree on a measure this important to the families of America, I think it is a unique message.

How many times are we told back home: For God's sake, stop playing politics. If you must, compromise, but get something done.

And, certainly, protecting our children is the highest possible priority.

These measures, as Senator HAWLEY alluded to, passed unanimously out of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Trust me, the 20-plus members of that committee span the political spectrum. They all voted for these measures. That is why we bring them to the floor.

For those who are following the debate, we are going to have a voice vote pretty soon, I assume. The question is going to be, Are we going to pass this or not? You are going to hear me make a motion. Then, I believe the Senator from Oregon is going to seek recognition. I will make the motion as to whether we should pass the measure we just described.

Here is the motion. As if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 106, S. 1829; further, I ask unanimous consent that the committee-reported substitute be considered and agreed to, and that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed, and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there an objection?

The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Reserving the right to object, I don't often disagree with my friend and longtime colleague from Illinois, and I very much share the stated goals of the STOP CSAM Act. Child sexual abuse material is a toxic plague on the internet. There are real victims who need support and criminals who have to be hunted down and locked up. I don't take a back seat to anybody when it comes to helping kids and punishing predators.

Last Congress, Senator DURBIN and I compromised on a different version of this bill and agreed to let that version pass by unanimous consent.

Let me say that again. Last Congress, we reached agreement on a version of this bill that could have passed unanimously.

Today, to my regret, the sponsors have chosen to abandon those negotiations and instead are seeking to advance what I consider to be a dangerous bill that would make internet users unsafe. That is because the bill would weaken the single strongest technology that protects kids and families online. That is strong encryption. It will make it easier to punish sites using encryption to secure private conversations and personal devices.

While STOP CSAM sponsors claim that their bill does not target encryption, the bill explicitly allows courts to punish companies that offer strong encryption. It also would encourage scanning of content on users' phones or computers before information is sent over the internet, which has, in my view, the same consequences as breaking encryption.

Weakening encryption and other security technologies is the single biggest gift that can be given to the predators and dangerous criminals who want to stalk and spy on kids. Sexual predators will have a far easier time stealing and extorting photographs of children, tracking their phones, and spying on their private messages when encryption is breached.

Doing so threatens the privacy and security of every single law-abiding American.

I heard some talk about who supports the bill. Let me tell you who supports the bill. It is Big Tech. Google and X have endorsed that. Let me repeat that. Google and X have endorsed this bill. It is the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and the American Civil Liberties Union who oppose it.

This is really about who are you for. I am here for women who depend on encryption to seek reproductive healthcare information. I am here for journalists reporting on sensitive stories in places where their messages could be intercepted and used against them. I am here for kids and teenagers seeking information about immigration laws as Donald Trump continues a brutal crackdown.

The key to better protecting kids online is to do what is effective, not what only sounds effective. Congress ought to focus our energy on giving law enforcement officials the tools they need to find and prosecute criminals responsible for exploiting children and spreading vile abuse materials online and to help prevent children from becoming victims in the first place. I repeatedly have given that support to prosecutors and law enforcement officials to do more to protect kids from being exploited.

I remain open to revisiting conversations with the bill's sponsors to get

back to a version that doesn't make the internet less safe. We did find a compromise in the last Congress, and I want to say to my longtime friend Senator DURBIN and my colleagues on both sides of the aisle that I am willing to work together to find another such compromise.

I urge, for example, my colleagues to support my bipartisan Invest in Kids' Safety Act, which I will shortly reintroduce. The bill would direct \$5 billion in mandatory funding to do three things: one, give law enforcement agencies the tools and personnel they need to catch the predators who create and spread CSAM; two, fund community-based programs to prevent at-risk kids from becoming victims in the first place; and three, invest in programs to support survivors of abuse. Any legislation that doesn't include those pieces is missing the point, and that is why I object today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Florida.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—H. CON. RES. 58

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. Mr. President, when I talk to families in the State of Florida and around the Nation, I often hear how they are struggling to make ends meet. The cost of healthcare is up. Owning a home has become nearly unattainable.

The former administration pushed the American dream further and further out of reach for so many families all across our great Nation.

I grew up in public housing, and my family didn't have much. I look across the country and see families just like mine growing up, doing everything they can to make ends meet. But I knew back then that I had the opportunity to do anything because the American dream was alive. As Governor and Senator, my goal has been to keep the American dream alive so every family can have the same opportunities I did.

That dream and those opportunities don't exist under socialism. When crazy radicals in New York City and across this country villainize capitalism and push socialism, they forget they have benefited from the very system they criticize.

Socialism has never worked. It is an old, barbaric, discredited idea that failed every time it has been tried. Look at Cuba and Venezuela and the many families that fled those brutal regimes to live in my State of Florida. It kills those opportunities.

We need to drive down costs. The answer isn't more government; it is less. We don't need more government decisions. We need fewer government decisions. We need to do what we did in Florida—cut taxes, reduce government regulations, and grow jobs.

The United States was built on individual freedoms and opportunities and the right of every individual to pursue the American dream, despite coming from nothing, just like I had the opportunity to do. That is what this great country stands for.

This resolution is a stark reminder for the far left: Socialism is a failure, and Americans will always reject it.

As if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H. Con. Res. 58, which was received from the House; further, that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURTIS). Is there objection?

The minority whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Reserving the right to object, this is an interesting resolution. It passed the House of Representatives, and I am not sure what the vote was. My colleague and friend from Florida didn't draft it or write it, but he is offering it.

I took a look at it. It is hard to disagree.

Do I think that Vladimir Lenin or Joseph Stalin were bad people? You bet.

Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro, Pol Pot, Kim Jong Il, Kim Jong Un, Daniel Ortega, Hugo Chavez, Nicolas Maduro? Sure, no questions asked.

Do I think the Bolshevik Revolution was a good idea? I wasn't around at the time, but from what I have read, it was not.

What do I think about the Great Leap Forward in China, another example of socialism?

The list goes on and on. It lists the crimes against humanity which occurred by socialist regimes, and they should be listed and noted in this resolution.

Then it goes on to explain, in terms of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, just what they mean by socialism in this resolution. And that is where you lose me, because when it is all said and done, I am a little worried.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt created Social Security, do you know what they called it? Socialism. When Lyndon Baines Johnson created Medicare for millions of Americans, do you know what they called it? Socialized medicine.

So in your conclusion, where you say Congress denounces socialism in all its forms and opposes the implementation of socialist policies in the United States, does that include Social Security? Does that include Medicare? I would think those programs might be important in your State. They sure are in mine.

For that reason, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Florida.

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. Mr. President, I actually was born in the great State of Illinois and lived in public housing there. I grew up in a family that could have benefited from things like Medicaid and the Food Stamp Program. We didn't have those. Those are great programs, and that is not socialism. Socialism is when we take from one group