

These Democrats tried to raise taxes on American workers by \$4 trillion. Every single Democrat in this body—every single one of them on the other side of the aisle—voted in favor of the largest tax increase in America's history. We stopped them. We stopped them. Had these Democrats gotten their way, Americans would be paying more taxes today, not less. The refund checks coming would be smaller rather than larger, which is what they are going to get with the Republican plan when they get their tax refunds this year.

Even now, Democrats are still trying to raise your taxes. These Democrats are trying to undo the very policies that are putting more money back into the pocketbooks and the purses of American families.

Americans rejected the failed agenda of high prices and of open border and of high taxes. The American people chose safety and prosperity instead.

So, today, America is heading in the right direction. This is an all-American economic comeback, and we are going to continue to build on it, and people are going to hear that tonight when the President speaks.

Tonight, President Trump will lay out his vision for continuing to make America safer and more prosperous for the people who are here, the citizens of this country, and Senate Republicans are going to work closely with him to do precisely that.

I yield the floor.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### UKRAINE

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, today marks the fourth anniversary of Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Vladimir Putin believed his so-called military operation would be over in 2 weeks, but, as the fifth year of the war begins, Russian forces have fought Ukraine longer than they fought the Germans in World War II. Because of the bravery and innovation of the Ukrainians, aided by American and European support, Vladimir Putin's objective to conquer and control the Ukrainian Government remains unattainable. His war is a strategic failure.

While the Russian military is making incremental gains in the east part of Ukraine, it is at an exorbitant cost. Since the invasion began in February 2022, 4 years ago, Russian forces have seized only 12 percent of Ukrainian territory. Because of the way they fight and how Ukrainians defend, Russian forces simply cannot achieve breakthroughs after the breach of Ukrainian positions. Today, nearly 20 percent of

the Donbas remains out of Putin's grasp and Russian forces, already struggling to take territory, face the "fortress belt" of the region's remaining cities.

Putin has abused his country's manpower advantage by employing a strategy of attrition with devastating consequences. Russian forces have suffered 1.2 million casualties in 4 years, and one-third of those are estimated to have come in the last year alone.

A recent report from the Center for Strategic and International Studies observes:

No major power has suffered anywhere near these numbers of casualties or fatalities in any war since World War II.

As these casualties mount, the monetary cost to lure new recruits is increasing. Russian regions are increasing their signing bonuses for contract soldiers, indicating that Russian recruitment is beginning to struggle to meet its goals. From the war's beginning, when Putin was resorting to mobilizing convicts, now, average Russians do not want to fight in this war.

Russia's economy has been degraded as the war has been prolonged. The move to impose sanctions on Russian's energy companies last year—which should have happened earlier in the war—has made it more difficult to export oil, the foundation of the Kremlin's budget. Moscow has had to offer buyers steep discounts of 25 to 30 percent below market value, increasing their budget deficit to 2.5 percent of GDP.

Sustaining Putin's war depends upon China's continued support. Beijing purchases nearly half of Russia's crude exports and provides critical dual-use technologies for Russian materiel.

Putin is overseeing a war effort that is succeeding in feet rather than miles, and it is coming at considerable cost to the future of his country. This is no time to permit him to claim a victory, either on the battlefield or at the negotiating table. We must share the resolve of Ukrainian people and make certain that Putin's invasion remains the blunder it was when it started 4 years ago.

While both Washington and Brussels have engaged in public debate, Putin should not mistake that debate for disengagement. The United States continues—continues—to provide substantial military and intelligence support, and our allies have increased their contributions. There must be no doubt in Moscow about our enduring commitment to Ukraine. The U.S. expanded intelligence sharing last October to assist Ukraine in targeting energy infrastructure deep inside Russia, and the United States lifted range limitations on certain weapons. Likewise, our European allies have stepped up to assume some of the financial support for the war, most recently agreeing to a \$105 billion loan for Ukraine.

There is much more I believe both sides of the Atlantic can do to assist Ukraine. I called for providing Toma-

hawk missiles last summer, and the European Union should use Russian foreign reserves to help pay for Ukraine's war effort. Congress should enact sanctions to discourage the purchase of Russian oil.

Last March, before the Senate Intelligence Committee, CIA Director JOHN RATCLIFFE told me:

I want to say that with regard to the Ukrainian resistance, the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian military have been underestimated for a period of several years. . . . I'm convinced that they will fight with their bare hands if they have to.

Ukrainians are coming out of the most difficult winter yet, with temperatures at their most frigid of the war, and Russian bombing campaigns aimed at energy infrastructure have taken a toll. Instead of being convinced to sue for peace on Putin's terms, Ukrainians remain unwavering in their commitment to remain an independent and sovereign nation. We must commit to share in their resolve. I say that again. We must commit to share in their resolve and support the Ukrainian people in their fight for freedom.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

#### STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, later this evening, we are going to hear from Trump in the State of the Union Address. In a little more than a year, President Trump and Republican majorities in Congress have delivered on our promises to the American people, from a secure border to more money in Americans' pockets. As the American people will hear tonight, we are just getting started.

The Department of Homeland Security has been shut down for 11 days now. It is the second time in less than 6 months the Democrats have needlessly shut down all or part of the Federal Government. Senators will have another opportunity today to vote to proceed to the Department of Homeland Security funding bill. Democrats have previously opposed getting on this funding bill. They opposed a continuing resolution that would have temporarily funded Homeland Security Agencies while negotiations continued on immigration enforcement. All signs suggest that our Democrat colleagues will once again vote against moving to DHS funding this afternoon.

The Department of Homeland Security houses a number of critical Agencies, and shutting down this Department has real consequences. Democrats are threatening the work of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, of the TSA, of key cyber security offices. FEMA training centers, like the National Fire Academy in Maryland, are closed. Roughly 45,000 Americans who are in training at one of these centers can't go to class right now.

We are hosting the World Cup in a few months, and some security training for that event is on hold right now because of the shutdown.

Civilian Coast Guard employees won't get a full paycheck at the end of this week, and thousands more Americans, from disaster response personnel at FEMA to TSA agents, are worried about potentially missing pay as soon as next week.

As I said, this is the second time in 6 months the Democrats have shut down all or part of the Federal Government.

The Department of Homeland Security employs thousands of Americans. We should want the most talented and most dedicated individuals serving in these roles. But when these Americans and their families are routinely used as political pawns, morale suffers. Think of what that means for these Agencies' ability to recruit and retain the very best. But I guess none of that matters to Democrats.

Republicans want to get to an agreement on Homeland Security funding. So does the White House. And we have acted in good faith throughout these negotiations. The Trump administration has taken a number of actions on its own in Minneapolis, including deploying body cameras, tailoring its mission to criminal illegal immigrants, and requiring identification for officers.

On top of those actions, the White House put forward a very serious offer to legislate reforms almost 2 weeks ago. It took Democrats 5 days to respond, and when they did respond, it was with a counteroffer that was essentially the same as their first, which raises a question, and that is, are Democrats actually interested in a solution here or are they just interested in a political issue?

There is room for compromise here but only if both sides give room. Democrats aren't doing that.

I shouldn't need to remind my Democrat colleagues that the Department of Homeland Security does critical work. Border security and immigration enforcement are one part of its mission. And it is an important mission. We need to have a secure border, and we need to deport criminal illegal immigrants.

Now, we can have a debate about how these tasks are undertaken, but we are not going to support anything that makes it impossible for law enforcement to carry out its job. We are not going to support anything that makes it more dangerous for officers to do

their jobs. Unfortunately, that is what some of the Democrats' proposals would do.

Old habits die hard, and, unfortunately, the party of "defund the police" seems to be slipping back into calls to defund law enforcement. I hope that is not the position of the Democrats' here. I hope our colleagues are actually willing to come to a solution, but if they are, it is time to show it. This shutdown is already hurting hard-working Americans and impacting efforts to preserve both public safety and national security, and it is time to end it.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

#### STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

Mr. SCHUMER. Well, Mr. President, we are in for a long, tedious, and exhausting night as Donald Trump is set to deliver his fourth State of the Union.

Donald Trump said yesterday he is going to talk for a very long time tonight.

God help us.

I am not sure what he thinks there is to celebrate, because America, in short, is a mess thanks to him. American Presidents often talk about how they inherited a mess and turned things around, but in Donald Trump's case, he created a mess and then set the building on fire. High costs are still kicking Americans in the gut. Donald Trump's tariffs have unleashed chaos and confusion. ICE agents are patrolling our neighborhoods in masks like cartel thugs.

Isn't that right, Senator LEE?

Corruption is up; trust in America is down; and we still have no idea what is in the Epstein files.

If I were a Republican sitting in the House Chamber tonight, I would be squirming in my seat, praying to Heaven that the President wraps up things quickly because the American people are sick of his drivel, and the stench of his unpopularity is spreading across the Republican Party like a toxin.

Look, we know how tonight is going to work. Donald Trump will claim that everything in America is going great, but he is in a huge bubble. America is deeply unhappy with his leadership, and he will blame everyone else for all our country's troubles. He will blame Biden. He will blame the Supreme

Court. He will point the finger at everyone but himself.

Tonight, the American people will see a President whose ego does not let him see reality. And what is that reality? I will give you three words: costs, chaos, corruption. That is the reality of Trump 2.0: costs, chaos, corruption. Democrats, of course, offer something different. This year, we are going to give the American people a choice—a choice to lower costs, to end the endless cycle of chaos, and to restore some sanity to our country.

And, as we speak, I am continuing to work with my colleagues to demand Donald Trump and Republicans listen to the American people and stop ICE from terrorizing our communities. The Democrats' position on Donald Trump's brutal ICE tactics haven't changed. Republicans need to work with Democrats to rein in ICE and end the violence. I am disappointed we have not gotten their counter yet, and it is time for them to stop playing games.

Finally, while none of us are excited about tonight's Trumpian endurance test, there are at least two things I look forward to tonight: First, I will be pleased to welcome five great New Yorkers as my guests for tonight's Address—each of them here to put a real face on the consequences of the administration's chaos.

First, we will have Dani Bensky, a survivor of Jeffrey Epstein and now a leading voice demanding transparency, accountability, and justice for survivors who have been failed for far too long.

Second, I will be pleased to welcome Raiza Contreras, a mother whose son Dylan entered the U.S. legally but who was still detained by ICE. Dylan did everything right—followed the rules, showed up to his hearing—and was still arrested by ICE in the middle of a courthouse lobby, if you can believe that; and Raiza is here tonight, fighting to bring her child home. It is amazing that Americans have to come and do this.

Third, we have Gearoid Keogh, a union construction worker on the Gateway Tunnel project who lost his job thanks to President Trump's cruel decision to cut off funding to this project.

Fourth, Aleshandra Fernandes joins us, a Long Island ironworker whose offshore wind job has been thrown into limbo again and again because of Trump's irrational, stupid hatred of offshore wind.

Finally, we have Ben Pearson, a Rochester small business owner who was forced to lay off more than a quarter of his workforce—a quarter of his workforce—hard-working people; he liked to pay them; they did good work—because of Donald Trump's tariffs.

To each of my guests tonight, you make New York proud, and thank you—thank you—for being here. Your presence is the reminder America