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Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. GRASSLEY).

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Heavenly Father, whose compassion never fails, from your vantage point of eternity, look afresh into our time. Lord, teach us to love as You love and to touch hurting lives as You do. Remove from us besetting fears about what tomorrow holds, as You remind us that our times are in Your hands.

Today, inspire our Senators to honor You. Lord, empower them to treat one another as they themselves desire to be treated and to pray for one another. Calm their anxieties and strengthen their faith in the ultimate triumph of Your purposes. Let your unfailing love energize them to new levels of excellence and service.

We pray in Your strong Name. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina). Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

TARIFFS

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, Donald Trump's trade war has many casualties. Families will be hit with the largest tax hike in over half a century—\$5,000 extra a year. Prices will go up for food and for medicine, for clothing and for furniture, for gasoline for cars, for travel, you name it.

The economy is in danger of a recession—60 percent odds. Yesterday, a leading person on Wall Street said the majority of CEOs he has spoken to believe the recession is already happening. A recession means small businesses will shutter, Main Streets will ossify, and all the progress we have made since COVID will disappear.

But one of the biggest casualties of Donald Trump's trade wars are American seniors and Americans planning retirement in the near future. If you were planning to retire this year or thinking about retiring soon, Donald Trump's tariffs are like a brick over the head.

This year, 4 million Americans will turn 65—that is a record. Another 80 million Americans are between 45 and 60 and thus approaching retirement and keeping their eyes on the future. And right now, Americans are watching helplessly as Donald Trump lights their retirement accounts and their dreams of a secure future on fire.

To put it in perspective, for Americans nearing retirement, Donald Trump's market crash has vaporized a whopping \$104,000 from the average retirement account. That is when you factor in the 17-percent drop in the Standard and Poor's 500 since the middle of February.

Let me say that again. For Americans nearing retirement, Donald Trump's market crash has vaporized a

whopping \$104,000 from the average retirement account. That is years—sometimes decades—of people's savings gone in a flash. That is money retirees need to pay for healthcare, for prescription drugs, to see the grandkids, to buy groceries, and to live with a little bit of dignity—a little bit of dignity.

Meanwhile, as tariffs eat away at the 401(k)s, Elon Musk and DOGE are taking a blowtorch to people's Social Security—the last safety net for Americans in retirement. They are crashing the website. They are closing down local offices. They are disconnecting services done over the phone. It is a pincer.

Elon Musk, Donald Trump, and Vice President VANCE continue lying about rampant fraud within Social Security without any evidence. Even DOGE's handpicked head of Social Security admitted that some of their claims—like saying checks are going to 150-year-olds—are wrong, dead wrong.

So Donald Trump is coming at American seniors from every direction. He is draining 401(k)s. He is sabotaging Social Security. He is gutting healthcare. He is driving up inflation. He is hitting seniors six ways from Sunday.

Even if you are not thinking about retirement right now, things are still awful. According to Bloomberg, the chaos of Donald Trump's tariffs has more and more Americans tapping into their 401(k)s early. Hardship withdrawals are about 15 to 20 percent above historical averages. That means eating into savings at the worst possible time.

The damage of the past few days will take a very long time to heal, but millions of seniors hoping to retire soon don't have that kind of time. They may not have enough to ride out a recession. They may never recover.

What makes this particular market crash especially painful is that it was wholly unnecessary. Donald Trump did not need to start a global trade war with no plan whatsoever. Donald

• This “bullet” symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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Trump did not need to send the markets reeling. Of all the ways he could have gone about these tariffs, he picked perhaps the single dumbest, most destructive approach possible.

Americans wanted Donald Trump to focus on one thing when he became President: costs, inflation, keeping the economy whole. Donald Trump has spectacularly failed already at the one thing people wanted him to do. Instead of lowering inflation, he has made it much worse. Instead of strengthening the economy, he has singlehandedly teed us up for a recession. And few will suffer as much and as quickly as the millions of seniors who were planning to retire this year and in the years to come.

Retirement is supposed to be sacred in America. Part of the American dream is working hard all your life, chipping in, saving little by little, knowing that when you retire, there will be something there—not to make you rich but so you can live a life with some degree of dignity. But Trump has stolen years from people's retirement with his boneheaded tariffs. For them, the damage could be permanent.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMS' RIGHTS WEEK

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, today, I come to the floor to support National Crime Victims' Rights Week.

For many years, I have pressed the Department of Justice to do its part to shore up what is called the Crime Victims Fund. That fund supports victims and survivors of crime across the Nation.

On Monday, I, along with Senators ERNST, CRAPO, and RISCH, sent a letter to the Department of Justice. That letter urges the Department of Justice to ensure that criminal fines and penalties are collected and deposited into the Crime Victims Fund.

I made this request because last Congress, my oversight revealed Biden administration failures. Specifically, since the enactment of the Victims of Crime Act Fix in 2021, the Biden Justice Department failed to collect and deposit more than \$1 billion in criminal fines and penalties, which belongs to this fund. Instead, the Biden administration allowed the fines to be paid to foreign governments and elsewhere.

Since my oversight shined the light on the Biden Justice Department's failures and misguided approach, the Department of Justice inspector general opened its own independent audit. And at my request, the Government Accountability Office also agreed to review the Department of Justice's administration of this Crime Victims Fund.

History has shown that sunshine is the best disinfectant. Since my Crime Victims Fund oversight began, the balance increased from \$1 billion in 2023—

the lowest in over a decade—to its current balance of \$4-3/10 billion. Now, those figures that I just gave you came from the Department of Justice statistics.

The Department of Justice must ensure that the Crime Victims Fund has adequate resources, and if the Department of Justice doesn't, organizations across the Nation helping survivors and helping victims of crime are at serious risk of potentially closing their doors and not being able to continue this help.

The Department of Justice shouldn't allow the mistakes of the Biden administration to happen again.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative 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.

TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, President Trump has made it clear that his foreign policy is centered on advancing America's interests and keeping Americans safe. And in the first 3 months of the Trump administration, we have seen the President take action on these priorities.

President Trump has gone after terrorists who target Americans. He secured the release of Americans held hostage abroad. And he has put America on a stronger footing with respect to adversaries like China and Iran.

This is a welcome change in direction in our foreign policy. Over the last 4 years, the Biden administration too often demonstrated weakness on the world stage. The disastrous withdrawal from Afghanistan, for example, attempts to accommodate Iran, and I could go on. At times, it seemed the administration was more interested in exporting its progressive ideology than in advancing America's interests.

On President Biden's watch, the world grew more unstable. So a foreign policy focused on American strength and security is much needed at a time like this.

This week, the Senate is continuing our work to get the President's team in place by confirming a slate of nominees for Ambassador postings.

Yesterday, we confirmed our new Ambassador to Japan. Japan is host to more U.S. troops than any other country, and it is one of our strongest allies when it comes to security in the Indo-Pacific. As China's military takes more aggressive actions in this part of

the world, our relationship with Japan will only grow in importance. So I am glad we wasted no time in confirming an ambassador to Tokyo.

Countering China also needs to be a focus in our own hemisphere. I am grateful President Trump has gone after China for its role in the fentanyl supply chain. The administration is also working to strengthen our partnerships in the Western Hemisphere and ensure the Chinese Communist Party does not secure a foothold in our own backyard. Having a Senate-confirmed ambassador to Panama, which we will later today, will help advance this goal and the administration's effort to ensure the Panama Canal, a critical artery for American trade, is not under undue Chinese influence.

Later today, we will also be voting to confirm the U.S. Ambassador to Israel. The Trump administration has restored a much needed moral clarity when it comes to our ally Israel. More than 18 months after the October 7, 2023, attacks by Hamas terrorists, Israel is still at war. Hamas continues to hold hostages in Gaza, including multiple Americans. Israel depends on U.S. support as it fights to eliminate the terrorist threats on its borders.

President Trump has made it clear the United States stands squarely in Israel's corner. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for our friends across the aisle. Democrats filibustered the ICC sanctions bill earlier this year after Leader SCHUMER refused to bring it up on the floor last year. A number of Democrat Senators continue to vote to disarm Israel in the middle of a war by blocking U.S. weapons shipments to Israel, as several Democrats did just last week.

While the Democratic Party struggles to muster support for Israel, Republicans will continue to stand with our ally in the Middle East, especially in this time of war. I know that once he is confirmed, Ambassador Huckabee will be a strong and supportive voice for Israel and for America's interests from his post in Jerusalem.

The Trump administration is working hard to advance America's interests and Senate Republicans are working to ensure the Trump administration's foreign policy team is put in place as swiftly as possible and we will continue to support the President and his administration as they work to advance America's interests and secure peace through strength.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

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

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 75.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of the following named officer for appointment to the permanent grade indicated in the Regular Air Force under the United States Constitution, article II, section 2, clause 2: to be Major General, Lt. Gen. John D. Caine (Retired).

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 75, the following named officer for appointment to the permanent grade indicated in the Regular Air Force under the United States Constitution, article II, section 2, clause 2: to be Major General, Lt. Gen. John D. Caine (Retired).

John Thune, John R. Curtis, Mike Rounds, John Cornyn, Ted Budd, Kevin Cramer, John Hoeven, John Barrasso, Joni Ernst, Markwayne Mullin, Tom Cotton, Pete Ricketts, Dan Sullivan, Tommy Tuberville, Todd Young, Roger F. Wicker, John Boozman.

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

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 74.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of the following

named officer for appointment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., sections 152 and 601: to be General, Lt. Gen. John D. Caine (Retired).

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 74, the following named officer for appointment as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and appointment in the United States Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., sections 152 and 601: to be General, Lt. Gen. John D. Caine (Retired).

John Thune, John R. Curtis, Mike Rounds, John Cornyn, Ted Budd, Kevin Cramer, John Hoeven, John Barrasso, Joni Ernst, Markwayne Mullin, Tom Cotton, Pete Ricketts, Dan Sullivan, Tommy Tuberville, Todd Young, Roger F. Wicker, John Boozman.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARSHALL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

NOMINATION OF MIKE HUCKABEE

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, I am delighted that, today, the U.S. Senate is going to confirm Governor Mike Huckabee to be our U.S. Ambassador to Israel.

Governor Huckabee is a fierce friend to one of our closest allies. He is the right leader to have this very important job. This is a man who has visited Israel more than 100 times. He knows its people. He knows its purpose. He knows its potential. He also knows its promise. That is why I am sure that he will receive bipartisan support today.

His confirmation will strengthen the unbreakable bond between America and Israel. It is a bond that is stronger than ever under President Trump. Security is the backbone of our special relationship, and shared values are our moral bedrock. Liberty, faith, and opportunity—those are our shared beliefs. That is why America has always supported Israel.

Historically, in 1948, America recognized the creation of Israel 11 minutes after its birth. America was the first Nation to recognize a free and democratic Jewish State. We have stood shoulder to shoulder with the people of Israel ever since.

President Trump's record is proof of America's unwavering support. His first term delivered historic progress. He forged the Abraham Accords and shattered decades of deadlock to bring peace and prosperity to the Middle East. He moved the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, as promised, which is Israel's eternal capital. President Trump recognized Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights. He stood firm against Iran. The nomination and confirmation of Governor Huckabee improves on that stellar record.

Today, the threats facing the United States and Israel are growing, menacing. Iran is racing to nuclear weapons. Iran's hired henchmen attack Israel from all sides. Hamas continues to wage war against Israel, and it continues to hold innocent hostages captive. The Houthis in Yemen are launching drone attacks against Israel. Israel's right to defend itself is not up for debate. America's security assistance to Israel is not a handout. It is necessary to keep Israel safe, and it is necessary to stop terrorism. Republicans understand that. We back Israel unequivocally. Yet Democrats in this body are wavering.

Last week, Senator BERNIE SANDERS of Vermont tried to cancel \$8.8 billion in weapons transfers to Israel. He failed. Every Republican voted with Israel, but 15 Democrats voted against Israel. This isn't the first time this year that Senate Democrats have stood against Israel. Today, there is a loud pro-Hamas fringe, and they are trying to hijack the Democrat Party. It isn't just happening in the Senate; it is happening around the country; it is happening by campus radicals on our Nation's college campuses. This is worse than bad politics. This is dangerous policy.

We are at an inflection point in history. Hamas launched a brutal attack against Israel on October 7 of 2023. It was the deadliest single-day attack against the people of Israel and the Jewish people since the Holocaust. Israel continues to fight for its safety and its survival. Faced with this reality, Democrats are still abandoning Israel, and that puts both Israel and America at risk.

Here are the facts: Israel is a democracy; Hamas terrorists are butchers. Israel shields its citizens; Hamas uses its citizens as human shields. Israel sends food to Gaza; Hamas steals the food and starves the people. That is why the Palestinian people are protesting against Hamas. Hamas faces the most serious challenge to its rule in 18 years. Israel fights terror. It has every right to defend itself. America has chosen a side. We stand with Israel. Our support is unwavering. It is unbreakable—no apologies made. Peace in the Middle East starts with supporting Israel, not appeasing our adversaries.

The roadblock to peace continues to be Iran. President Trump is restoring

maximum pressure on the Iranian regime. President Trump is choking off Iran's oil sales with strong sanctions. President Trump is hammering the Houthi terrorists who attack our troops. President Trump has reversed Joe Biden's foolish arms embargo on Israel. This is going to help Israel win the war, and it will help bring home the hostages. President Trump is slapping down sham kangaroo courts that target Israel simply for defending itself. This is leadership. This is moral clarity.

The Senate is moving to confirm Governor Huckabee in spite of Democrat efforts to slow it down. We are right to do that. America and Israel share urgent challenges. We also share a sacred cause. Governor Huckabee is the right man at the right time with the right values to carry forward that cause.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic whip.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I would like to comment on the statement on Israel just made by my friend and colleague from the State of Wyoming.

I am proud of the fact that President Harry Truman was the first President to recognize Israel's right to exist, and I certainly concur with that sentiment to this day. The creation of the State of Israel after World War II was almost inevitable if this group of people were to exist.

The Holocaust was a reminder of the prejudice against many of the Jewish faith and the enduring struggle which they have been engaged in for decades, if not centuries.

It was the right thing to do.

There have been times in history when Israel stood with us when we desperately needed their help, and there have been times when we have disagreed with their policy. That has never diminished, for me personally or for our Nation, our commitment to Israel's right to exist and our commitment to the values that Israel stands for in the Middle East and around the world.

What happened on October 7 was horrific—horrific. Some 1,200 innocent Israelis were killed, butchered, murdered by terrorists under the flag of the Hamas movement. And, unfortunately, they took hostages as well. I don't know the exact number, but I believe it was over 250 hostages who were taken. Some still remain in captivity under the control of Hamas.

Israel is defending itself, and it has a right to do that. Israel certainly has a right to exist, and no terrorist organization on its border should be allowed to do so with impunity.

My concern—and it was expressed graphically, dramatically, in last Sunday's "60 Minutes" program. I commend that program to those who would like to see what is happening on the ground in Gaza.

It is estimated that 50,000 people have been killed or seriously wounded

among the Palestinians. That goes way beyond any members of Hamas or any terrorist organization. They are innocent people, the Palestinians in the Gaza area, who are simply trying to exist. They are fighting every possible element, not only an act of war with armaments killing innocent people, a large number being women and children, but also the fact that they are restrained from leaving that area and going to surrounding countries, which don't want to see the controversy exported to their borders.

Secondly, there is the simple question of humanitarian assistance for the people in Gaza. There is a disparity in the reports from the area. Some report that the humanitarian aid is being held back from the Palestinians—innocent Palestinians—to the detriment of their hospitals and feeding their people. Some suggest that a famine is underway in some parts of Gaza.

I don't have any personal knowledge, but, I will tell you, the scenes that were depicted last Sunday on "60 Minutes" are heartbreaking.

Two doctors from Chicago had gone there risking their lives to volunteer to try to save the children and those who have been the victims of Israeli bombing. And I am sorry to say they have not been as successful as they would have liked to have been. But they reported to us graphically what is going on there with the lack of medical supplies, the lack of hospitals and basic food and sustenance that is needed by the people in that area.

By every single measure, this war has to end. If it is going to continue until every Hamas terrorist is killed, I am afraid there will be thousands and thousands of innocent Palestinians lost in the process. Why? Because the Hamas soldiers hide themselves among the general population and use them as their shield. It is a dastardly, deadly strategy which has cost so many lives.

Those of us who voted to restrain the weapons that were going to be sent by the United States to Israel did it with the understanding that there were particular weapons—for example, the detonation bombs that weigh a ton or more—that could kill innocent people and have, over and over again.

This war must come to an end. This cease-fire should be resumed, and the hostages returned immediately—all hostages returned immediately. I am not making any excuse for Hamas, but I have to tell you, after meeting with the doctors who have been there, it breaks my heart to think this continues every day, and innocent people are in the midst of this gunfire and losing their lives.

Whatever your cause may be, wherever you stand politically, we should all keep them in mind as we decide what our future course of action will be.

TARIFFS

Mr. President, on a separate topic, I want to address the Trump tariff tax—Trump tariff tax. It started this week.

It is already changing not only the economy of the United States but the world. It has been a reckless undertaking, creating pure chaos.

I received a phone call yesterday from a business leader. I won't identify him, but he was desperate. He said to me: President Trump and his people don't understand a supply chain. I am not selling T-shirts, he said. I am selling sophisticated products that require chemicals and electronics that are rare to find. And, sadly, some of the minerals which are desperately needed in my production effort are virtually controlled by China.

Well, naturally, with the battle over the tariffs underway, China has decided to cut off American manufacturers from the availability of those critical chemicals, and that means restraining the production in the United States of some very important and worthwhile products.

He said to me: What am I supposed to do?

I said: I don't know.

I don't know if anybody in this administration has thought through what they have started.

We clearly may reach a point soon—and I hope it happens—where Donald Trump says: Fine, I want to declare victory. We are going to reverse course. It is going to be business as usual between the United States and the world.

I think it is highly unlikely that he will do it, but anything is possible with this man.

This much I do know: The damage Donald Trump has done to the international reputation of the United States is immeasurable. You see the leaders in these countries and what they are saying. They thought that they were close friends and allies of the United States, and now they appear to be adversaries, and there is a strategy underway to punish them.

Canada, for goodness' sake? Is that what the last election was about—our relationship with Canada? I consider Canada not only a good neighbor but a great neighbor, an ally of the United States, a partner of the United States, over and over again, when we have engaged in conflict. And to say now that we are virtually in an economic war with Canada is unimaginable. What is going on with this administration?

And, of course, there are many other countries as well.

The European Union will never be the same in terms of its relationship with the United States. And I can't blame them at all. They are basically saying: We cannot trust the United States' leadership, if Donald Trump can do this to us, in a matter of weeks, as the new President of the United States.

We have seen the tariff in China go from 34 percent to 104 percent, and the Chinese are going to make us pay for that, as they have promised they would.

I am not surprised. If the shoe were on the other foot, that is exactly what

we would be saying too: You can't push us around. We are a sovereign nation.

So what is the difference here between making a speech on the floor of the Senate and actually doing something to impact this tariff war that Donald Trump has started? The difference is four—four Members of the U.S. Senate on the Republican side.

If any four will step forward and say: Enough. We have a constitutional opportunity and responsibility when it comes to tariffs and our dealings with foreign countries, and we, as four Republicans, will join with the Democrats in engaging in a bipartisan discussion over how to go forward from here. If they don't step up—if four Republicans don't step up—then Donald Trump will continue this tariff war at the expense of American businesses and American workers and American taxpayers and our reputation in the world. That much is at stake.

Herbert Hoover signed the Smoot-Hawley law, which imposed tariffs on the world in June of 1930, and then President Hoover went fishing. President Trump signed off on these massive tariffs and went on to play golf at Mar-a-Lago. I don't get it.

This is the most serious economic and trade situation we have faced in modern times. Businesses are desperate looking around at how to resolve this in a fashion to keep themselves in business and to employ critical employees. This is the moment when we should be gathering together and talking about, specifically, where we are headed. But the best I can tell is that we are putting at risk our constancy, our reliability, and the trust of nations all around the world because of this undertaking.

If the President Trump tariff tax continues unabated, it is going to destroy this economy—period, end of quote. We are dealing with many people who feel that we are already in a recession or headed to one quickly.

Will there be four Republicans who will step up and say: Stop. We cannot do this without some thoughtful consideration of what impact it is going to have on our economy?

If four of them will step up in the House and four in the Senate, we can make history together on a bipartisan basis and come up with something that is thoughtful and avoids this terrible chaos and the reckless conduct of this administration to date.

President Trump has played many roles in his career. He played a billionaire real estate mogul on the hot, hit reality show "The Apprentice." On January 6, 2021, he played a cheerleader, ramping up an angry mob of insurrectionists to storm the U.S. Capitol. But his latest role may be the most outlandish. He calls himself a doctor.

On Thursday, after the President's so-called "Liberation Day" of tariffs, he took to social media to announce to the world:

THE OPERATION IS OVER! THE PATIENT LIVED, AND IS HEALING. THE

PROGNOSIS IS THAT THE PATIENT WILL BE FAR STRONGER, BIGGER, BETTER, AND MORE RESILIENT THAN EVER BEFORE.

That was reported by the President after his so-called "Liberation Day" of tariffs.

The "operation" in his twisted metaphor, of course, was Trump's tariff tax, a 10-percent tariff on imports from almost every nation in the world, and the "patient" is supposed to be the U.S. economy.

If this is Dr. Trump's idea of a successful operation, he should be sued for medical malpractice. He is playing a dangerous game and, this Trump tariff-tax gambit could push our country into a desperate recession.

Small businesses in Illinois—and large ones as well—have reached out to our office, concerned that the uncertainty brought on by this administration could leave them no other choice but to cut jobs due to increased costs. Some have even said their businesses would go under due to these tariffs—their life's work rendered to nothing.

Nobody knows what this administration wants to get out of these tariffs. They have yet to specify what they want from other countries. And why would any country want to do business with the United States again if trade agreements can be violated so willfully?

After threatening a 34-percent tariff on China, Trump raised it to 104 percent. And just this morning, China announced a retaliatory 84-percent tariff on American goods starting tomorrow. This is going to devastate our economy. In Illinois, it will hurt our farmers who export thousands of tons of soybeans, American corn, pork, and more to China.

Unsurprisingly, the markets have responded with shock and panic. I know that half of the American people don't own stock or really follow what is happening in the stock market closely, but many do. And this, I can say: In the week after Trump's self-destructive announcement, the S&P 500 dropped by nearly 19 percent—19 percent—from its last high on February 19, creeping eerily close to bear market territory.

Last week's drop wiped out more than \$5 trillion of total wealth. Overnight, many Americans watched their retirement accounts plummet—what a sinking feeling to see that happen in such a short period of time.

Americans who scrimped and saved their whole working lives for their retirement, who worked multiple jobs and made sacrifices to ensure they would have enough to live comfortably in their golden years, have been stunned by what has happened in just a matter of days with the Trump tariff tax.

And add tanking our economy and hurting working families in the process to a long list of inexplicable decisions by the Trump administration.

Donald Trump was bad as a TV real estate mogul, he was bad as a cheer-

leader on January 6, and he is bad as a doctor, with his failed Trump tariff tax operation.

GAZA

Finally, Mr. President, on a separate topic that I mentioned earlier, if you tuned in to "60 Minutes" in the last few weeks, you were reminded of the horrors that continue in Gaza.

I do believe I will put this statement in the RECORD, but I want to commend two doctors from Chicago who have volunteered and risked their lives to go to Gaza.

Dr. Lisa Thornton, a pediatric rehabilitation expert from Chicago, and orthopedic surgeon Dr. Samar Attar volunteered for the Syrian American Medical Society. They know the horrors of war, and they reported it accurately on that program.

Urgent medical and humanitarian supplies that had increased during the first phase of the cease-fire must be maintained and allowed in once again, and this ghastly 18-month war must finally come to an end.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEEHY). The Senator from Arkansas.

NOMINATION OF MIKE HUCKABEE

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, today, I urge my Senate colleagues to confirm Gov. Mike Huckabee's nomination to be the next U.S. Ambassador to Israel.

I have had the privilege of knowing Mike, his wife Janet, and his children John Mark, David, and Sarah, for many years.

Mike's exemplary character, steadfast faith, and lifetime of servant leadership make him the right choice to represent the President in Israel, particularly at this critical moment.

A friend, patriot, and fellow Arkansan, Mike graduated from Ouachita Baptist University with a degree in religion before attending Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

As minister at Immanuel Baptist Church in Pine Bluff and, later, pastor at Beech Street Baptist Church in Texarkana, Mike led congregations toward Christ-centered lives of faith, service, and charity. Throughout his time in ministry and, later, as president of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention, Mike encouraged others to grow in their faith by dedicating himself to spreading the good news of the Gospel to all.

For some unknown and largely inexplicable reason, Mike left the pulpit and entered politics. Mysterious are the ways of the Lord indeed.

As Governor of Arkansas for more than a decade, Mike led the Natural State toward a stronger, more prosperous future by building coalitions and gathering support from both sides of the aisle. Governor Huckabee cut taxes, created jobs, improved infrastructure, reformed education, and improved healthcare for all Arkansans. Mike was a solution-oriented, pragmatic leader who left a lasting legacy for generations of Arkansans and their families. Word on the street is he even

played some small part in inspiring our current Governor into public service.

Now as the U.S. Ambassador to Israel, Mike will lead and strengthen our important diplomatic relationship with Israel with courage and conviction.

Upon selecting Mike for this critical role, President Trump said:

Mike will work tirelessly to bring peace in the Middle East.

I couldn't agree more.

Mike has been a lifelong friend of Israel's and an ardent supporter and defender of Israel's right to exist.

In 1973, Mike made his first trip to Israel as a recent high school graduate. The experience of visiting the Biblical sites at the center of history had such a profound impact on 17-year-old Mike Huckabee that he would go on to lead tens of thousands of people on similarly life-changing visits. Over the course of approximately 100 trips since 1981, Mike developed deep friendships with the people of Israel—Jewish, Muslim, and Christian alike.

Mike spent his career leading fellow Christians on journeys of faith, Arkansans toward a brighter future, and pilgrims on voyages of discovery. I am confident that he will lead the United States' relationship with Israel on a path toward peace and prosperity for both of our peoples.

I urge my Senate colleagues to support his nomination and approve his nomination swiftly.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho.

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, I have come here today in support of President Trump's nominee for U.S. Ambassador to Israel, Gov. Mike Huckabee, who was reported out of our Foreign Relations Committee recently.

For years, the previous administration wrung its hands and withheld American support for Israel in the wake of the horrendous, awful October 7 terror attack by Hamas. Despite this, Israel had the courage to confront Iran, Hamas, and its other proxies, and it has decimated them.

Now, thanks to President Trump's negotiations and Israel's courage, Iran is at its weakest point in decades and hostages are returning home.

Israel is one of America's greatest allies, a bastion of freedom in the Middle East, and our closest partner in countering Iran's destabilizing efforts in the region.

To execute on President Trump's ironclad support of Israel, we urgently need a qualified ambassador in the region. I have no doubt Governor Huckabee is that person, and he will work alongside President Trump and Secretary Rubio and our friends in Israel to bring peace to a turbulent region and ensure both American and Israeli hostages are brought home from the clutches of Hamas.

The other countries in the region, our Arab allies, our Arab friends, are desperate to see peace in the region.

They want it as badly as anyone else does.

I urge all of my colleagues to support Governor Huckabee and to fill this important national security position.

WAIVING QUORUM CALL

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to waive the mandatory quorum call with respect to the Atkins nomination.

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

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that we immediately proceed to the rollcall vote.

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

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The senior assistant bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Executive Calendar No. 61, of Paul Atkins, of Virginia, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 5, 2026.

John Thune, John Barrasso, Cindy Hyde-Smith, John R. Curtis, Rick Scott of Florida, Bernie Moreno, Pete Ricketts, Eric Schmitt, Jon A. Husted, Roger Marshall, Jim Justice, Tommy Tuberville, Bill Hagerty, Joni Ernst, James E. Risch, Marsha Blackburn, Tim Sheehy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Paul Atkins, of Virginia, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 5, 2026, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE).

Further, if present and voting: the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. THUNE) would have voted "yea."

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from New York (Mrs. GILLIBRAND) and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS) are necessarily absent.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 51, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 200 Ex.]

YEAS—51

Banks	Capito	Crapo
Barrasso	Cassidy	Cruz
Blackburn	Collins	Curtis
Boozman	Cornyn	Daines
Britt	Cotton	Ernst
Budd	Cramer	Fischer

Graham	Lee	Risch
Grassley	Lummis	Rounds
Hagerty	Marshall	Schmitt
Hawley	McConnell	Scott (FL)
Hoeben	McCormick	Scott (SC)
Husted	Moody	Sheehy
Hyde-Smith	Moran	Sullivan
Johnson	Moreno	Tillis
Justice	Murkowski	Tuberville
Kennedy	Paul	Wicker
Lankford	Ricketts	Young

NAYS—45

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

NOT VOTING—4

Gillibrand	Sanders
Mullin	Thune

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RICKETTS). On this vote, the yeas are 51, the nays are 45.

The motion is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Paul Atkins, of Virginia, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 5, 2026.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the clerk will report the Huckabee nomination.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Mike Huckabee, of Arkansas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Israel.

VOTE ON HUCKABEE NOMINATION

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

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, 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 bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN).

The result was announced—yeas 53, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 201 Ex.]

YEAS—53

Banks	Collins	Ernst
Barrasso	Cornyn	Fetterman
Blackburn	Cotton	Fischer
Boozman	Cramer	Graham
Britt	Crapo	Grassley
Budd	Cruz	Hagerty
Capito	Curtis	Hawley
Cassidy	Daines	Hoeben

Husted	McCormick	Scott (FL)
Hyde-Smith	Moody	Scott (SC)
Johnson	Moran	Sheehy
Justice	Moreno	Sullivan
Kennedy	Murkowski	Thune
Lankford	Paul	Tillis
Lee	Ricketts	Tuberville
Lummis	Risch	Wicker
Marshall	Rounds	Young
McConnell	Schmitt	

NAYS—46

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

NOT VOTING—1

Mullin

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. BRITT). Under the previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table and the President will immediately be notified of the Senate's actions.

The Senator from Connecticut.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Madam President, I am here today in the hope that our colleagues will join me in condemning actions taken by President Trump and Elon Musk that are devastating to the healthcare of our veterans, as well as their disability benefits under the PACT Act, and most especially, deeply harmful to mental health care and suicide prevention for veterans, and to engage in this call for action restoring the doctors, counselors, psychiatrists, all who are essential to veterans' healthcare and have lost their jobs—thousands of them.

The plain, staggering fact is that Musk and Trump are kneecapping the VA healthcare system at a time when the VA projects a 59-percent increase. That is right. In this fiscal year going to 2032, a 59-percent increase in inpatient and outpatient mental health care is projected.

Now, they have taken a wrecking ball to the VA in order to save money that then can be used for tax cuts going to people who need them least—the ultrawealthy, the billionaires and millionaires—at a time when veterans who need healthcare most will be deprived of it.

The reason is quite simply the staffing shortages that they have purposefully created—2,400 already; on the chopping block, another 83,000—without a plan or a strategy, admitted to us by the VA itself. They are making it up as they go along, but they know they want to slash and trash the VA workforce.

This kind of cruel, heartless, heart-breaking approach to the VA comes at a time when they already have 40,000 openings of exactly the kind of skilled

professionals that they are firing—40,000 openings, including 3,000 physician positions, 6,000 nurses, thousands of counselors, janitors, schedulers. And they are firing the very kind of people they are trying to recruit.

You would think that the Trump administration's top priority at the VA would be to bolster its mental health workforce at a time when 59-percent increase is projected, but they are doing just the opposite.

Since the beginning of this administration, there have been 2,400 employees unjustly and illegally terminated already, including Veterans Crisis Line employees. And the VA's newest staffing goal—that 83,000 number that I mentioned before—is going to be cutting employees at a time of ever-increasing demand, even in the short term.

All these cuts will do is to harm veterans. There is no elimination of waste or fraud or abuse. In every Agency and in every program, there is some waste, but the way to eliminate it is not to slash indiscriminately and draconian cuts as a way to do it.

While we wait for these 83,000 employees to be axed by Trump and Musk, we already see the impact. Employee assistance programs and mental health support contracts for the VA workforce have been canceled. Staff at vet centers—VA community-based counseling centers—have been fired. VA mental health staff are being forced to conduct counseling sessions in open cubicles, putting veterans' privacy at risk. World-class researchers performing research on mental health and substance abuse disorders among veterans have been terminated.

Most devastating of all, Veterans Crisis Line has seen a recent increase in call volume largely from veterans who were either terminated from the Federal workforce or who were concerned about losing their benefits or both, because at least a quarter up to a third or more of the Federal workforce are veterans, and they need that mental health care.

Amidst that flood of cruel actions taken by the administration, I am proud that my Democratic colleagues have been united in our resistance to these relentless attacks on veterans.

It is not only on mental health care, it is all healthcare. It is not only on healthcare, it is on the PACT Act for veterans who need that screening, benefits, care. And it is not a matter of eliminating waste because we know the way to eliminate waste is to go line by line, item by item carefully and thoughtfully—or as Al Lipphardt, the national commander of the VFW, told us—and he was describing a wound that he sustained while in combat during the Vietnam war:

I am thankful that the medics who treated me chose not to take my whole arm for the sake of efficiency. It took a trained eye, a skillful hand, and human intuition to fix me up and get me back in the fight. In my experience, those operating with a scalpel have a

better chance at saving limbs than those who operate with a chainsaw.

What we are seeing right now is the DOGE tech bros under Elon Musk operating with that famous chain saw that he has displayed, and they are doing it to the detriment of our veterans and to those who are being fired.

As Mr. Lipphardt said, these veterans are now being told their skills are no longer useful to the government. We are losing people who are genuinely committed to the mission and find a continued sense of purpose in what they do.

These dedicated, patriotic veterans—the ones who work at the VA, the ones who are served by the VA—are deeply disserved and damaged by these actions. As Mr. Lipphardt said, finally: We need to stop the bleeding. We need to, as he said, “apply pressure and stop the bleeding.”

I am joined on the Senate floor today by two of my colleagues who have been integral to this fight, Senator SANDERS and Senator DUCKWORTH, who will be calling for passage of their own resolutions aimed at reversing damage from the Trump/Musk attacks on veterans.

I hope that our votes on these resolutions send a message. I hope we will have unanimous support for my resolution and for theirs, that we will keep faith with our veterans, and we will leave none of them behind.

Madam President, first, I ask unanimous consent that the text of my resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas, on February 13, 2025, the Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Doug Collins, announced the termination of 1,000 employees of the Department of Veterans Affairs (in this preamble referred to as the “Department”);

Whereas, on February 24, 2025, Secretary Collins terminated an additional 1,400 employees of the Department;

Whereas, on March 4, 2025, a memorandum from the Department announced the objective of the Department to return to 2019 end-strength staffing numbers;

Whereas reduction in force will result in approximately 83,000 additional employees terminated from employment with the Department;

Whereas returning to 2019 staffing levels could mean firing approximately 18,000 nurses, 10 percent of the police force of the Department, 10,000 schedulers, and 30 percent of the staff of the Veterans Benefits Administration;

Whereas the Department projects a 59 percent increase in inpatient and outpatient mental health care demand from fiscal year 2022 to fiscal year 2032;

Whereas, even prior to such attacks on the workforce of the Department, the Department already suffered from critical mental health staffing shortages;

Whereas actions attacking and decimating the workforce of the Department will exacerbate such existing mental health staffing challenges and further jeopardize the mental health services veterans desperately need;

Whereas such actions are harming the trust of veterans in the Department and harming the ability of the Department to recruit and retain a mental health care workforce;

Whereas the mass terminations of employees of the Federal Government are damaging the mental health and economic security of veterans and their families; and

Whereas veterans and employees of the Department have expressed concerns regarding the effect of terminations and attacks on the mental health workforce already carried out by the Department, including—

(1) terminating employees of the Veterans Crisis Line established under section 1720F(h) of title 38, United States Code;

(2) requiring employees of the Veterans Crisis Line to take calls in open cubicles intended for claims processors of the Veterans Benefits Administration;

(3) forcing mental health staff to conduct counseling sessions while in open cubicles;

(4) cutting or postponing suicide prevention training courses;

(5) terminating employees performing critical research at the Department on mental health and substance use disorders among veterans;

(6) cancelling employee assistance program and mental health support contracts for employees of the Department;

(7) terminating staff of Vet Centers (as defined in section 1712A(h) of title 38, United States Code); and

(8) an increase in call volume on the Veterans Crisis Line from veterans who were terminated from the Federal workforce, or who are concerned about losing their health care and benefits: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) actions taken by President Trump and Elon Musk are negatively impacting mental health care and suicide prevention for veterans and should be condemned; and

(2) all mental health and suicide prevention efforts at the Department of Veterans Affairs should be fully staffed and resourced.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. As if in legislative session and notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of my resolution, which is at the desk. Further, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MORAN. Madam President, reserving the right to object, clearly, this is an important issue and one that has received attention by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and will continue to make certain that the decisions that are made by Department officials and by the administration are compatible with the well-being and best interests of those who served our Nation and are now veterans.

The Department of Veterans Affairs does need reform. The status quo is not acceptable. We need to make certain that every veteran, every member of our military who is now a veteran and seeks services in the Department of Veterans Affairs, that their needs are met.

It has been a longtime goal of mine to make certain that the promises that were made to those who served are promises that are kept. We know things aren't as they should be at the Department of Veterans Affairs.

All of us in this Senate have staff members who work on cases—what we call casework—to try to solve the challenges that a veteran meets in dealing with the Department of Veterans Affairs.

We all walk the streets of our home States. We have meetings and have conversations with those. And, often, it is a veteran who comes to tell us the story of what help they still need.

While I continue to believe that nearly everyone—most who work at the Department of Veterans Affairs, many of whom are veterans themselves, are working diligently to make sure their colleagues—veterans they shared that service with—are treated in a fashion that provides them with the best quality care and provides them with the benefits they have earned. Yet we know the system is still far from being able to accomplish that goal.

In fact, the Department of Veterans Affairs—so many times, we have reports from the inspector general, who outlined dramatic changes that need to be made and outlined instances in which the Department of Veterans Affairs has failed in significant ways in meeting the needs of those who served our Nation.

We have about 150-, 200,000 veterans in Kansas. They are a significant component of the nature of our State. They are respected and admired by their fellow Kansans. It is important for us to make sure that the Department of Veterans Affairs is living up to its commitment. It is our job as Senators and it is our job as members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to do those things.

The Senator from Connecticut is right. We have provided the tools to the Department, new opportunities for veterans to be better served and served in more ways—combating suicide; making sure that mental health services are more readily available; providing services through telemedicine; and most recently—well, almost most recently—the PACT Act, which provided new and additional benefits, both healthcare and financial, to those who served in Southeast Asia and served in Iraq and Afghanistan in regard to toxic exposure; and even more recently than that, care for and support for caregivers, those who serve their loved ones, family members who help veterans throughout the day in their circumstances—the Elizabeth Dole Act.

So we are actively engaged in trying to make certain and hopefully making progress in making certain that more veterans receive better care at every opportunity. But the VA still needs a serious and thorough evaluation, and a component of that is workforce.

My goal is to make certain that the Department of Veterans Affairs evaluates how many people it needs to meet its mission and then adjusts accordingly, whether that is more or less, but to right-size the VA to make certain that those veterans who are in need of care, who deserve their benefits, are

well cared for and receive the care and compassion they deserve.

So I am going to offer a resolution myself, and in order to get to that point, I need to object to the Senator from Connecticut's resolution—his unanimous consent request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Madam President, I want to respond very quickly by saying, first of all, I think we share a lot of goals, but we need action. The VA is in crisis impending right now, in real time, affecting real lives in real time, people who need mental health care now, who need the Veterans Crisis Line now, who need those counselors and psychiatrists now.

What I am asking is unanimous consent for a resolution that calls for restoring the VA workforce to meet that crisis and to doing right by our veterans. It shouldn't be partisan. It isn't partisan.

I have been critical of the VA under Democratic administrations, under General Shinseki when he was there and the delays were unacceptable, and nobody was more direct or critical than I was.

We can be bipartisan in our praise and in our criticism, but we need to stand up to the Musk-Trump slash-and-trash regime that has been so harmful to our veterans. And we can't go about it with business as usual. These draconian, indiscriminate cuts are doing harm to our veterans as we speak, and to avoid action is not only inappropriate, it is injustice to our Nation's heroes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST

Mr. MORAN. Madam President, I intend to ask for a unanimous consent agreement in regard to this issue of our care and the well-being of our veterans.

I would indicate that, to my knowledge, the Department of Veterans Affairs has 1,500 fewer employees today than it did at the beginning of the year.

While there is conversation and talk and, in fact, a stated goal about the sizing of the Department, those steps, either because they are not yet ready at the Department of Veterans Affairs to take those steps, the evaluations and understanding of what is necessary for the right-sizing of the workforce, haven't been completed or courts have put in place a stay against any reductions in the workforce. Today, we are 1,550 fewer employees at the Department than we were at the beginning of the year.

I would also remind my colleagues that in the last administration, late in the budget request by the Biden administration, there was a request for the reduction of 10,000 employees at the Department of Veterans Affairs.

The goal that we would say in our sense of the Senate is that the Secretary of Veterans Affairs should make

certain that staffing levels at the Department of Veterans Affairs meet veteran demand to efficiently deliver timely, high-quality healthcare benefits; that the Secretary, in close coordination with Congress, with veteran service organizations, and other such stakeholders as the Secretary would deem necessary, needs to consult with them in reshaping the workforce of the Department; and that we should further enhance our efforts to reduce veteran suicide and improve veterans' mental care.

The Secretary should faithfully follow the MISSION Act in allowing for care in the community. The Secretary should conduct a comprehensive review of policies governing official time to ensure that taxpayer dollars are utilized efficiently and that the primary mission of the Department of supporting veterans is fully prioritized and that the Department's leadership and management should have the ability to act swiftly to ensure we remove employees who have engaged in misconduct or whose actions and performances fall short in providing high-quality care and benefits.

The Secretary should enhance the efficiency, accountability, and cost management in the acquisition programs in the Department.

We need to make changes at the Department of Veterans Affairs, and this resolution would indicate our support for doing so.

I would now say, as if in legislative session and notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent the Senate proceed to the consideration of my resolution, which is at the desk. I further ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, that the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BLUMENTHAL. Reserving the right to object, let me first say I appreciate the work of my colleague, the chairman of the VA Committee, where I am the ranking Democrat. Chairman MORAN and I work together in a very bipartisan way on a lot of legislation.

I would like to support his resolution, but we received it only about an hour ago, and so I have been unable to check with my colleagues on this side as to whether there is any objection among them.

Second, although I would like to support it, I have to say no, not because of something it has but what it lacks, and that is, it fails to mention anything about the Trump-Musk assault on the VA and its workforce and particularly the negative impacts of those actions on veterans' mental health and suicide prevention. It fails to call for restoring the VA's skilled professional workforce that is necessary to provide sufficient healthcare, particularly mental health care.

I should also note that prior to Secretary Collins and DOGE, wait times for care—before they took over and seized control, wait times actually decreased in 2024 while the number of new patient appointments increased by 11 percent. So this idea that somehow the VA was wholly failing before this administration is exactly the opposite of reality. The time to process each claim actually decreased. The VA processed 116,192 veterans' appeals, representing a 12.5-increase over last year's record. Those are claims for disability and compensation. Additionally, under the previous administration, veteran homelessness reached record lows—a 55.6-percent reduction since 2010.

The VA also made it easier for veterans to seek mental health care while reducing wait times for that care in new appointments.

Claims that the VA has been placing more barriers for veterans to receive care in the VA and through community care are simply untrue. Since 2019, the VA has made enormous improvements in customer service and has become more welcoming to veterans through historic outreach.

If we listen to veterans, as I do every weekend because I go home every weekend, what I hear is customer satisfaction rising and happiness with VA healthcare. Sure, there are criticisms, and we need to meet those criticisms. There are shortcomings, and we need to improve VA healthcare to address those shortcomings. But VA trust has increased to the point of 80.4 percent this year—an alltime record and an increase of 25 percent since 2016.

Let me just say about labor rights and union activities at the VA, labor organizing and collective bargaining actually expedite conflict resolution. It reduces legal costs. It actually saves money through collective bargaining, not to mention the waste, fraud, and abuse that it helps the Department uncover and address. Those negotiations have allowed the Department to bar criminally bad actors from receiving settlement funds and being reinstated.

There is a lot more to say on this topic, but let me just finish by saying that I hope we can work together. I hope the chairman and I can work together in a bipartisan way to put together our two resolutions and devise one that will pass muster on both sides.

Because of the shortcomings of this resolution, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Vermont.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. RES. 165

Mr. SANDERS. Madam President, let me cut to the chase, and I will try to be brief here. We hear a lot of talk on the floor of the Senate about patriotism, about love of country, about how we all have to work together for the common good. It would seem to me that when we talk about those who sacrificed, those who have put their lives on the line to defend this country, we

are talking about the men and women in America who are veterans.

Yet what we have seen in the last month from the President and from Elon Musk is a chain saw approach to essentially destroy the Veterans' Administration, and that is, there are plans afoot—public; no one is debating the numbers—they want to fire 83,000 employees. When you fire 83,000 employees, no one, nobody believes that anything else will happen but that there will be a deterioration in the quality of healthcare our veterans receive or a delay in the benefits they have earned.

Now, I have heard criticism of the VA. The VA is the largest healthcare system in America. Is it perfect? Absolutely not. Does it have its problems? Of course it does. But compared to what? Compared to the American healthcare system, which is the most expensive in the world? a system in which 83 million Americans are uninsured or underinsured? where 60,000 people die each year? where we have the lowest life expectancy of any other major country on Earth?

So, no, the VA is not perfect. It needs improvement. But I will tell you that in the State of Vermont, I talk to a lot of veterans. I am the former chair of the Veterans' Committee, and I have been honored to talk to veterans of Vermont and all over this country. In Vermont, what they tell me is there is enormous pride in the quality of care they get at the VA Medical Center in White River Junction, VT, and as well in the community-based outreach clinics that exist all over our State.

And I expect, with some exceptions, that is true all over the country. The bottom line is, veterans appreciate the care that they get at the VA. They want it improved, but they appreciate it, and they do not believe that there should be massive cuts to the Veterans' Administration.

The truth is that in fiscal year 2024, before Trump took office, the VA reported over 36,000 vacancies, including 2,400 doctors, 6,300 registered nurses, 1,800 social workers, and 1,200 custodians.

When you have a workforce shortage, the solution is not to fire 83,000 people; it is to add people. It is to make sure you know where your workforce is going and that you have quality people. But you don't lay off 83,000 people.

That is not just my view.

It would seem to me that before you take a chain saw to the Veterans' Administration, you might want to talk to the veterans organizations and see what they think about it.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, or VFW, said:

We call upon VA to reconsider its planned reduction of 83,000 employees and thoroughly review any proposed cuts prior to rolling out further announcements like this.

The Paralyzed Veterans of America said that they are "deeply troubled by actions being taken in Washington,

D.C. that are already having a detrimental impact on the services that veterans with spinal cord injuries and diseases like ALS and MS rely on.”

The Disabled American Veterans, or DAV, said:

We are extremely concerned about the leaked proposal to arbitrarily eliminate 80,000 VA employees.

That is what some of the major veterans organizations are saying, and I have talked to all of the—virtually all of the—veterans organizations. And they are deeply, deeply, deeply concerned about the cuts that we have seen and the cuts that Musk is proposing.

So this is not a difficult issue. Everybody here wants to make the VA more efficient. The way you do that is to come up with some plans. You work with the Veterans Committee, and you see how we can make the VA more efficient. Nobody in their right mind thinks that just firing 83,000 people is the way to go.

And let me be very clear: Mr. Musk has made it public that he thinks that we should privatize anything that can be privatized. There are people—not all people—in the Republican Party who eventually want to privatize Social Security. We are looking at \$880 billion in cuts to Medicaid that dismantle that very important healthcare organization.

And if anybody thinks that the laying off of 83,000 employees of the VA—the lowering of quality of care that our veterans will receive—is not a prelude to the movement to privatize the VA, you would be surely mistaken.

So with that, Madam President, as if in legislative session and notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 165, which was submitted earlier today; further, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The bottom line: Do not lay off 83,000 employees at the Veterans’ Administration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. TUBERVILLE. Reserving the right to object, on November 5, President Trump was given a mandate: Get this country straightened out. This included waste, fraud, and abuse in our Federal Government, over all Agencies.

The VA is a perfect example. Under President Biden, the VA increased its staff 80,000 employees in 4 years.

Let me repeat that: Under President Biden, the VA increased its staff 80,000 people.

You would think that this would mean that we would increase the efficiency of our VA 80,000 percent. Unfortunately, that is not the case. Despite the Biden administration ballooning the size of the Department, the VA has

nothing to show for it. In fact, wait times and backlogs have gone up. It hasn’t worked. So these cuts are not warranted. They are completely necessary.

By reducing the numbers of employees, these savings can be redirected to actually providing veterans healthcare and benefits, while still protecting the VA’s mission-critical jobs, like doctors, nurses, and claims processors, to do the job it was meant to do. And phasing out nonmission-critical jobs like DEI officers and interior designers, for just a few, is necessary to get this job done.

Now, I don’t want to oversimplify this. I know these problems at the VA exist. They always have existed. Since 2015, the VA care has been on the Government Accountability Office’s list of high risk. That means it has been audited: Are they doing their job? Not very good reviews.

We have to do better for our veterans.

I come from a military family and have spent many hours in the VA. Some are good; some are not so good. Let’s stand up for our veterans.

The VA challenges across the board, from overseeing simple things like safety and access of care, are essential. And it is not—not—by having more people. It is by having better people.

The VA is not supposed to be a massive bureaucracy. That is not what it was meant to be. It was created to serve our veterans.

This resolution being put forward would directly prevent President Trump from carrying out his mandate that the American people gave him. The American people have spoken, and the days of business as usual are over. The VA is going to get better.

For these reasons, Madam President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. I am not aware that in the so-called mandate of President Trump—and, by the way, he got millions of votes less than Joe Biden got 4 years previously. I don’t recall that during the campaign, Trump went around the country saying: Hey, elect me, and then I will lay off 83,000 workers at the Veterans’ Administration.

Yes, we all want the VA to operate more efficiently, but the idea that you can lay off 83,000 employees and make that happen is absurd.

The truth is, again, before Trump took office, we had a significant shortage in the number of doctors, nurses, mental health counselors, and other practitioners. So it is disturbing to me that anyone who claims to be supporting veterans in this country and the sacrifices they have made would object to this amendment, this resolution.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Ms. DUCKWORTH. Madam President, let me just say that, at the VA, we re-

cently passed the PACT Act, which added well over a million veterans to the rolls to help care for them after they were exposed to toxic substances. This is not the time to cut the funding for the VA.

But I am here today to speak on behalf of all veterans who have been fired by President Trump and Elon Musk.

Look, Donald Trump couldn’t tell you the meaning of the words “service” or “sacrifice” if he had a dictionary laying open in front of him. So how dare a coward who cried “bone spurs,” when his Nation needed him the most, turn his back on those who, unlike him, were actually brave enough to serve our country in uniform.

What he has done to our veterans in just a few months since he has been back in office amounts to a total betrayal. For no apparent reason, he has already fired more veterans than any other American President in modern history, over 6,000 and counting. He has been forcing the bravest people you or I could ever meet to have to worry about how they are going to put food on their family’s table next week or keep a roof over their heads next month.

The biggest predictor of veterans homelessness is not that they are suffering from post-traumatic stress. It is not substance abuse. It is loss of a job. Homelessness is directly linked to joblessness.

These folks that Trump fired, these are folks who did one, two, six, even seven tours. They came home and chose to continue serving their Nation by joining the Federal service. These are heroes who deserve our utmost gratitude, not a letter from Elon Musk telling them that they failed to do their jobs and that they are out of those jobs.

Instead, Trump and Elon Musk gave them the middle finger and a pink slip. “Cadet Bone Spurs” may like to wrap himself in the flag with one hand, but with the other he is signing off on the orders that sell out our veterans to line the pockets of his rich friends, and our warriors deserve better.

So this afternoon, Senator BLUMENTHAL, Senator SANDERS, and I are introducing three resolutions that demand the reinstatement of every veteran who has been fired and betrayed by Donald Trump. If Republicans actually care about our heroes, like they claim to when they are on the campaign trail, then they will vote with us Democrats and help give our veterans their Federal jobs back. Otherwise, they are making it clear that they would rather bow down at the altar of Donald Trump than stand up for our heroes.

As if in legislative session and notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. Res. 166, which was submitted earlier today. Further, I ask unanimous consent that

the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, and that the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Montana.

Mr. SHEEHY. Reserving the right to object, my colleague Senator DUCKWORTH is a brave veteran of our Nation's War on Terror, and Senator BLUMENTHAL as well served, as did many of us. And I don't think there is any disagreement that we want the absolute best for our veterans—combat or otherwise—and we will always do everything we can in this body to make sure that our veterans not only have the care they need when they get home, but they can pursue great careers for the next phase of life.

But truth also matters, and the truth is there was no outrage from our Democrat colleagues when the Biden administration summarily fired tens of thousands of veterans—Active-Duty servicemembers and reservists—from Federal contracting jobs and from Active-Duty military service without any due process, during the COVID pandemic, when they decided that these people, who had very legitimate reservations about their personal health, did not have a place in our government or military, and they were blowing out the side of the service.

No due process, not even a thank-you letter—they were kicked out of the service—highly trained patriots who fought for this country, who were willing to fight for this country again. That is betrayal. They were betrayed, and nothing was ever said from our Democratic colleagues about that.

The truth is, the VA—the VA, as an organization—is meant to serve our veterans. The purpose of the VA is to take care of veterans, not to grow its own bureaucracy. In the last 5 years since 2019, the VA employment has gone from 379,000 to 486,000 employees, over 5 years—a 28 percent increase—while the VA's budget grew by 77.7 percent during the same period.

During that time, the amount of veterans in our country decreased by 9.2 percent. So as our veteran population decreased, our employment overhead at the VA increased tremendously, and that reflected the similar growth across the rest of our Federal Government.

So what was going on for 5 years, especially during the COVID years, was artificial job creation by the government on a mass scale. And now, to recover our Nation from fiscal tragedy—from a \$37 trillion debt and growing—we have to make hard choices, and those choices have to come down to what is working. And what veterans need most of all is a healthy government.

They fought to protect this country. They have put their lives on the line and sometimes gave away limbs and family members so that this country

could be strong. We owe it to them to make sure we make good decisions and that this country continues to be strong. And that means we have to get this government back in order, and that means returning our Agencies back to pre-pandemic size. And most veterans will support those tough decisions full-throatedly.

The truth is, President Trump is very pro-veteran. His policies, right now, are putting our servicemembers first. He is showing strength on the world stage instead of weakness, which has brought untold tragedy not just on our military but also on our allies around the world.

Growing the government with no end in sight, growing Agencies with no metric for success is not pro-veteran. That is not pro-American. It is just more government.

And the truth is, whether it is the VA or any other Federal Agency, we are proud to have veterans working in this government across the board. They have preferred hiring rights, as they should, and we are going to protect their important jobs and, most importantly, protect their care when they get out. But the VA has to be a healthy, functioning organization for that to occur, as do other Agencies.

Veteran employment is a core value that we have in our Federal workforce. President Trump knows that. This body knows that, and we will protect it. But we also owe those veterans a strong, efficient government. That is what we are going to deliver to them. That is what we are going to do today. Therefore, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from Illinois.

Ms. DUCKWORTH. I just want to set the record straight that the VA's population of employees did grow because of the PACT Act, a bill that was voted on and passed in a bipartisan way to save the lives of those veterans who would otherwise be dying if they did not have access to VA healthcare for the illnesses that are caused by their exposure to toxic substances.

So let's be clear about why we hired more people within the Department of Veterans Affairs: It was because they were given the permission by this Congress, by this body, in a bipartisan way, passing the PACT Act legislation, which funded care for veterans who were exposed to burn pits in Iraq and Afghanistan and toxic substances from their military service.

My resolution is about all veterans who serve this Nation. Some of the veterans who have been laid off are park rangers in our National Park Service who are now out of a job—people who were promoted because they did such a good job.

One person I was trying to get their job back was actually working with the Veterans Crisis Hotline. They were doing such a good job answering the phones that they were promoted to trainer. As soon as they were promoted

to be a trainer to help other people to answer those hotlines, which could help stop veterans death by suicide, they became probationary employees, and they were fired.

That is the kind of thing we are talking about—people being laid off from their jobs, veterans who worked hard for this country and worked hard in the Department of Veterans Affairs and other Federal Agencies like the National Park Service, like the EPA, like the DOT. And that is whom Donald Trump and Elon Musk are firing.

If you want to save money, I am all for it. I am there with you. I actually passed legislation that saved this country billions of dollars in fraud and waste that occurred in the Department of Defense.

I also think that Elon Musk's decision to deport people to India using a C-17 aircraft at the cost of \$2 million of taxpayer money, when normally that flight would cost \$38,000 if you were to actually charter an aircraft, was an egregious waste of taxpayer dollars.

Let's talk about who is wasting money here. Elon Musk is wasting money, and it is Donald Trump wasting money. At the same time, President Trump has become the President who fired the most veterans in our Nation's modern history, over 6,000 fired and counting. Let's set the record straight.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEEHY). The Senator from Nevada.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 1364

Ms. CORTEZ MASTO. Mr. President, I rise to talk about President Trump's tariffs and how they are ruining confidence in our economy. They are raising prices on all of our families, and they are hitting our allies for no reason.

We all know that tariffs can be a useful tool to protect critical American manufacturing and combat our enemies. Targeted tariffs on adversaries like communist China or Iran can actually work to our advantage. And it is natural for us to have trade deficits with countries that have smaller economies because they just can't afford to pay for quality American goods. We are always going to buy more cheap goods from less wealthy countries than they are going to be able to buy from us. Even my Republican colleagues have acknowledged this.

This is why President Trump's blanket tariffs just make no sense. They have no legitimate economic basis. And the formula that he used to impose these blanket tariffs is nonsensical. We know this because President Trump has imposed tariffs on islands uninhabited by humans and on one of the United States' own military bases.

Probably the most egregious error in President Trump's tariff plan was punishing our allies, Israel and Ukraine. Both these countries are currently under attack. They need the United States to be standing with them, not hitting them with nonsensical tariffs that could cause them even more harm.

Meanwhile, our adversary and the initiator of the war in Ukraine—Russia—is getting no tariffs. Our adversary North Korea is getting no tariffs. And while our ally Israel got slapped initially with a 17-percent tariff, even though we maintain a free-trade agreement with them, their adversary Iran got tariffed at a mere 10 percent.

I will admit, as I am sitting here right now, I just saw that Donald Trump changed his mind again and is telling countries around the world they now have to have a 10-percent tariff. He just made a major trade decision action via a tweet as I was sitting here to provide a stand with Israel and Ukraine.

Let me just say, those actions by this administration are just bad for our economy. It is outrageous, and it is bad for U.S. credibility. It is just clear there was very little thought put into President Trump's major, potentially catastrophic, gamble with the global economy. He did this without any advice and consent from Congress, and that was a mistake. It was a mistake that our allies in need of aid are paying the price for.

We have an opportunity to rectify a small part of this error right now and exempt Israel and Ukraine from these oppressive tariffs that could do significant damage to their already hurting economies.

Really, this shouldn't be a partisan issue. It is a national security issue. Let's come together and protect our allies who rely on our help from these harmful tariffs. I hope my Republican colleagues can join me.

Mr. President, as if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. 1364; that the bill be considered read three times and passed, and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. MORENO. Reserving the right to object, think about some numbers. I was 5 years old when I came to this country from South America, 18 when I became a citizen. Since that time, there have been 10 Presidents of the United States of America and only one that actually had the guts and the courage to stand up for working Americans.

We lost 90,000 factories in this country. If you take the logic of my colleague, let's shut down all of our factories and send manufacturing to the lowest wage countries on Earth that employ slave wages, that have massive government subsidies, and gut out what is left of the American manufacturing ecosystem.

Of course, that is completely illogical. But that is almost what we have done over the last four to five decades.

You drive through Ohio, Dayton was the computing capital of the world; you go to Toledo, it was the glass cap-

ital of the world; Youngstown, the steel capital of America; Akron, the rubber capital of the world.

Today, these cities are working to get past what they have gone through. But as I went on the campaign trail against a Democrat that always claimed to be on the side of the working men but then saw what their policies enacted, we beat him soundly.

I urge my Democratic colleagues to go back to your original North Star. The point of the Democratic Party for decades, as far as I knew, was that you were for the working men and women of this country. But that is not the Democratic Party today. They are the party of electric vehicle mandates, against tariffs, against fringe social issues.

If we want to talk about the specific resolution, look, there is no greater ally ever in the history of the United States of America with Israel than President Donald J. Trump. Every single Republican last week voted against BERNIE SANDERS' resolution to block arms sales to Israel. Fifteen Democrats voted to kneecap them while in the middle of a war. When we talk about Israel, they have already negotiated a situation with President Trump.

So let's talk about Ukraine. This is a country that both sides of the aisle—shockingly to me, quite honestly—have given hundreds of billions of dollars to this country of Ukraine when we have enormous needs in our country. What do we get in return? They impose a tax of 20 percent or more on our goods that we send there. Let me repeat that. We sent them hundreds of billions of dollars in aid, and then when we send them our products, they add a tax on our imports.

Look, President Trump is doing a masterful job of negotiating with countries and with companies to finally do what should have been done a long time ago, which is to rebuild this country from the inside out.

So for the reasons that President Trump laid out last week that we are going to rebuild this country with American hands, with American hearts, and with American pride, it is with that sentiment that I, therefore, object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Nevada.

Ms. CORTEZ MASTO. I appreciate my colleague being here to object. I don't think he actually read the resolution. The real focus was on how we address tariffs against Israel and Ukraine.

I appreciate his partisan argument, but I think he also neglected to represent that there are Democrats that opposed BERNIE SANDERS' bill, and I was one of them. I think it is important we work in a bipartisan way to move this country forward.

I am also a Democrat that supports bringing manufacturing back to my State. You are welcome to come to Nevada anytime and see what we have done around the work that is essential.

I think what I am looking for in this time is common sense, working across the aisle where we see it to show the American public that, yes, we can still function and work together on moving forward. I think it is important we stand with Israel at all levels, including ensuring that they are not tariffed, there is no tariff against them.

It is very, very simple here. And I think targeted tariffs make sense. I don't quite understand the continued partisan conversation here. But at the end of the day, I am hopeful that many of my colleagues still want to work in a bipartisan way on issues that reflect not only who we are as a country but will still be working to address protection for our allies and, at the same time, protecting our economy. I am disappointed in the objection today.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BANKS). The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. MORENO. I actually read the resolution. Again, I will repeat it. There is no greater friend of Israel's in the White House, ever in the history of the United States of America, than Donald J. Trump.

He negotiated with these countries. We need to give him the latitude in terms of negotiating with these countries. In terms of bipartisan, go back through the record in the last 90 days and see almost the complete block voting on everything, including we have two votes coming up and another two votes at the end of the day. Let's see if there is one Democrat that doesn't vote in total unison with their party.

Look at the Republican side. We are much more freethinkers and we have differences of opinion and that comes out when we vote. When we talk about bipartisanship, I hope the Democrats get to a point where they are willing to work with us on common sense.

I had a bill that I presented to the floor about 3 weeks ago. Here is what it said: If you come into this country illegally, you can't claim asylum. And if you do, you invalidate your right for asylum for life, and you must only claim asylum at a designated port of entry. This is a 90-10 issue. Democrats blocked that.

I want to work in a bipartisan manner. I think the American public demands that we do. But when every Democrat votes in total and complete lockstep with their leadership every single time to block any progress, we are going to be unable to do that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Ms. CORTEZ MASTO. Thank you. I have to stand up here and call my colleague out. He is trying to paint all the Democrats together. If he would look at my record in standing independent from some of my party's votes and the fact that I think it is important and know it is important that we work in a bipartisan way and have done just that in committee in my votes in a bipartisan way with my colleagues, I would

hope that he would be open to working with me in the future on some bipartisan legislation.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, I ask the previously scheduled vote begin immediately.

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

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The bill clerk read the nomination of Peter Hoekstra, of Michigan, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Canada.

VOTE ON HOEKSTRA NOMINATION

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

Ms. SMITH. 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 bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO) and the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN).

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

The result was announced—yeas 60, nays 37, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 202 Ex.]

YEAS—60

Banks	Hagerty	Moreno
Blackburn	Hassan	Murkowski
Boozman	Hawley	Paul
Britt	Hoeven	Peters
Budd	Husted	Ricketts
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Risch
Cassidy	Johnson	Rounds
Collins	Justice	Schmitt
Cornyn	Kaine	Scott (FL)
Cotton	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cramer	King	Shaheen
Crapo	Klobuchar	Sheehy
Cruz	Lankford	Slotkin
Curtis	Lee	Sullivan
Daines	Lummis	Thune
Ernst	Marshall	Tillis
Fetterman	McConnell	Tuberville
Fischer	McCormick	Warner
Graham	Moody	Wicker
Grassley	Moran	Young

NAYS—37

Alsobrooks	Heinrich	Rosen
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Schatz
Bennet	Hirono	Schiff
Blumenthal	Kelly	Schumer
Blunt Rochester	Kim	Smith
Booker	Lujan	Van Hollen
Cantwell	Markey	Warnock
Coons	Merkley	Warren
Cortez Masto	Murphy	Welch
Duckworth	Murray	Whitehouse
Durbin	Ossoff	Wyden
Galego	Padilla	
Gillibrand	Reed	

NOT VOTING—3

Barrasso	Mullin	Sanders
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The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the motion to re-

consider is considered made and laid upon the table, and the President will be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Ronald Johnson, of Florida, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Mexican States.

VOTE ON JOHNSON NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Johnson nomination?

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. 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 senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. THUNE. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. BARRASSO), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. HAWLEY), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN), and the Senator from Florida (Mr. SCOTT).

Further, if present and voting: the Senator from Florida (Mr. SCOTT) would have voted "yea."

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

The result was announced—yeas 49, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 203 Ex.]

YEAS—49

Banks	Graham	Moreno
Blackburn	Grassley	Murkowski
Boozman	Hagerty	Paul
Britt	Hoeven	Ricketts
Budd	Husted	Risch
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Cassidy	Johnson	Schmitt
Collins	Justice	Scott (SC)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Sheehy
Cotton	Lankford	Sullivan
Cramer	Lee	Thune
Crapo	Lummis	Tillis
Cruz	Marshall	Tuberville
Curtis	McConnell	Wicker
Daines	McCormick	Young
Ernst	Moody	
Fischer	Moran	

NAYS—46

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

NOT VOTING—5

Barrasso	Mullin	Scott (FL)
Hawley	Sanders	

The nomination was confirmed.

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

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant executive clerk read the nomination of Kevin Cabrera, of Florida, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Panama.

VOTE ON CABRERA NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Cabrera nomination?

Mr. WICKER. 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 senior assistant executive clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Missouri (Mr. HAWLEY), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN), and the Senator from Alabama (Mr. TUBERVILLE).

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

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 204 Ex.]

YEAS—51

Banks	Fischer	Moran
Barrasso	Graham	Moreno
Blackburn	Grassley	Murkowski
Boozman	Hagerty	Paul
Britt	Hoeven	Ricketts
Budd	Husted	Risch
Capito	Hyde-Smith	Rounds
Cassidy	Johnson	Schmitt
Collins	Justice	Scott (FL)
Cornyn	Kennedy	Scott (SC)
Cotton	Lankford	Shaheen
Cramer	Lee	Sheehy
Crapo	Lummis	Sullivan
Cruz	Marshall	Thune
Curtis	McConnell	Tillis
Daines	McCormick	Wicker
Ernst	Moody	Young

NAYS—45

Alsobrooks	Heinrich	Peters
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	Reed
Bennet	Hirono	Rosen
Blumenthal	Kaine	Schatz
Blunt Rochester	Kelly	Schiff
Booker	Kim	Schumer
Cantwell	King	Slotkin
Coons	Klobuchar	Smith
Cortez Masto	Lujan	Van Hollen
Duckworth	Markey	Warner
Durbin	Merkley	Warnock
Fetterman	Murphy	Warren
Galego	Murray	Welch
Gillibrand	Ossoff	Whitehouse
Hassan	Padilla	Wyden

NOT VOTING—4

Hawley	Sanders
Mullin	Tuberville

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 Senator from Massachusetts.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—S. 103

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, I rise today to lawfully extend the deadline by which ByteDance must either divest TikTok or face a ban in the United States.

In a few moments, I will ask unanimous consent to pass my legislation with Senator WYDEN, Senator VAN HOLLEN, and Senator BOOKER, the Extend the TikTok Deadline Act, to extend the divestment deadline until October.

My colleagues may be wondering: Didn't President Trump just extend the TikTok deadline last week by 75 days? Why are we passing legislation to do the same thing? Well, it is because we need legislation because President Trump's move was illegal, both the first time he extended the deadline in January and his second extension last Friday.

Although the statute permits the President to extend the TikTok deadline by 90 days if certain conditions are met, President Trump never triggered that provision in the statute. Instead, he twice issued Executive orders that directed the Department of Justice to not enforce the law for 75 days. Nothing in the statute permits President Trump to simply not enforce Federal law.

By Trump's logic, he could negate any statute enacted by Congress by simply directing his administration to not enforce it. That is not how our system of government actually works. It is lawless, and it is dangerous.

Beyond being an affront to the rule of law, these Executive orders are also unfair to TikTok's 170 million creators and users and the 7 million small businesses that rely on the platform to reach their customers.

By lawlessly extending the TikTok divestment deadline, Trump has effectively put the fate of TikTok in the hands of risk-averse corporate shareholders at major technology companies like Oracle and Apple and Google. That is because the TikTok ban imposes up to \$800 billion in fines for companies like Oracle and Apple and Google that help keep TikTok online and distribute the app through their app stores.

Trump's lawless extension puts these companies in a difficult spot. They can comply with the law—take TikTok offline and face the wrath of Trump and the public—or they can violate the law—leave TikTok up and risk ruinous legal liability.

So far, the tech companies have been willing to risk that liability based on promises from President Trump that he won't punish them. But we all know that President Trump's promises aren't worth a whole lot. The President could reverse course at any moment or threaten to rescind his Executive order to coerce these companies into supporting unrelated political objectives. No good comes from giving any President that kind of leverage.

So while TikTok remains online today, these unilateral illegal extensions are unfair to TikTok's users and dangerous for our country.

So here is the thing: I actually agree with the President on extending the TikTok divestment deadline. There was no reason that TikTok should have gone dark in January, just a couple of days after the Supreme Court ruled on the law.

Clearly, the Supreme Court had only 2 days left to resolve all of the national security issues, all of the other issues that were surrounding this issue. It wasn't TikTok or anyone else's fault that it took all the way up until 2 days before the deadline to have TikTok get an answer as to whether or not what was happening was constitutional. So we needed more time to have a negotiation over whether or not those national security issues and other issues could be resolved.

It is now, ultimately, again, a decision that has to be made as to whether or not TikTok should have gone dark last week as rumors swirled about potential new investors in TikTok's U.S. business.

We don't need to find a lawful solution; it is imperative that we find a lawful solution. That is why I am bringing my legislation out here. That will protect free speech rights of TikTok's 170 million users and will also give us some time to be able to negotiate an end.

I want national security issues to be the central part of this negotiation, and I believe such a solution is possible. But unlawful, ad hoc extensions only sow chaos for the tech companies facing ruinous penalties and for the millions of Americans who rely on TikTok as a vital communications platform.

Instead, Congress should pass my legislation, the Extend the TikTok Deadline Act, to lawfully extend the divestment deadline until October, creating legal certainty for TikTok's users and creators and giving all parties a longer period to reach a solution.

So, Mr. President, as if in legislative session and notwithstanding rule XXII, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation be discharged from further consideration of S. 103, and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration; further, that the bill be considered read a third time and passed, and the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there an objection?

The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, reserving the right to object because I do object to this effort and will object to future efforts to change the TikTok law.

Let's remember how we got here. TikTok is a Chinese communist spy app and a tool of Chinese communist propaganda. That is why Congress passed an overwhelmingly bipartisan

law mandating that TikTok's parent company sell it if TikTok is to continue operating in America.

Why did Congress pass this law? Because TikTok is not just another social media platform. TikTok addicts our kids, harvests their data, exposes them to pedophiles, and promotes harmful and manipulative content, including vile, anti-Semitic videos.

TikTok also silences, censors, and suppresses content that exposes communist China for what it really is—a monstrous tyranny. The truth about China's genocide against the Tibet and Uighur people, the massacre at Tiananmen Square, the crackdown on Hong Kong, the origins of COVID, and more are all disappeared behind the veil of TikTok's algorithm.

What TikTok doesn't say is only part of the problem. What it does say is deadly.

The Chinese version of TikTok tells kids to study hard, eat their vegetables, and revere their dictator, Xi Jinping. But the American version of TikTok exposes our kids to videos that glamorize and glorify violence, obscenity, eating disorders, drug use, and even suicide.

TikTok's lethal algorithm has, without question, cost the lives of too many Americans. That is why TikTok is so dangerous, and that is why Congress insisted that TikTok cut ties entirely with communist China.

President Trump is trying to implement the law that Congress passed, and many American businesses and investors are, apparently, interested in buying TikTok.

I applaud patriotic Americans who want to buy this app and cut all ties with the Chinese communists. But reports have surfaced that some businesses and investors want a bad deal that would violate the law by letting communist China continue to influence the TikTok algorithm. Even worse, these potential buyers may ask Congress to somehow indemnify them for violating the law or immunize them for TikTok's past crimes against and injuries to the American people, especially young Americans.

Let me say bluntly to any American who wants to invest in some half-ass TikTok deal: Congress will never protect you from going into business with communist China.

So American businesses and investors who want to dip their beaks in the golden TikTok fountain should think twice before giving their money and their good name to Chinese communists. If the TikTok deal maintains any operational relationship with China, you will be stuck with the consequences. Caveat emptor.

So I do oppose this effort to change the law, and I will oppose, in the future, other efforts to change the law that Congress already passed. Let's allow President Trump to negotiate and see if communist China is willing to make a deal. If not, then the law is the law.

Now I will yield to my colleague from Nebraska.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. RICKETTS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I echo my colleague from Arkansas' comments with regard to TikTok.

Let's recall that in communist China, there really isn't such a thing as a private company, as much as ByteDance might want to say it is.

The Chinese communist law is very clear that companies in China have to do what they are told to do by the Chinese Communist Party, and that is one of the reasons TikTok is so dangerous.

TikTok, as has been covered by my colleague from Massachusetts, reaches 170 million people; 52 percent of those people say that they regularly get their news from TikTok.

As I have risen on this floor in the past, I have discussed specific cases where the Chinese communists have been pushing their propaganda through TikTok.

Now, let's also bear in mind that we would not allow any American TV, news station—even newspaper—to be able to own as much of the American marketplace as TikTok has today—170 million people. Current law says that you can only own 39 percent, for example, of the TV marketplace across the country. That would roughly equate to about 50 million households in the United States—far above what we are seeing here with what TikTok has access to. So if we are not going to allow Americans to be able to have such broad access to our population, why on Earth would we allow the Chinese Communist Party to do it? And by the way, the Chinese Communist Party has no First Amendment rights in this country.

ByteDance was given 270 days to make a deal. The Communist dictator Xi Jinping clearly did not want it. They tried to lobby us. They avoided getting a deal done. President Trump came into office. They are still avoiding getting a deal done.

The people who are taking on the liability here are the companies that are the facilitators. I urge those companies to reconsider. You should think carefully about what you are doing. The law is very clear. TikTok needs to be sold to an American owner to continue operation, not some half-baked plan, as my colleague from Arkansas was describing, where the Chinese Communist Party would still have influence on the TikTok algorithm, still have the ability to push their propaganda to the American people. That cannot happen. We need to make sure that the Chinese Communist Party cannot do that in our country.

Again, we won't allow other TV or radio stations to have that much access. Why on Earth are we doing it with the Chinese Communist Party? It is absolutely ludicrous.

We need to keep the pressure on. We need to make sure that TikTok is sold.

I echo my colleague's comments with regard to any sort of future Chinese ownership that would allow them to be able to continue to do this. We need to make sure this is no longer going to threaten our young people.

Therefore, Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The objection is heard.

The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, I just want to reiterate what I said in my remarks—that ByteDance ownership in TikTok does create national security risks—but I also agree with my colleague. We just spoke. My colleague who just spoke said: Let's allow the President to continue to negotiate. Well, that is what my legislation does. It says that the President has out until October to negotiate a resolution that solves the national security-related issues. That time is needed because, in response to my colleague who said that he doesn't want a half-baked solution—well, that is what would happen if there was a rush to try to negotiate. So we need to give the President the legal space, passed by the Senate and the House, to be able to negotiate. That is all I am asking for.

What the President is doing right now is illegally extending the time, creating a cloud of legal jeopardy over all of the American companies which deal with TikTok right now.

So I think what I heard my colleague say was that they want to allow President Trump to negotiate, and that is what I am saying, except I am saying let's do it with the Senate having passed the legislation that gives him the time to do it in a very deliberate way so that the answer is not half-baked and that ultimately we can get to a resolution of this issue.

I will also note, by the way, that in a filing at the U.S. circuit court of appeals, that the intelligence community did, in fact, say that they have no information that the Chinese Government has, in fact, compromised this information that can be used against the United States at this point in time.

I would also add that I do agree with my colleague when he says that TikTok does prey upon young people, does contribute to mental health issues, especially amongst the teenagers and children in our society. But so does YouTube and so does Facebook and so does every one of the American sites.

So if we want to deal with the problem of social media creating problems for young people in our society, let's pass a law. Let's pass a tough law. That is the law that I have been able to get out of the Senate Commerce Committee. It is a tough law. It is the Child Online Privacy Protection Act, up to the age of 16, and it says to companies: If the parents want this, you have to delete any information you have gathered about the child. It says: You can't target a teenager or a child with ads.

Let's pass that law on the Senate floor, not just for TikTok but for the

American companies as well, which invented this targeting of children. That was invented here, the targeting of children, exploiting of teenagers, causing this mental health crisis in our Nation.

So it is time for us to, in my opinion, pass the legislation that has been objected to by my colleagues on the Republican side of the aisle so that the President has the time to negotiate with the Chinese, with TikTok, about the national security issues, so that there is a divestment that does work and provides real security for Americans.

But the next issue arises immediately because even if there is a divestment, that TikTok that is then American-owned, theoretically, is going to be targeting teenagers and children just the same way that every other American social media company does. Where is the concern about that? I hear it, but I don't hear any legislation coming out here on the floor from the Republican leadership to deal with the crisis, which everyone knows is front and center in our society right now.

So I think this debate really gives us a great opportunity to have a wider conversation about all of the impact social media is having upon our society.

With that, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

MAIDEN SPEECH

Mr. BANKS. Mr. President, it is the honor of my life to be here representing Indiana in the U.S. Senate. I want to start out thanking Hoosiers for sending me here to serve them, my State, and my country. It is an incredible honor. It is humbling and thrilling, truly, speaking on the floor of the U.S. Senate for the very first time.

You know, I grew up in a trailer park in Columbia City, IN, a small town of less than 10,000 people. I still live there today with my wife Amanda and our three young daughters, and, really, it is the best hometown in America.

But when I was a kid, we lived on the very south end of town, on a dead-end street with about a dozen trailers. I often drive by that boyhood home, and I point it out to my daughters, and I say: That is where I came from.

Unfortunately for them, it is on the way to school. So they hear me say that a lot, and they get annoyed every time I say it.

But I have a lot of great memories growing up in that trailer park. I remember my dad teaching me how to ride a bicycle in the cul-de-sac at the end of the street.

I remember his cream-colored Ford Bronco. The top would come off. He would wax it on the street and drive it around town. He was so proud of it.

I remember the bunkbed at the front of the trailer that I shared with my brother Chad. I remember the swing set in the side yard.

I remember deer hunting season. My dad would bring the buck home that he was proud of. We would can the meat, and we would live off it for the winter.

You see, my parents didn't have much, but they worked hard, and they provided for my two younger brothers and me.

My mom and dad were high school sweethearts. They didn't go to college. They had me at a young age. My mom started working when she was 13 years old at a local nursing home called Miller's Merry Manor, and she only recently retired from working there for most of her life.

My dad worked at a local Dane factory, where they made axles for cars and other vehicles. My uncle, my grandpa, many relatives, and many friends of our family also worked in that same factory. In fact, it was my grandpa, my mom's dad, who got my dad his job there when he started dating my mom.

When I was growing up, that factory provided good pay and opportunities for so many families in my community. During all three shifts, 24/7, the parking lot would be overflowing as workers earned a wage that was good enough to support their families. That was our American dream. Those were exactly the kinds of jobs that allowed my parents to put food on their table and raise their boys.

To so many Americans like my parents, the American dream isn't just some concept that think tank experts in Washington, DC, write about. It is real. It is what they have lived in their lives, like my mom and dad did, because to my mom and dad, the American dream is, if you work hard, then perhaps your kids might have a better shot than what you did.

I want to take a moment, like the Good Book says to do, and I want to honor my mom and my dad. It is because of them that I have lived the American dream. Look at where I am today: on the floor of the U.S. Senate, from humble beginnings in a small town in Northeast Indiana, the first of my family to go to college, and the great honor of wearing the uniform and serving my country.

I served my country in the U.S. House of Representatives and now here in this historic Chamber, the U.S. Senate. My oldest daughter Lillian is in the Gallery with us today. And just like my parents, I want my three daughters to be better off than what I was. That is the American dream.

This really is the greatest country in the history of the world. That American dream is always worth fighting and protecting.

But sadly, the country has changed a lot from when I was a kid growing up in that small town. There used to be plenty of those good-paying factory jobs like the one that my dad had, with pay that kept up with the cost of living and companies that treated their workers right.

It is no accident that a lot of those jobs have disappeared, and the working

class is falling further and further behind. You see, it is clear: It is the result of bad policy choices that put corporate and foreign interests ahead of those workers like my dad. Decades of America-last policies have hollowed out our industries and crushed our workers.

Wall Street shipped factories overseas and stripped our companies for quick profits. For a State like Indiana, the top manufacturing State in the country, that is a huge blow.

We have lost 6 million manufacturing jobs since 1980, while our population grew by over 117 million people. Like President Trump said last week, we have also lost more than 90,000 factories since NAFTA was signed. Adjusting for the value of the dollar, working-class wages for men haven't gone up at all. They earned about \$850 a week in 1980, and they still earn about \$850 a week today. About 600,000 jobs went to Mexico over two decades since NAFTA. In the 1980s, it took about 40 weeks of work for a factory worker to earn enough to support their family. Today, it takes about 62 weeks, which means those working-class families are growing debt and falling further and further behind.

For too long, empty lots, boarded-up buildings, and dead store fronts could be seen all over America because of the choices that our Nation's elites made. It was a tremendous failure of leadership. They opened up our borders, they cut wages for workers, and, as a result, cheap labor flooded into our country.

Indiana is also the top steel-producing State in the country, but the steel industry has shrunk by two-thirds. In 1980, the United States made one-sixth of the world's steel. Now that has dropped to one-twentieth.

Foreign companies have used their low wages and subsidies to dump cheap steel and take over our market, while American steel companies have struggled to keep up.

Today, America produces 1 percent of all of the cargo ships in the world. But in 1980, we made over 50 percent of them. It costs over double to build a ship in the United States than it does in China and South Korea, and they heavily subsidize their shipbuilding industries.

You see, in Columbia City, my small hometown, the best paying jobs are at a local steel mill called Steel Dynamics. A lot of guys I went to high school with, a lot of friends of our family work there today, and they do really well and provide for their families.

But we have lost way too many of those kinds of jobs around the country to China and foreign countries that have taken advantage of us and our workers. It was great to see leaders from that steel mill—Steel Dynamics—in the Rose Garden last week when I had a front row seat to celebrate President Trump's tariffs announcement, which will massively help our steel industry in places like Columbia City, IN. For too long, our leaders have

turned a blind eye when our enemies like China took those good-paying skilled jobs away from us.

One of the really memorable moments from the Rose Garden, last week, of President Trump for me was when he said that it is hard to fully blame foreign countries when it was the lack of leadership on our own part that allowed those countries to take advantage of America.

In fact, he kept pointing back to the Oval Office and saying that we are in the position that we are today because many of the men who sat in that office behind him did nothing while foreign countries took advantage of us and our workers.

President Trump understands, like we all do, that we can't pass the American dream on to the next generation if we let China dominate us. In fact, he is the first President of my lifetime to call China a threat to the American way of life. That is why I believe that letting China into the World Trade Organization was the worst economic mistake of my lifetime.

For too long, they have stolen our technology, they have copied our products, and they have built up their industries with slave wages that American workers can't and shouldn't have to compete with. No one has held them accountable until now. Too many of our leaders have been playing footsie with China instead of pushing back and standing up for our workers.

In 2001, our trade deficit with China was \$84 billion. By 2024, that deficit more than tripled to \$295 billion. Nearly 25 years ago, China accounted for 8 percent of the world's manufacturing output, but by 2020, that number has gone up by 35 percent.

The Chinese Communist Party wants to make the United States irrelevant in every key industry: steel, aluminum, nuclear power, AI, semiconductors, telecom, planes, ships, cars, and many more.

They are making us weaker and dependent. And here is the worst part about it: the CCP conned American investors into footing the bill. They rolled out the red carpet to corporate America, and Wall Street poured nearly \$1 trillion into Chinese companies that destroyed American jobs.

Some people believed naively that China would become freer, more open, and more like America; the complete opposite has happened. Now, they are our biggest adversary, and it is past time that we fight back.

During my time in the House, I made it my mission, my biggest priority to stand up to China, and only one President in my lifetime, once again, has understood that threat. In the U.S. Senate, I intend to help and stand with President Trump to stand up to China and put America first.

When President Trump first came down that escalator over 10 years ago, my dad, a retired union factory worker, was for him from day one. I wasn't so sure about it, but my dad knew that

Donald Trump was going to fight for the working class, and, boy, was he right.

President Trump tapped into the American people's hopes in a way that few leaders before him ever have. And that is why I was so inspired in just the first couple of weeks on the job as a U.S. Senator to be in that Rotunda for President Trump's inauguration when he talked about ushering in the golden age of America. It was so encouraging and inspiring to real people in real places like my hometown.

I feel like I am living through some of the best parts of our history, and I stand with President Trump in his commitment to put those working families first. He is removing the "kick me" sign from the backs of our workers and our producers. He is doing what the voters elected him to do, and he is keeping his campaign promises.

He is putting our attention on the issues that matter most to working Americans, like being able to afford a home, a car, groceries, education, and healthcare.

He is standing up against global companies that are selling out to our enemies, and he is bringing back a country that builds and makes things. Just last month, so important to Indiana, we heard that Honda is going to build their new Honda Civic in Indiana, not in Mexico. And last week, GM said that they would increase truck production just a few miles from my hometown in Fort Wayne. Our steel mills are roaring back to life. Our tech companies are hiring in America again.

And Eli Lilly, also based in Indiana, plans to invest \$27 billion in American manufacturing. So far in just 10 weeks, President Trump has announced \$6 trillion in new investment in the United States of America. That type of investment is helping to bring back the American dream for hard-working Americans.

On election day this past November, I took what ended up being a long and nostalgic walk with my dog Marshall. He is named after Thomas Riley Marshall, the 28th Vice President of the United States, who is also from my small hometown.

In fact, his Vice Presidential statue is right outside the west door as you enter this Chamber. In fact, on election day, we walked right past his home, which today is a museum in his honor to his history. When I was in elementary school, we would go to field trips to the museum, and the teachers would say: Look what this guy did coming from a small town like this. If you work hard and dream big, maybe you can do something like that too.

I went on this dogwalk with Marsh, and we walked past the museum, we walked past the courthouse and the town square in my hometown. We walked past the hot dog stand that was where I had my first job as a teenager, and then we ended up in that trailer park that I mentioned earlier where I grew up.

I have driven past it many times, but it was the first time that I have actually gone through alone and walked through and down this street since I was a kid. It was just a couple of hours before the news would call my race and name me the Senator-elect for the great State of Indiana, so this was rather an emotional experience for me. As memories of my childhood flooded back, I realized how incredible of a life and opportunity that I have been given.

But as we were walking down that street, I noticed a mom sitting on the steps of her trailer, smoking a cigarette, watching her two boys in the yard who would have been about the same age as my brother and I would have been when we lived in that trailer park too. As I watched them, I couldn't help but wonder if those boys would be able to achieve what I did or if the deck was so stacked against them today that that kind of opportunity for them was way out of reach.

Later that evening as the results from election night poured in, it became apparent to me that America decided to turn the page to a new chapter for this great country. And as someone who has lived the American dream, I have got great news for those boys and their mom: The golden age of America is here.

It has only been 5 months since election day when I took that walk, and we have already seen a major shift for hard-working Americans. For too long, Washington has not cared about people like those boys and that mom, but I do. And I know that all of you do, and I know that President Trump does too.

As leaders in this country, we have a duty to fight for those boys and those moms like her for their American dream.

To my Republican colleagues and my colleagues across the aisle, we must stand together more than ever before to fight for those working families.

It is going to take everyone in this Chamber working together to do it. There is so much in this fight that we can all agree on as Republicans and Democrats, and now is the time for leadership of both parties to step up for American workers and families.

We are kicking off a new era of peace and prosperity like we have never seen before. Again, Indiana, thank you for this incredible opportunity. To my colleagues, it is a privilege to serve with you. I am so excited about what lies ahead.

I yield the floor.

(Applause.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Indiana.

TRIBUTE TO JIM BANKS

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I am thrilled to be in the audience for my colleague's maiden speech.

Senator BANKS just delivered inspired words. And he gave a speech from his heart as well as his head, and those are always the best received.

It is really—he has an amazing life story. He is a great public servant. I

know his family is very proud of him. I know his hometown in Northeastern Indiana are very proud of him, people throughout the great State of Indiana and really beyond, and I am proud of him.

I have known Senator BANKS for a lot of years, and we have long been friends. And it is really remarkable what he has done up to this point in his professional career and what he is going to do.

I want to thank JIM and his family for taking this step. It is not always easy serving in a public capacity. I want to welcome him formally to the U.S. Senate in front of the world, and I know Amanda is watching. Amanda, thank you so much for your service to this country. Sometimes it is like being the preacher's wife. You are not always given the credit that you are due. But certainly my colleagues here understand the sacrifices that are made as your husband serves the State of Indiana.

So I am glad you are here, JIM. We have a lot in common. We are both IU basketball fans. We both have a degree from Indiana University. We are both veterans. We both have three beautiful daughters, and one of yours is here. Lillian, thank you for visiting and being part of this important moment.

So I will just tell the world and to certainly my colleagues that JIM BANKS is committed, committed to making our economy work for everyone. JIM BANKS is committed to making sure that we satisfy our responsibilities of keeping the American people safe and secure by taking care of our warfighters and giving them all they need.

And, JIM, if you are up to it, and I think you are, we are going to do some amazing things together on behalf of the people of Indiana. We are going to have to right some wrongs from the past—you alluded to that—rethink some preconceived notions that require rethinking, and offer solutions. And we will work together on that and drive those solutions to outcomes.

More on that later, but I am just so appreciative to have you here, and I thank you for your words.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MORENO). The majority leader.

Mr. THUNE. Mr. President, I, too, just want to welcome, officially—now that he has delivered his maiden speech—Senator BANKS from the great State of Indiana. Like his colleague Senator YOUNG, I, too, have had the opportunity to observe, and one thing I really appreciate about Senator BANKS is he obviously served his country as a Member of the House of Representatives; he served his country in the military; he was deployed abroad.

He is a veteran, and he is passionate about serving causes that are greater than himself. And that is a family passion, a partnership he and Amanda have and his girls. And I am just grateful that they are willing to roll up

their sleeves and go to work again on behalf of our great country.

I am not a Hoosier, but my favorite movie, at least top five, is "Hoosiers," and I also had the opportunity to travel a couple of times with Senator BANKS in his great State and had the opportunity to welcome him to ours for something he enjoys as passionately as I do, and that is pheasant hunting.

But you have been a great addition already to the U.S. Senate. You are a great leader for Indiana, and we look forward to working with you.

So welcome, and thanks so much for serving.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

TENNESSEE STORMS

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, in recent days, Middle and West Tennesseans have faced severe storms that have truly upended the lives of many of our communities and our citizens. Over 4 days, parts of our State saw more than 12 inches of rainfall. This has caused rising rivers, flash floods, and it has forced people out of their homes and their businesses.

At the same time, we have seen devastating tornadoes that have destroyed homes, businesses, and entire communities. In Selmer, TN, one tornado reached winds of 160 miles per hour, leaving a path of destruction. In the words of one survivor, the storms have left the town "unrecognizable."

As a result of this devastation, we have lost the lives of 10 Tennesseans. My heart goes out to every single one of their families as our State mourns this loss and as the communities gather to grieve the loss of their citizens.

Right now, Tennessee remains in a state of emergency. Over the weekend in Nashville, I visited the State Emergency Operations Center and received an update from the Tennessee Emergency Management Agency, FEMA, Tennessee Department of Transportation, Tennessee Highway Patrol, and other agencies on our State's emergency response. I also had the opportunity to visit with nonprofits that are meeting the needs on the ground of our citizens.

I do want to say thank you to all of the first responders and the volunteers and the emergency teams who are working around the clock to meet the needs of so many.

With water still rising in our State, power lines down, and many roads blocked completely, it is imperative that Tennesseans listen to local authorities and take every precaution to keep themselves safe. My team is working closely with State and Federal and local agencies, and we are ready to assist anyone who has endured these awful, awful storms.

In the face of any crisis, Tennesseans always come together. As we start to pick up the pieces from these storms, I know you will see that volunteer spirit alive and well in Tennessee.

TRUMP ADMINISTRATION

Mr. President, since Inauguration Day, President Trump has been hard at

work addressing one of the biggest threats that our Nation faces; that is, our \$36 trillion debt. Unlike the last administration, the Trump administration has been very vocal. They are choosing to save the taxpayer money, and I will have to say that so far, they have had a tremendous amount of success.

Now, I know some of my colleagues want to complain about DOGE, and they are not fond of the Department of Government Efficiency. I think it is worthy to note that DOGE so far has identified more than \$140 billion in potential savings for the American people. They have found this by going into each Department, working with the Secretaries of the different Departments, the heads of the Agencies, and they are reviewing unused Federal leases, Federal contracts, and they are saving billions. They are even able to find savings in some of these anti-American DEI programs.

Every American should be celebrating this effort that saves them money. Government has not one penny to spend until the taxpayer sends the money. Every dollar is taxpayer money; it is not Federal money. The Federal Government does not create this; it is taxpayer money. So taxpayers should be celebrating the elimination of waste, fraud, and abuse.

It is essential that we go through this process, that we right-size government, that we utilize technology, and that we ensure that this country remains free, independent, sovereign, and solvent. Yet, for weeks, we have seen our colleagues on the other side of the aisle choose to stand up and attack President Trump's efforts to rein in Federal spending and to make government transparent and accountable to the people. Again, it is an issue of, who is paying the bill for this? It is the American people. And if you are paying the bill, you want to know what it is that you are paying for.

This has been so interesting to me to see my colleagues on the other side of the aisle object to DOGE and object to saving Federal money, object to wise stewardship of Federal resources, and then to attack, attack, attack. Many of these attacks are disconnected from reality.

Recently, the Democrats have landed on a new line, and we have heard them repeat this over and over. Now their new line is that Republicans and the Trump administration are using DOGE to cut Social Security benefits for our Nation's seniors. Well, nothing could be further from the truth. It is Republicans and President Trump that are seeking to save—to save—Social Security.

Last month in this very Chamber, the Senate Democratic leader claimed that "the goal of Trump and Elon Musk is to destroy Social Security from within." Well, nothing could be further from the truth.

To help our Democrat colleagues to understand this issue, I have pulled to-

gether a fact sheet that makes one thing clear: While eliminating wasteful spending, improper payments, and fraud in the system, Republicans are protecting Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid for the beneficiaries for which it is intended.

See, our colleagues across the aisle have this completely backward, and they have been pushing these talking points off to the mainstream media, to some of the leftists that are out protesting.

If you accept the status quo on Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, basically what you are saying is: Hey, I am OK if you waste money. I am OK if you make improper payments. I am OK if you allow fraud and deception. I am OK if you let the trust fund run dry. I am OK if you cut benefits.

In essence, that is what they are saying because they are accepting the status quo.

But repeatedly we remind people that it is Republicans who are trying to save Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid because we are rooting out waste, fraud, abuse, and making certain those benefits should go to the people who deserve them.

But this shouldn't come as a surprise to anybody. We have been saying: Let's preserve these programs, and let's make them stronger. Let's make certain that scammers and fraudsters don't have access to taxpayer money.

Just last month, the President said:

I'm not going to touch Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid. Now, we're going to get fraud out of there. . . . Everybody wants us to get the fraud out, and therefore you'll make it better.

That is exactly what we are doing. By eliminating waste and fraud, the administration is strengthening these essential programs.

For example, DOGE confirmed that 1.3 million individuals who secured fraudulent Social Security numbers also received Medicare benefits. That is stealing money from individuals who are entitled, rightfully, to the benefits.

So if you have 1.3 million individuals who have fraudulent Social Security numbers and they have also signed up for Medicare, they should be removed from the program because they are not entitled to be on that program.

DOGE also sifted out 10 million cases where Social Security number holders were over the age of 120. Now, this should raise alarms. I don't know how many—if any—Americans are 120 years of age or older, but we do know that there are 10 million cases where there are Social Security number holders that are over 120 years old.

The right thing to do is to find out. If you have people who say they are 150, 165, 200 years, even one that is listed as 300 years old, we need to be investigating this and find out who is getting the check and who is cashing that check because that person is not entitled to that check—which, by the way, is paid with taxpayer money.

When I talk with Tennesseans, they want to make certain that people who

deserve the benefits are getting the benefits and that people who are scammers and liars and fraudsters and are ripping off the Federal Government, that they get prosecuted for the way they are ripping off the Federal Government.

Now, President Trump is determined to strengthen these programs, and Senate Republicans have promised to deliver relief to senior citizens by cutting taxes on Social Security benefits.

Today, nearly 56 percent of retirees pay taxes on their Social Security benefits as inflation pushes seniors' benefits into higher and higher income brackets. This is inexcusable because people have paid into that.

We had a Lieutenant Governor in Tennessee at one point. He would sum this up by saying: No one should ever be paying taxes on taxes.

People have paid into Social Security, and then, as they retire, they are going to get this money back.

And for the past few years, I have worked on legislation called the RETIREES FIRST Act. It would address this problem by lowering the tax burden on Social Security benefits for seniors by raising the provisional income threshold. Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid are essential programs for millions of Tennesseans.

It is appropriate that we exempt out seniors from paying income tax on those Social Security benefits. It is appropriate that we make certain that these programs are there for the beneficiaries for which they are intended. And it is appropriate that we ask our colleagues across the aisle to join us in making certain these programs are strengthened, not weakened.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

AFGHANISTAN

Mr. WELCH. Mr. President, it has been 3½ years since August 30, 2021, when the last American forces withdrew from Afghanistan.

The withdrawal was, by any objective measure, a total fiasco. However, the Biden administration does deserve some credit for evacuating at least 120,000 Afghans in those chaotic days after the Taliban overran Kabul. It was one of the largest—if not the largest—humanitarian airlifts in history. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of Afghans and their families remain stranded in Afghanistan and other countries, especially Pakistan.

Many of these people had worked for our government or participated in programs funded by the United States, in women's rights, in education, judicial and economic reform, in counter-narcotics, and many other areas.

These refugees worked with and for our government, our soldiers, our diplomats, and our intelligence officers. Some of these refugees have made it safely to the United States, thanks to the determined persistence of humanitarian organizations, including one in Vermont, the Vermont Afghan Alli-

ance, and the outstanding work of Molly Gray and her staff.

These organizations have advocated for refugees ceaselessly. They have not forgotten what those refugees did for our soldiers in Afghanistan. And these organizations have helped arrange for the practical needs that refugees face—housing, employment, and other social services—upon their arrival in the United States.

I so appreciate the work of the Vermont Afghan Alliance and the many other refugee assistance organizations around the country, including in your State, Mr. President. They have been indispensable in helping us meet our obligation to support the Afghans who helped our soldiers. That is our obligation.

But, ultimately, the resettlement is the responsibility of the Federal Government. In the end, the Biden administration did fall short in its promises to the Afghan refugee population. This population of refugees exists, I state again, because of their work with and for our government, for our soldiers, for our diplomats, and our intelligence officers. We have abandoned our partners in their time of need.

One of the things, the screening process for these refugees became hopelessly bureaucratic, opaque, and fraught with inexplicable delays, including the processing of long-delayed special immigrant visas for Afghans who supported the U.S. mission. Many of them were interpreters. Congress failed by not providing the necessary funds and authority to streamline the resettlement process.

And then, regrettably, in one of President Trump's first Executive orders, signed on January 20, he made the situation exponentially worse by suspending admission to the United States of Afghan refugees. And now Pakistan has threatened to deport them back to Afghanistan where many of them would face the risk of arrest and, literally, execution.

Today, thousands of Afghan refugees are facing total abandonment by the U.S. Government, and this is despite the fact that they completed or they have nearly completed the laborious and time-consuming process of obtaining the necessary security and medical clearances for themselves and their families.

I would like to share one example. For over a year, my office has tried to help an Afghan man, now in Vermont, who worked at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul. This man is working to support fellow Afghans in finding employment for Afghans in Vermont. This man's father served as a Deputy Minister of Justice supporting U.S. rule of law projects.

Since 2021, the father and his family have been hiding in a third country, knowing they would face arrest and persecution if they are deported back to Afghanistan. Then, in December 2024, after years of waiting, they were finally cleared to fly to the United

States. He thought his father was coming home. The son had already signed the lease for an apartment and was paying the rent for this to happen. But since January 20, as a result of the President's order, the father and his family have remained in hiding, preparing for the worst as the son is continuing to pay rent on an apartment that was to be available for his father.

You know, this is really shameful. These are folks who were there for us and our soldiers and our diplomats and our intelligence officers. And the situation for this family is typical of the situation for so many Afghan families who served us.

I have long believed that the U.S. invasion and occupation of Afghanistan was a terrible mistake. Tracking down Osama Bin Laden and the other members of al-Qaida responsible for the September 11 terrorist attacks was justifiable and was necessary. But spending literally hundreds of billions of dollars to try to transform a country of warring clans, led by corrupt and ruthless warlords with no history of democracy, was doomed to fail. Yet we did do that.

And millions of Afghans believed in us, and they shared our vision for that country. And many of them served us, acting as interpreters for the U.S. military or faithfully serving our intelligence Agencies. And these men, some of whom now live in Vermont, risked their lives for us, something that our soldiers take very seriously and have expressed immense gratitude for. Thousands were rushed to the airport in the first frantic days of the evacuation. When they got there—and some who got out—they were told to leave their wives and their children behind and that their families would join them in the United States within 1 year.

This is an obligation we have to those folks who, as a result of the collapse in Kabul, were in serious physical jeopardy. It now is 3½ years later, and I am not aware of a single evacuation or reunification of family members of these men. They are here or elsewhere, and their families are still in Afghanistan.

These refugees, as I stated and will state again because it is the heart of the matter and the heart of the obligation, they worked with our government, they worked with our soldiers, our diplomats, and our intelligence officers, and we have abandoned our partners when they need us.

Some are still waiting on the SIV processing, others on their green cards, and most on the broken promise of reunification. This is really shameful.

These men continue to stand with the United States, working in our communities, paying taxes, and growing our economy. We owe it to them, the Afghans who made it here, and to our honor to bring their families to join them.

Yet there are alarming reports that President Trump plans to ban admission to the United States for citizens of

11 countries, including Afghanistan—here is the part that is so terrifying—with no exception for Afghans and their families who qualify for the special immigrant visas or are awaiting evacuation. That is really unconscionable.

Although the Taliban leadership issued a so-called general amnesty for former officials in the U.S.-backed government more than 3 years ago, the reality is that the U.N. has reported what we knew would happen—at least 200 killings of former Afghan officials and members of the Afghan Army who were trained and equipped by the United States. The Taliban, of course, has also reneged on its pledge to uphold the rights of women, including allowing girls to attend school. Today, the situation that faces Afghan women and girls is literally no better, regrettably, than under the Taliban before the U.S. occupation.

The Trump administration's termination of USAID's assistance programs in more than 100 countries, including Afghanistan, without any meaningful review, has caused people everywhere to doubt that they can rely on the United States. We are putting our reputation in jeopardy.

President Trump and Secretary Rubio provided, literally, no credible explanation and justification, in clear violation of Congress's intent, with the destruction of these USAID Programs. But by abandoning thousands of Afghans who do face persecution if forced to return, we reinforce those doubts. And by doing so, we encourage those who have long seen the United States as a world leader and as a partner to look for more reliable partners elsewhere. That is bad for our national security.

President Trump's January 20 Executive order triggered a 90-day review of our Refugee Admissions Programs. In February, a Federal court did issue a nationwide preliminary injunction prohibiting the implementation of the order. But despite that, despite that court order, the Trump administration issued termination orders to refugee resettlement agencies in States around this country. Again, this is going to affect these folks who work for our government, our soldiers, our diplomats, and our intelligence officers. We owe them. There is no justification for us to abandon them.

I am really concerned about the administration's, what I see as an increasingly brazen flaunting of court orders. I think all of us in Congress should condemn any deviation from abiding by court orders by the administration.

I hope the administration's review of the refugee admissions is not another pretext review like we had supposedly of the USAID Programs. It cannot be an excuse to manufacture a false justification for abandoning the victims of our nation-building debacle. We have to take ownership of what it is we did.

We have to meet our commitments to people who helped us in our efforts in Afghanistan.

This must be an opportunity to expedite—expedite—the resettlement to the United States of these Afghan refugees who trusted in us and whose lives are very much at risk.

TARIFFS

Mr. President, it was a relief, I think, to all of us that the President announced that he was going to pause for 90 days these tariffs that have caused so much turmoil and havoc. It is only a pause, and it also continues tariffs with Canada and Mexico that continue to create enormous havoc for us in Vermont and, I think, for many States in the country as 34 of our States have as their major trading partner the country of Canada.

There is enormous back-and-forth in the car industry, as the Presiding Officer knows better than anyone that these tariffs are very detrimental to. What we saw in Vermont—in talking to our businesses, in talking to our farmers, in talking to folks who have utility bills at the end of every month and whose electricity comes from Canada, and in talking with folks who in the northern part of the State get their gasoline from Canada shipped down to Vermont to gas stations where they go to get it, and our home heating fuel and the disruption and the threat to businesses and the erosion of trust that had been built up for decades—centuries—between Vermont neighbors and Canadian neighbors—was unfathomable.

I am relieved that the President has paused the tariffs, but I am appalled at the manner in which the President and his economic advisers are proceeding without any coherent rhyme or reason or justification for these tariffs on Canada that hurt us so much.

I am going to urge that the administration back off on tariffs that serve no useful purpose but absolutely and directly and immediately are going to do so much harm to Vermont farmers, to Vermont manufacturers, and to Vermont utility customers.

We are struggling in Vermont—folks who work really hard to pay their bills—and the idea that, by Executive action, we would increase the costs of so many families and businesses is totally unjustified. My hope is that all of us here whose constituents face the same repercussions of these reckless tariffs will speak out on their behalf so that folks and businesses can have some security at the end of the month and are not going to have a big spike in their expenses.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, Donald Trump is trashing our economy.

First, Donald Trump imposed across-the-board tariffs. Then, just a few hours ago, he dropped those tariffs to 10 percent on everyone and moved the tariffs up to 125 percent on China, up from 105 percent yesterday. Now there is confusion. There is chaos. No one knows what the tariffs will be tomorrow or the next day or next week or next month.

But here is what we do know: Are prices still going up? Yes. Are businesses still wary about investing? Yes. Are millions of working people still worried about their jobs and millions of small businesses still worried about closing shop? Yes.

Right before Donald Trump declared that some of his tariffs were off again, he sent out a message to his billionaire buddies. He posted “THIS IS A GREAT TIME TO BUY!!!” Was that market manipulation? Was it corruption in plain sight? We need an independent investigation into market manipulation because Americans need to know whether President Trump or anyone in his administration manipulated the market to benefit their donors all while they are working for the American people and while small businesses and those working families are paying the price.

It is a disaster, but here is the thing: Republicans in Congress have a chance to stop him right now. If they do nothing, they, along with Trump, are responsible for the fallout. Congress could end this dangerous trade war right now by passing my bipartisan resolution with Senator RON WYDEN to turn off the fake emergency authority that Donald Trump is using to impose his worldwide and chaotic tariffs.

So I have a simple question for the Senate: Why aren't we passing this resolution this instant?

Let's take a step back and talk about what has happened since Trump imposed his illegal, across-the-board tariffs 1 week ago today. Americans' retirement accounts took a hit. Businesses started hiking prices, and many are preparing for layoffs. Consumer confidence hit its lowest point in years as millions of Americans wonder will they have a job in 3 months' time. Economists have said that if we continue down this path of uncertainty, recession is inevitable.

We have actually seen this before—in 2008 during the mortgage meltdown and in 2020, as we were hit by a once-in-a-century virus. But this time, there is no mortgage meltdown; there is no virus. No, the crisis is entirely the fault of one person: Donald Trump.

This might be the first time in history that the actions of a single man have destroyed so much economic value around the planet. If we do not reverse course, this catastrophic mistake will seriously hurt people, seriously hurt small businesses, and seriously hurt the United States' position in the world.

We all know what is happening. It isn't possible to turn on a television or check your news feed without seeing it. Every single elected Republican in Congress knows what these tariffs would mean for people—from farmers who are pleading for help as they brace for the trade war, to seniors who are on the verge of retiring and now having to scramble to figure out how they can work longer, to workers who don't know how many more paychecks they will get before being laid off.

I know there are people who say tariffs are always a bad idea. I don't agree. I have long argued that smart tariff

policy can be an important tool to help grow domestic industries, an important tool to help support good jobs, and an important tool to promote the development of critical supply chains here at home.

For three decades, politicians from both parties have worked together to cut bad trade deals—trade deals that sold out American workers and promoted offshoring. Entire communities across this country were hallowed out, and American families across this country were left in the wreckage.

We owe it to these communities, we owe it to these families to forge a new path forward on trade, one that invests in American workers and American industry. We owe it to these communities to integrate tariffs with other economic tools to encourage domestic production and good jobs right here in the United States of America. But everyone knows that the kinds of tariffs that Donald Trump is putting in place will not do that. They aren't strategic; they are just plain dumb.

It is widely reported that the math behind this brilliant tariff scheme looks exactly like it came from someone typing a bunch of basic questions into ChatGPT and using the resulting bogus numbers to slap tariffs on essentially every country in the world, including a group of islands whose only inhabitants are penguins. Plagiarizing an AI chatbot's idea of a rational tariff policy and using it then to blow up the world economy would make a very funny movie—if real people's livelihoods weren't at stake.

Trump's on-again, off-again, on-again, off-again, on-again, off-again tariffs are not encouraging businesses to develop plants in the United States. Instead, they have the opposite effect—they scare off investors.

Donald Trump's on-again, off-again tariffs won't bring back manufacturing jobs. Instead, companies are cutting manufacturing jobs, and factory productivity is declining across the country. These tariffs are job killers no matter the sector.

As much as Trump loves taking credit for investments that were announced before he took office, the reality is, layoffs are now at the highest they have been since the start of the pandemic and first-quarter hiring plans are at a decade-plus low.

Let me say that again. The tariffs are scaring off investors. They are not bringing back manufacturing jobs, and layoffs are on the rise.

That is a lot of bad news all at once, and believe it or not, there is more bad news. Donald Trump's tariffs will also be used as an excuse by companies to jack up prices and rip off American families.

The Chairman of the Federal Reserve said that Trump's tariffs will mean higher prices. Then he gave an example from the first term of the Trump administration when tariffs on washing machines led to companies hiking prices on washing machines. OK. We

understand that, but the damage didn't stop there. Those companies also hiked prices on dryers even though there were no tariffs on dryers. Why? Because they knew American consumers would just assume those prices also went up because of tariffs.

Now imagine what companies can get away with when the President is loudly yelling about putting 10 percent tariffs on everyone, everywhere, everything, all at once, and threatening to do more and at rates that make no sense, and he could change again at any moment. It is not just a killer for honest businesses; it is also going to be a field day for companies that want to juice their profits with just a little price gouging.

CEOs are already talking about it. Here are some quotes:

We have planned to raise prices to offset.

Another:

We will pass through that price.

Can they be any clearer? They are already telling us that they don't just pass along cost increases that they face; they are saying they will use tariffs to push prices higher and higher.

Right now, every economic indicator is flashing red. Every community around the country is ringing the alarm bell. People understand that if we do not put an end to this chaos once and for all, we are headed for an economic disaster.

As it turns out, even Senators are raising the alarm.

Senator JOHN KENNEDY said:

Tariffs are like whiskey: A little whiskey, under the right circumstances, can be refreshing—but too much whiskey, under the wrong circumstances, can make you drunk as a goat.

Go, JOHN.

Senator THOM TILLIS said:

Anyone who says there may be a little bit of pain before we get things right needs to talk to my farmers who are one crop away from bankruptcy.

Senator TED CRUZ said he was not “a fan of jacking up taxes on American consumers.”

Yes, no surprises here. These Republicans all know what is happening. They just refuse to do anything about it. They sit on their hands while millions of Americans across the country are sitting at home wondering when Republicans in Congress are going to step up and do something.

A few Senators have commented, but so far, we have seen no action—none—from Republican leadership. Republican Senate leadership knows how bad the tariff situation is, but it is just the same old cowering before Donald Trump.

Senate Majority Leader JOHN THUNE and Speaker MIKE JOHNSON could hold a vote immediately to shut off these tariffs and end the chaos. They could stand up to Trump and stand up for their constituents. They could demonstrate to the world that Congress has a role to play and can put some curbs on President Trump's tariffs by whim. But apparently Majority Leader THUNE

is in no hurry. He said earlier this week that he would just wait to see what is happening.

Senator MIKE JOHNSON has said:

We are going to give [Trump] the space necessary to do it and we'll see how it all develops . . . it's only been a week.

Yes, it has only been a week. And in that week, capital markets around the world have lost trillions of dollars in value, working people and seniors have seen their savings decimated, people have already started getting pink slips, prices are already going up. And THUNE and JOHNSON's own constituents are urging their Representatives and their Senators to fight back, but so far, they do nothing.

Farmers like Rodney Koch, who grows soybeans in Garretson, SD, are worried that tariffs “will hurt our pocketbooks.” Can Leader THUNE explain to farmers in his home State why he is sitting on his hands while Republicans put their livelihoods at risk?

Business owners in Louisiana say they are bracing “for price hikes from Trump tariffs.” Can Speaker JOHNSON explain to his constituents back home why he is sitting on his hands as their costs go through the roof?

Republican leadership knows how bad this is, but they do nothing. Normally, that would be it. There is nothing that the minority party, the Democrats, could do about it. But with Senator WYDEN's and my bipartisan resolution, Republicans cannot stop us. We can force a vote on the tariff question. Republicans cannot stop us from forcing a vote, but they can delay us, and that is what they are doing. Instead of passing a bill to save our economy, instead of reassuring both Americans and people around the world that there are some limits on what Donald Trump can do in terms of jerking tariffs up and down and sideways and on and off—instead of doing that, the Senate is about to vote to put a career Wall Street suit in charge of the SEC. But it is not just any Wall Streeter. This is a corporate guy, Paul Atkins, who actually has a track record on financial crashes.

The Republican nominee for Chairman of the SEC was a member of the SEC during the years leading up to the 2008 financial crisis. His track record in the runup to the crash was impeccable: Mr. Atkins sat on his hands—no acknowledgement that the crash was coming, no steps to avoid the crash, no push to help out families or small businesses once the crash hit. Instead, Mr. Atkins took votes while he was on the SEC that directly contributed to the crash.

Even today, despite all of the evidence about how loose regulations triggered a crisis that cost 10 million families their homes and put millions more out of work, Mr. Atkins has 20/0 hindsight about his mistakes. Apparently, he thinks that the only thing we did wrong in the runup to the 2008 crash was not to remove more rules from the giant banks so they could have loaded up even faster on more risk, taken

out of work, Mr. Atkins has 20/0 hindsight about his mistakes. Apparently, he thinks that the only thing we did wrong in the runup to the 2008 crash was not to remove more rules from the giant banks so they could have loaded up even faster on more risk, taken more profits, and then needed a bigger bailout.

Once he left government, Mr. Atkins moved to a long career helping billionaire scammers like Sam Bankman-Fried get even richer.

Getting Mr. Atkins confirmed instead of stopping the economic chaos—this is the priority for Republicans in Congress right now. Put another fox in charge of the henhouse while the whole farm could burn to the ground.

So that is the Republican plan: Ignore the economic chaos happening around us, confirm a guy who helped cause the last crash, and then go on vacation for 2 weeks. If the Republicans do that, it will be a month before Congress can vote to reverse the President's disastrous tariffs and demonstrate to the world that there are some limits on his ability to cause economic chaos.

The Republican approach is reckless, it is dangerous, and most of all, it is cowardly. Trillions of dollars in wealth evaporated last week. Who knows how much irreversible damage will be done to our economy in a month or in 90 days when Trump decides to put these tariffs back on, back off, back on, and back off. Does anyone want to find out? I certainly don't.

This kind of uncertainty is enormously damaging to our economy. In the meantime, all that happens is that CEOs continue to bow and scrape to Donald Trump at black-tie galas, hoping to secure loopholes for their own companies.

Congress has the tools to put a stop to this. We need to act now to stop the chaos. Senator WYDEN's and my bipartisan resolution would turn off the emergency, bogus declaration that Donald Trump is using. It would demonstrate that Congress is willing to stand up and say that Donald Trump will not have the magic wand to continue to turn tariffs on and off at whim. I urge my Republican colleagues to join us and to vote down the President's abuse of emergency authorities.

Republicans in Congress have a choice to make. They can continue to bow down to Donald Trump while he sabotages our economy, or they can stand up for the American people who elected them.

Every Democrat is ready to go. We are ready to vote to end this destructive tariff war, but we need Republicans to stand up and show some courage.

If Republicans don't step up and our economy falls off a cliff, we will know who is responsible. If Trump's tariff games of "on-again, off-again" crash our economy, we know which Republicans will be responsible. If Trump's tariff games lead to layoffs around the

country, we know which Republicans will be responsible. If Trump's tariff games force small businesses to close their doors, we know which Republicans will be responsible. If Trump's tariff games hurt our farmers, we know which Republicans will be responsible. If Trump's tariff games force retirees to have to get out and find work, we know which Republicans will be responsible.

We know who is responsible, and it is every single one of these cowards who will not take the blowtorch out of Donald Trump's hands. These Republican Senators understand that what is happening is not normal. They understand that we are in an extremely dangerous moment. They understand that if Congress does not act, Americans of every class, every race, every age, every religion, every region of the country, and every political party will suffer. This is the time for Republicans to act.

Donald Trump's friends at Mar-a-Lago may flatter him over candlelit dinners and tell him he is all powerful, but Donald Trump is not a King, and Congress is not powerless. We can act to stop him, and that is exactly what we should do.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JUSTICE). The Senator from Massachusetts. Ms. WARREN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Washington.

TARIFFS

Ms. CANTWELL. Mr. President, I come here today to urge my colleagues to vote no on the nomination of Mark Meador to be the FTC Commissioner. But before I do that, I did want to take a moment and talk about today's actions that happened when the President created a 90-day pause on the tariffs, taking the temperature down a bit.

I definitely want to thank my House colleagues Representative BACON and GOTTHEIMER for introducing legislation similar to the Trade Review Act of 2025 that we have introduced here in the Senate.

And while we have seen America on a roller coaster the last couple of days, I think it also is a reminder that we need to continue to play this oversight role. If you want to have the ability not to have the roller coaster ride we have been on, the best way to do that is to make sure that Congress continues to play a role in this very important policy. So I appreciate all my colleagues, and I appreciate my House colleagues for their leadership.

NOMINATION OF MARK MEADOR

Mr. President, I wanted to take a minute to talk about why consumers

depend on the FTC: obviously, to protect them from scams and fraud, to make sure that markets are fair and competitive; and every day the FTC stands up for the American consumer by dealing with anti-competitive problems like the grocery mergers that we saw which were a big issue in the State of Washington. Those grocery mergers would have increased grocery prices.

They are also in charge of fighting for kids online, fighting scammers to prevent people from profiting off of our veterans, our elderly. They are also in charge of taking on the PBMs, the pharmacy benefit manager middlemen, who have driven up drug prices, including the cost of insulin. And they have challenged those who are using monopolistic powers to create other monopolistic, well, price rises, and, obviously, limiting consumers on their choice.

So Congress created the FTC 100 years ago to be that body of bipartisan experts, people who can create and operate independent of the whims of a President. A Commission that can answer to us by making sure that they are independent, and this is why this nomination has become so important.

The independent bipartisan structure of the Agency ensures that all viewpoints in making a decision—not just those of the President of the United States—are heard. And it means that as these Commissioners work overtime, they gain expertise in the issues of the day before the FTC.

And 90 years ago, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law that affirmed that the FTC Commissioners should be protected and removed only for cause.

Since that ruling, the FTC has flourished as a consumer protection watchdog, independent of the influence of the President, until now.

On March 18, 2025, President Trump illegally fired the Democratic Commissioners Rebecca Slaughter and Alvaro Bedoya from the FTC Commission, leaving the Commission with only Republican Commissioners and destroying the Agency's longstanding independence.

It is clear that this administration doesn't want the watchdog that I would like to see protecting consumers. If he wants a merger to be approved or if he wants an investigation to be dropped, then you can threaten to fire Commissioners if they vote against your will.

And if you want to investigate a company owned by a political opponent or a corporate competitor, you just have to direct the FTC to do that investigation.

So this is why we need an FTC to be above this kind of action. We need an FTC that is a group of nominees, approved by this Congress, voted on by our colleagues, and that no matter who is in the White House or who controls Congress, we have FTC members.

Mr. Meador, at his hearing, declined to defend the FTC's need to remain independent. He also declined to address the Department of Justice's reversal on its position of a decades-old

Supreme Court decision, and, most egregiously, he would not agree to follow the law if given an order by the President not to do so.

So at a time when consumer demands are high, at a time when prices are high, at a time when we need to continue to fight uncertainty and deliver predictability, I want to make sure that we have an FTC that is working to protect consumers. We need someone who will be focused on helping to protect Americans from unfair practices and stop fraudsters, not someone who thinks that these are things that can be passed on.

I hope my colleagues will join me in voting no on Mr. Meador's confirmation, and I hope that my colleagues will understand how important it is to have an independent FTC Commission.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Texas.

H.J. RES. 20

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I rise today to call up my resolution to undo a regulation about appliances, which was imposed by the Biden-Harris administration weeks after American voters had overwhelmingly rejected that administration and its policies and which, if left in place, would increase costs and limit the options of everyday Texans and everyday Americans across our Nation.

After the election, President Trump and the new Republican Congress systematically moved in exactly the opposite direction to decrease costs and to expand the options of Americans.

Indeed, on January 20, in his Executive order on American energy, President Trump made it the policy of the United States "to safeguard the American people's freedom to choose from a variety of goods and appliances, including, but not limited to, lightbulbs, dishwashers, washing machines, gas stoves, water heaters, toilets, and shower heads, and to promote market competition and innovation within the manufacturing and appliance industries."

What refreshing common sense that was missing from the previous administration.

My resolution deals with a rule imposed by the Biden-Harris Department of Energy in December, after the election, and which deals with what they describe as the energy efficiency of non-condensing tankless gas water heaters, which millions of Americans rely upon in their homes.

The Biden-Harris administration knew that they were increasing costs on Americans. Indeed, that is what they were deliberately doing. They ac-

knowledge that because of their rule, the cost of each affected unit would increase by at least \$200—and industry experts say the true increase is double even that estimate. The administration's own numbers show that as many as 40 percent of affected customers would experience a net cost increase over the appliance's lifetime.

They didn't care, and it is worth discussing some of the reasons they didn't care about the hardship they were inflicting on hard-working American families and why it is so important today for the Senate to pass my resolution to undo their actions.

First and foremost, hypocrisy. The Biden administration believes in rules for others but not for themselves and conveniences for themselves but not for others. This was an administration that believed in shutting down businesses and banning events all across the United States because of COVID but exempting themselves and what they cared about. If you were at an antifa riot, the COVID virus could not affect you, but God help you if you wanted to go to church, clearly, everyone in the congregation was going to die of COVID that day.

The American people saw that hypocrisy play out again and again, including with appliance regulations such as gas stoves, and, indeed, the hypocrisy played out again with the water heater regulation that my resolution will overturn. Left in place, this regulation would force American consumers to either pay more for these heaters or, if they can't afford to pay more, to shift to less efficient models.

Democrats used to pitch themselves as the party of the working class, as a blue-collar party. No more. Today's Democratic Party is the party of rich coastal elites, and the blue-collar working men and women, Mr. President, that elected you, that elected me—blue-collar workers are now the base of the Republican Party.

Second, corruption. The administration used regulations, mandates, and grants to enrich their allies, including especially radical climate activists. Just to give you an example in one of these infamous "gold bar schemes," Biden's EPA funneled \$2 billion—that is billion with a "b"—into Georgia Democratic gubernatorial candidate Stacey Abrams' "Power Forward Communities." They said the money was going toward purchasing new home appliances for low-income families to help "the decarbonization of homes." But that funding was only available to families who worked with Power Forward Communities after the grant was issued.

Biden's very generous, taxpayer-funded gift went to Stacey Abrams' coalition in a brazen attempt to buy Georgians' votes.

And, third, power. For advocates of these regulations, limiting consumer choice is the point. It is a feature, not a bug. Their goal is to control the choices and freedoms of Americans.

I believe it should be you, the consumer, that makes those choices, not unelected bureaucrats in Washington.

Last year, I spoke on this floor about a different Department of Energy appliance regulation. That regulation was about gas furnaces. It would have required over half of American households to purchase new furnaces, which they also didn't care about. Their goal was to target the natural gas industry.

Today's vote is about protecting such fundamental issues as fairness, consumer choice, and affordability. I strongly urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote yes, especially if you care about blue-collar workers, if you care about families struggling to make ends meet. Vote yes and vote to end this government mandate driving up the costs on Americans across this country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the previously scheduled rollcall vote occur immediately.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

VOICE ON ATKINS NOMINATION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Atkins nomination?

Mr. PAUL. 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 senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN).

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. FETTERMAN), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Virginia (Mr. WARNER) are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 44, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 205 Ex.]

YEAS—52

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

NAYS—44

Alsobrooks	Bennet	Blunt Rochester
Baldwin	Blumenthal	Booker

Cantwell	Kim	Schatz
Coons	King	Schiff
Cortez Masto	Klobuchar	Schumer
Duckworth	Lujan	Shaheen
Durbin	Markey	Slotkin
Gallego	Merkley	Smith
Gillibrand	Murphy	Van Hollen
Hassan	Murray	Warnock
Heinrich	Ossoff	Warren
Hickenlooper	Padilla	Welch
Hirono	Peters	Whitehouse
Kaine	Reed	Wyden
Kelly	Rosen	

NOT VOTING—4

Fetterman	Sanders
Mullin	Warner

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. 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.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to legislative session.

The Senator from Texas.

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL UNDER CHAPTER 8 OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, OF THE RULE SUBMITTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY RELATING TO "ENERGY CONSERVATION PROGRAM: ENERGY CONSERVATION STANDARDS FOR CONSUMER GAS-FIRED INSTANTANEOUS WATER HEATERS"—Motion to Proceed

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I move to proceed to Calendar No. 17, H.J. Res. 20. The clerk will report the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

Motion to proceed to Calendar No. 17, H.J. Res. 20, a joint resolution providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Department of Energy relating to "Energy Conservation Program: Energy Conservation Standards for Consumer Gas-fired Instantaneous Water Heaters".

VOTE ON MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. Ms. SMITH. 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 bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. BARRASSO. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Missouri (Mr. HAWLEY), the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN), and the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. PAUL).

Mr. SCHUMER. I announce that the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. SANDERS), and the Senator from Vermont (Mr. WELCH), are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 42, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 206 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Banks	Graham	Murkowski
Barrasso	Grassley	Ossoff
Blackburn	Hagerty	Ricketts
Boozman	Hoeven	Risch
Britt	Husted	Rounds
Budd	Hyde-Smith	Schmitt
Capito	Johnson	Scott (FL)
Cassidy	Justice	Scott (SC)
Collins	Kennedy	Sheehy
Cornyn	Lankford	Sullivan
Cotton	Lee	Thune
Cramer	Lummis	Tillis
Crapo	Marshall	Tuberville
Cruz	McConnell	Warnock
Curtis	McCormick	Wicker
Daines	Moody	Young
Ernst	Moran	
Fischer	Moreno	

NAYS—42

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

NOT VOTING—6

Durbin	Mullin	Sanders
Hawley	Paul	Welch

The motion was agreed to.

PROVIDING FOR CONGRESSIONAL DISAPPROVAL UNDER CHAPTER 8 OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, OF THE RULE SUBMITTED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY RELATING TO "ENERGY CONSERVATION PROGRAM: ENERGY CONSERVATION STANDARDS FOR CONSUMER GAS-FIRED INSTANTANEOUS WATER HEATERS"

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HUSTED). The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.J. Res. 20) providing for congressional disapproval under chapter 8 of title 5, United States Code, of the rule submitted by the Department of Energy relating to "Energy Conservation Program: Energy Conservation Standards for Consumer Gas-fired Instantaneous Water Heaters".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

NOMINATION JOINT REFERRAL

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that as if in executive session, the nomination of David Fogel, of Connecticut, to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Director General of the United States and Foreign Commercial Service received in the Senate on February 11, 2025, be jointly referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs and the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate be in a period of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

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

RECOGNIZING 70 YEARS OF MCDONALD'S

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I am the son of an immigrant from East St. Louis, IL. As a reminder to myself, I keep my mother's naturalization certificate on a table behind my desk in the U.S. Capitol. She came to the United States from Lithuania, fleeing oppression from the Soviet Union, when she was just 2 years old. Little did she know that her youngest son would go on to become a U.S. Senator.

This might be my personal story as the son of an immigrant, but it also is the story of America—the American dream. You can find stories like this everywhere, even in places you might least expect them. Take the story of McDonald's. Next week, McDonald's is celebrating 70 years of selling hamburgers, strengthening communities, and connecting people. Since 1971, Illinois has been home to the headquarters of McDonald's, but the multibillion-dollar hamburger chain's history with the Prairie State does not begin there.

In the 1920s, Richard "Dick" and Maurice "Mac" McDonald, two sons of Irish immigrants, headed to California to try their luck in Hollywood. By the 1940s, they had pivoted to the drive-in restaurant industry, opening their first McDonald's restaurant in San Bernardino, CA. With their simple menu and signature Speedee Service System to efficiently serve a large number of customers, McDonald's soon became the talk of California. It was a success, and people noticed.

One of those people was Ray Kroc, a traveling salesman from Oak Park, IL. Kroc also was the son of immigrants, his parents were born in Bohemia, which is now part of the Czech Republic. Ray became enamored by Dick and Mac's business model and had a vision of expanding the chain across the Nation—with a goal of opening 1,000 restaurants in the U.S. Before long, Ray returned to Chicago with the rights in hand to establish McDonald's restaurants throughout the country. On April 15, 1955, Kroc opened his first McDonald's restaurant in Des Plaines, IL—the City of Destiny. Its first day of sales was \$366.12, equivalent to about \$4,374 today. A global franchise was born.

While this liberal arts lawyer is far from a high-rolling stock broker, I am not shy to say that I knew McDonald's was going to be a success. Not because of any sophisticated financial analysis or detailed market research—I just knew the McDonald's in East St. Louis was one of the few restaurants that always had a line.

Today, McDonald's operates 36,000 restaurants in more than 100 nations, and it bolsters economies across the country and world. And there are few more recognizable logos than the McDonald's Golden Arches. Crisscrossing the State of Illinois requires driving hundreds of miles on interstate highways. And after long stretches on the road, I have made my fair share of stops at the Golden Arches. So many stops, in fact, that my wife Loretta and my chief of staff conspired to institute a rule: No more pit stops at McDonald's.

You also are sure find McDonald's on your international travels. In fact, I remember being in Moscow when the first McDonald's opened in Pushkin Square. It was January 31, 1990, and I remember seeing the dreary grey colors of the former Soviet Union punctuated by the Golden Arches. It was a vision of hope for many, representing the possibilities available under a free society.

But the reach of McDonald's goes beyond hamburgers and french fries. If you are a parent whose child is dealing with the devastation of illness, you have heard of Ronald McDonald House. Providing housing, resources, and support for families with children who are ill or injured, the nearly hundreds of Ronald McDonald House programs across the world keep families traveling for their child's medical needs cared for and together. And McDonald's helps make this effort a reality.

The story of McDonald's is one of three sons of immigrants using their drive, ingenuity, and ambition to go from a local drive-in restaurant to one of the most profitable businesses the world has ever known. While the days of 15-cent hamburgers and 20-cent cheeseburgers may be gone, the economic contributions and storied history of McDonald's continues to strengthen Illinois and our Nation. I am grateful Chicago is home to such a treasured American franchise that reminds us of the promise of America.

Congratulations to McDonald's on 70 years of leaving a lasting impact.

ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is still available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications that have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such an annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE SECURITY
COOPERATION AGENCY,
Washington, DC.

Hon. JAMES E. RISCH,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 25-10, concerning the Air Force's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of Australia for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$1.04 billion. We will issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale upon delivery of this letter to your office.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL F. MILLER,
Director.

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 25-10

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(i) Prospective Purchaser: Government of Australia.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:
Major Defense Equipment* \$1.00 billion.
Other \$.04 billion.
Total \$1.04 billion.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase:

Major Defense Equipment (MDE):
Up to two hundred (200) AIM-120C-8 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM).

Up to two hundred (200) AIM-120D-3 AMRAAMs.

Non-Major Defense Equipment: The following non-MDE items will be included: AMRAAM containers and support equipment; spare parts, consumables, and accessories; repair and return support; weapons system support and software; classified software delivery and support; classified publications and technical documentation; transportation support; studies and surveys; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical, and logistics support services; and other related elements of logistics and program support.

(iv) Military Department: Air Force (AT-D-YAL).

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: None.

(vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None known at this time.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: See Attached Annex.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: April 9, 2025.

*As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

POLICY JUSTIFICATION

Australia—AIM-120C and AIM-120D Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles

The Government of Australia has requested to buy up to two hundred (200) AIM-120C-8 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM); and up to two hundred (200) AIM-120D-3 AMRAAMs. The following non-MDE items will be included: AMRAAM containers and support equipment; spare parts, consumables and accessories; repair and return support; weapons system support and software; classified software delivery and support; classified publications and technical documentation; transportation support; studies and surveys; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical, and

logistics support services; and other related elements of logistics and program support. The estimated total cost is \$1.04 billion.

This proposed sale will support the foreign policy and national security objectives of the United States. Australia is one of our most important allies in the Western Pacific. The strategic location of this political and economic power contributes significantly to ensuring peace and economic stability in the Western Pacific. It is vital to the U.S. national interest to assist our ally in developing and maintaining a strong and ready self-defense capability.

The proposed sale will improve Australia's capability to meet current and future threats by protecting and increasing aircraft survivability. Australia will have no difficulty absorbing this equipment and services into its armed forces.

The proposed sale of this equipment and support will not alter the basic military balance in the region.

The principal contractor will be RTX Corporation, located in Tucson, AZ. At this time, the U.S. Government is not aware of any offset agreement proposed in connection with this potential sale. Any offset agreement will be defined in negotiations between the purchaser and the contractor.

Implementation of this proposed sale will not require the assignment of any additional U.S. Government or contractor representatives to Australia.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this proposed sale.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 25-10

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act

Annex Item No. vii

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology:

1. The AIM-120D-3 series Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile (AMRAAM) is a supersonic, air-launched, aerial intercept, guided missile featuring digital technology and microminiature, and solid-state electronics. AMRAAM capabilities include look-down/shoot-down, multiple launches against multiple targets, resistance to electronic countermeasures, and interception of high and low-flying and maneuvering targets. The AIM-120D-3 features a quadrangle target detection device and an electronics unit within the guidance section that performs all radar signal processing, mid-course and terminal guidance, flight control, target detection, and warhead detonation. Precise positioning will be provided by either Selective Availability Anti-Spoofing Module or M-Code.

2. The AIM-120C-8 Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missile (AMRAAM) is a supersonic, air or surface-launched, aerial intercept, guided missile featuring digital technology and microminiature, solid-state electronics. AMRAAM capabilities include look-down/shoot-down, multiple launches against multiple targets, resistance to electronic countermeasures, and interception of high and low-flying and maneuvering targets.

3. The AMRAAMs will be integrated on the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) combat aircraft platforms, such as the F/A-18, EA-18G, and F-35, along with the ground-based National Advanced Surface-to-Air Missile System (NASAMS).

4. The highest level of classification of defense articles, components, and services included in this potential sale is SECRET.

5. If a technologically advanced adversary were to obtain knowledge of the specific hardware and software elements, the information could be used to develop countermeasures that might reduce system effectiveness or be used in the development of a

system with similar or advanced capabilities.

6. A determination has been made that Australia can provide substantially the same degree of protection for the sensitive technology being released as the U.S. Government. This sale is necessary in furtherance of the U.S. foreign policy and national security objectives outlined in the Policy Justification.

7. All defense articles and services listed in this transmittal have been authorized for release and export to the Government of Australia.

ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. RISCH. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is still available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications that have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such an annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE SECURITY
COOPERATION AGENCY,
Washington, DC.

Hon. JAMES E. RISCH,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(5)(A) of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), as amended, we are forwarding Transmittal No. 0A-25. This notification relates to enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability described in the Section 36(b)(1) AECA certification 20-83 of November 3, 2020.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL F. MILLER,
Director.

Enclosure.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 0A-25

Report of Enhancement or Upgrade of Sensitivity of Technology or Capability (Sec. 36(b)(5)(A), AECA)

(i) Purchaser: Government of Romania
(ii) Sec. 36(B)(5)(A), AECA Transmittal No: 20-83; Date: November 3, 2020; Implementing Agency: Air Force.

(iii) Description: On November 3, 2020, Congress was notified by congressional certification transmittal number 20-83 of the possible sale, under Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, of upgrades to the avionics, software, communication equipment, navigational aids, and cockpit of its Mid-Life Update (MLU) Block 15 F-16 aircraft fleet along with additional logistics support. Included in the aircraft modernization were eight (8) LN-260 Global Positioning System (GPS) and nineteen (19) Multifunctional Information Distribution System Joint Tactical Radio Systems (MIDS JTRS). Also in-

cluded were AN/APX-126 Advanced Identification Friend or Foe (IFF); ARC-210 Radios; KIV-78 Cryptographic Appliances; other secure communications, navigation, and encryption devices; Joint Mission Planning System (JMPS) software; aircraft minor modification, integration and test support, support equipment, software and software support; personnel training; spare and repair parts; publications and technical documentation; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical and logistical support services; and other related elements of logistical and program support. The estimated total cost was \$175.4 million. Major Defense Equipment (MDE) constituted \$12.1 million of this total.

This transmittal reports the inclusion of the following additional MDE items: thirty-five (35) Multifunctional Information Distribution System Joint Tactical Radio Systems Variant 5 (MIDS JTRS V5). Also included is additional non-MDE aircraft minor modification; integration and test support; support equipment; software and software support; personnel training; spare and repair parts; publications and technical documentation; U.S. Government and contractor engineering, technical, and logistics support services; and other related elements of logistics and program support. The estimated total value of the new items is \$13.4 million. The estimated MDE value increases by \$9.8 million to a revised \$21.9 million. The estimated non-MDE value increases by \$3.6 million to a revised \$166.9 million. The estimated total case value increases by \$13.4 million, resulting in a total case value of \$188.8 million.

(iv) Significance: This notification is being provided because the additional MDE items were not enumerated in the original notification. The inclusion of this MDE represents an increase in capability over what was previously notified. The proposed sale will improve Romania's capability to meet current and future threats by upgrading its avionics to meet interoperability requirements for encrypted communications systems used by NATO forces.

(v) Justification: This proposed sale will support the foreign policy goals and national security objectives of the United States by improving the security of a NATO Ally that is a force for political stability and economic progress in Europe.

(vi) Sensitivity of Technology: The Sensitivity of Technology Statement contained in the original notification applies to items reported here.

The highest level of classification of defense articles, components, and services included in this potential sale is SECRET.

(vii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: April 9, 2025.

NOMINATION OF SEAN PLANKEY

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I must object to the Senate proceeding to the nomination of Sean Plankey of Pennsylvania, to be Director of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA), Department of Homeland Security.

Since July 2022, I have repeatedly urged CISA to release an important, unclassified report by independent cybersecurity experts that the Agency commissioned, titled "U.S. Telecommunications Insecurity 2022." Congress and the American people have a right to read this report, and until CISA releases it, I must object to this nomination.

CISA permitted my staff to read the report in person at the Agency's office in the fall of 2023. However, CISA has marked this unclassified report "For Official Use Only" and has refused to provide copies of the report to Congress and in response to FOIA requests from the public. I directly asked then-CISA Director Jen Easterly to release the report in a February 27, 2024, phone call; however, she continued to stonewall my requests until she left office in January 2025.

CISA has to date refused to release the report by making a claim that the report is predecisional and deliberative and protected by a so-called "deliberative process privilege." Setting aside that a FOIA exemption does not apply to disclosures to Congress, based on my staff's review of this report, this report is a technical document containing factual information about U.S. telecom security. The report does not recommend or discuss specific policy options that CISA could take to address this threat. As such, this report contains important factual information that the public has a right to see and CISA should stop withholding the entire report under a purported "deliberative process privilege" claim.

On February 29, 2024, I wrote to then-President Biden, urging the administration to take action to address the serious national security threat posed by foreign governments exploiting U.S. phone carriers' weak cybersecurity. In that letter to then-President Biden, I stated that "CISA is actively hiding information about [the threat] from the American people . . . CISA refuses to publicly release this unclassified report, which includes details that are relevant to policymakers and Americans who care about the security of their phones." The Biden administration took no action in response to my letter.

CISA's inaction on telecommunications security prompted the Agency's top telecommunications security expert to file a whistleblower report with the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the summer of 2024. Citing his access to nonpublic reports and other "very concerning information," the CISA official told the FCC that "there have been numerous incidents of successful, unauthorized attempts to access the network user location data of communications service providers operating in the USA." He added that foreign surveillance went beyond location tracking and included "the monitoring of voice and text messages" and "the delivery of spyware to targeted devices."

CISA's multiyear cover up of the phone companies' negligent cybersecurity has real consequences. In a November 2024 joint statement, CISA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation confirmed that the Chinese Government hacked "multiple telecommunications companies to enable the theft of customer call records data, the compromise of private communications of

a limited number of individuals who are primarily involved in government or political activity, and the copying of certain information that was subject to U.S. law enforcement requests pursuant to court orders.” Vice President Vance subsequently revealed that his communications and those of President Trump were compromised in this hack. This espionage incident, and the harm to U.S. national security caused by it, were the direct result of U.S. phone carriers’ failure to follow cybersecurity best practices, such as installing security updates and using multifactor authentication, and Federal Agencies failing to hold these companies accountable.

The Federal Government still does not require U.S. phone companies to meet minimum cybersecurity standards. While it is too late to prevent the Salt Typhoon hack, there is still time to prevent the next incident. As such, I intend to object to considering this nominee until CISA agrees to release this report, which will enable Congress and the public to better understand the current threats and the need for stronger cyber defenses.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

RECOGNIZING THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE HAWAII

• Ms. HIRONO. Mr. President, in June, we will welcome Hawaii businesses and entrepreneurs to Washington, DC, for the ninth annual “Hawaii on the Hill,” an event for local businesses to showcase their products and hear from government leaders about the issues affecting their lives. Now in our ninth year, I am grateful for the continued partnership with the Chamber of Commerce Hawaii, specifically President Sherry Menor-McNamara and her team, to ensure another successful event this year. Since 2014, our work together has brought dozens of local businesses to Washington, DC, and attracted thousands of participants. We expect to have another successful event this year.

Every year, the event is special. But this year’s event is particularly special because it also marks the 175th anniversary of the Chamber of Commerce Hawaii, which was originally formed in 1850. With the 175th anniversary in mind, I would like to reflect on the history of the Chamber of Commerce Hawaii and the important impact it has had on our State.

In 1849, following an increase in trade between the Kingdom of Hawaii and the United States, Honolulu businesses experienced a period of significant growth. The following year, after King Kamehameha III declared Honolulu to be the capital of the kingdom, the Hawaii Chamber of Commerce was formed.

In its early years, the Chamber of Commerce Hawaii worked to facilitate improvements to business and govern-

ment operations, including through reports on business imports and exports, the creation of an immigration society, and the installation of lights in Honolulu Harbor. At the turn of the century, the chamber expanded its work to address public health issues through a public health committee, an anti-mosquito league, a tuberculosis association, a cancer society, and a mental health association. Its efforts through these organizations played a significant role in reducing infectious and other diseases to the point that the State experienced a 43 percent improvement in disease control and a 20 percent increase in health education by 1935. Perhaps most notably, the chamber was responsible for creating the Blood Bank of Hawaii, which subsequently saved many lives after the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Following the war, as Hawaii grappled with the question of full representation within the United States, the chamber played a substantial role in advocating for statehood which, as we know, was approved on August 21, 1959. After Hawaii became the 50th State in 1959, the chamber worked to reinvent itself. Many services previously provided by the chamber were now under the jurisdiction of the State. The chamber therefore refocused its efforts on promoting the interests of businesses, especially in legislative and governmental affairs. Today, the chamber continues to play this role through forums like Hawaii on the Hill’s policy summit, which has become a key component of the event.

Without a doubt, the Chamber of Commerce Hawaii has played a significant role in the history of our State. It is responsible for many of the important developments that have led us to where we are and has had a positive impact on the State. So today, we recognize the chamber for its long history and thank it for its continued partnership on efforts like Hawaii on the Hill.

Mahalo to Sherry and her team for continuing to uphold the legacy of the chamber.●

TRIBUTE TO MOST REVEREND JOSEPH F. NAUMANN

• Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the Most Reverend Joseph F. Naumann for his extraordinary service and leadership. For over 20 years, Archbishop Naumann has guided the archdiocese of Kansas City in Kansas with unwavering faith, wisdom, and compassion. Shepherding Catholics across 21 counties, he has fortified faith in our communities, strengthened family life, and provided generous care for the poor and underprivileged in northeast Kansas.

Ordained as a priest on May 24, 1975, Archbishop Naumann has dedicated his life to the Catholic Church, serving as a parish pastor, vicar general, and auxiliary bishop of St. Louis. He succeeded Archbishop James Keleher on January 15, 2005, becoming the spiritual leader of Kansas City’s Catholic community.

Archbishop Naumann’s episcopal motto, *Vitae Victoria erit*—“Life will be victorious”—serves as a testament to his ministry. Championing the dignity of life as a primary mission of his ministry, Archbishop Naumann has worked hard to protect the most vulnerable Kansans. Under his leadership, the archdiocese sponsored and expanded numerous programs providing spiritual, emotional, and financial support for expecting mothers and young families across northeast Kansas. His commitment to life is further demonstrated through his service as chairman of the Committee on Pro-Life Activities for the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops.

As Archbishop Naumann embarks on his retirement after two decades of remarkable service to the archdiocese of Kansas City in Kansas, we commend him for his dedication and extend our prayers and gratitude towards him. His legacy serves as an example of what it means to be a faithful servant and follower of Christ and will have a lasting impact on Kansas for generations to come.

I now ask my colleagues to join me in honoring the Most Reverend Joseph F. Naumann and in expressing our gratitude for all he has done for northeast Kansas.●

RECOGNIZING MISSOURI’S DISASTER RESPONSE TEAMS

• Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the remarkable spirit of service and tireless work demonstrated by first responders, utility lineworkers, emergency response personnel, and remarkable volunteers across Missouri in their heroic work responding to the devastating storms that have hit Missouri over the past month.

Time and again, our first responders have put their lives on the line to guarantee that all Missourians receive the best possible service and have gone above and beyond to protect our fellow citizens in times of crisis. To our State’s peace officers, firefighters, and medical response personnel, thank you.

Similarly, Missouri’s utility workers have more than risen to the occasion over the last few weeks. Regardless of outdoor conditions, the Show Me State’s lineworkers have consistently demonstrated courage and a remarkable drive to serve our fellow Missourians. They have worked tirelessly to restore vital infrastructure and guarantee that all Missourians have access to the key services they need. To our State’s utility workers, thank you.

And to Missouri’s selfless volunteers, community organizations, and support crews who have traveled from other States to aid in Missouri’s disaster recovery, know that your work has not gone unnoticed. I am deeply grateful for your noble commitment to provide for impacted families and communities across the State. All of you exemplify the principle of citizen leadership that has made our republic great, and you are truly Heartland Heroes.●

TRIBUTE TO RICK ZIEGENFUSS

• Mr. SCHMITT. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Rick Ziegenfuss of Hollister, MO, for his many years of public service for our country and the State of Missouri.

Rick has always been committed to serving wherever he finds himself. That first led him to enlist in the U.S. Army and serve from 1970 to 1992, where he achieved the rank of lieutenant colonel. After his service, he transitioned to working as the president and owner of AmeriTrade Corp, an environmental company, until 1994 and then as the vice president of operations for Creative Printing & Design Co. until 2002.

In 2002, Rick started working for the city of Hollister, MO, as the director of economic development and later as city administrator. During his tenure as city administrator, Rick has been pivotal to the implementation and success of various projects to grow the city and the Tri-Lakes Region. Over the past 23 years that Rick has served as city administrator, Hollister has developed into a thriving city with various scenic outlooks and growing businesses. The partnerships made between businesses, residents, and elected officials have multiplied the vibrancy of the region. Rick has been an integral part of that revitalization, and I am deeply grateful for his tireless efforts on behalf of Hollister, MO. During his tenure, Rick surrounded himself with other dedicated public servants who brought new ideas and energy to every project they undertook. Rick's example of servant leadership has paved the way for a smooth transition into the next chapter for Hollister.

I wish Rick and his family all the best as he enjoys a well-earned retirement. After a rewarding career, he plans to enjoy the beautiful nature of Missouri with his family and embark on multiple fishing trips.●

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. RISCH for the Committee on Foreign Relations.

*Monica Crowley, of New York, to be Chief of Protocol, and to have the rank of Ambassador during her tenure of service.

Nominee: Monica Elizabeth Crowley.

Post: Chief of Protocol, Department of State.

(The following is a list of members of my immediate family. I have asked each of these persons to inform me of the pertinent contributions made by them. To the best of my knowledge, the information contained in this report is complete and accurate.)

Contributions, amount, date, and donee:

NONE

*Warren Stephens, of Arkansas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Nominee: Warren A. Stephens.

Post: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America

to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Nominated: February 11, 2025.

(The following is a list of members of my immediate family. I have asked each of these persons to inform me of the pertinent contributions made by them. To the best of my knowledge, the information contained in this report is complete and accurate.)

Contributions, Amount, Date, Donee:

Harriet C. Stephens.

See attached schedule.

ATTACHMENT TO FCCR

Year, Paid to, Amount, Date, Donor, and Other:

2025, American Opportunity Alliance, \$500,000, 1/24/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, RGPPC, \$500,000, 1/29/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, ASA PAC, \$5,000, 1/24/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$289,100, 1/29/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Senate Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 1/29/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Grow the Majority, \$41,300, 1/30/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Grow the Majority, \$123,900, 1/30/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Grow the Majority, \$123,900, 1/30/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Republican Majority Fund, \$5,000, 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$21,000, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Grow the Majority, \$3,000, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Grow the Majority, \$9,000, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Grow the Majority, \$9,000, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Crawford for Congress, \$3,500, 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Crawford for Congress, \$3,500, 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, ARKPAC, \$5,000, 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Westerman for Congress, \$3,500, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Westerman for Congress, \$3,500, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Womack for Congress, \$3,500, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Womack for Congress, \$3,500, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Land of Opportunity PAC, \$5,000, 2/3/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, French Hill for Arkansas, \$3,500, 2/10/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, French Hill for Arkansas, \$3,500, 2/10/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Rural America Counts PAC, \$5,000, 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, In the Arena PAC, \$5,000, 2/10/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Republican National Committee, \$398,700, 2/25/2025, Warren A. Stephens.

2025, Jeff Wardlaw Refund, \$(2,500), 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2025, Steve Garvey Refund, \$(3,300), 2/1/2025, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2025, Sarah for Governor, \$3,300.00, 1/6/2025, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2025, Sarah for Governor, \$3,300.00, 1/6/2025, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2024, Alaskans for Nick Begich, \$3,300, 10/11/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, America Fund, \$250,000, 5/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, American Excellence PAC, \$5,000, 11/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, American Patriots PAC, \$500,000, 4/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, ARKPAC, \$5,000, 3/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, ASA PAC, \$5,000, 2/2/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Banks for Senate, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Barker for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Beaty for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Bernie Moreno for Senate, \$3,300, 8/12/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Team Moreno (Best Bernie PAC), \$5,000, 8/12/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Blaine for Congress, \$(3,300), 7/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Brandon Achor for State Representative, \$2,500, 10/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Brit McKenzie for Arkansas, \$2,500, 9/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Brooks for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Carlton Wing Campaign, \$2,500, 10/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Catherine Templeton for Congress, \$(3,300), 7/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Catherine Templeton for Congress, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Catherine Templeton for Congress, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Cathy McMorris Rodgers for U.S. Congress, \$(3,300), 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Collins for House of Representatives, \$250, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$250,000, 10/28/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$500,000, 7/9/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$500,000, 5/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$500,000, 2/5/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Conservatives for American Excellence, \$1,000,000, 1/23/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Coughlin for Congress, \$3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Courtney on the Court, \$250, 2/16/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Crapo for U.S. Senate, \$3,300, 7/31/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Crowell for State Senate, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Dan Newhouse for Congress, \$3,300, 3/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Dan Newhouse for Congress, \$3,300, 3/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Dan Sullivan for Senate, \$2,500, 9/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, De Hodges for State Representative, \$2,500, 10/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Defending American Values Everywhere PAC, \$5,000, 5/30/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Dismang for State Senate, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Dotson for Senate, \$2,500, 9/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Eaves for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Esposito for Congress, \$3,300, 3/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Eubanks for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Evans for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Fix Washington PAC, \$500,000, 8/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Flippo for State Senate, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Fran Cavanaugh for State Representative, \$2,500, 11/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Freedom Fund, \$5,000, 8/14/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Friends of Dave Joyce, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Friends of Dusty Johnson, \$3,300, 3/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, GLCF, Inc., \$500,000, 8/5/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, GOP Winning Women 2024, \$(3,300), 6/21/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Gramlich for Arkansas, \$2,500, 9/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Greg Steube for Congress, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Greg Steube for Congress, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Grow the Majority-Craig Riedel, \$(3,300), 8/29/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Grow the Majority-Craig Riedel, \$(3,300), 8/29/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Grow the Majority-Laurie Buckhout, \$(3,300), 8/29/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Grow the Majority-Martin Blank, \$(3,300), 8/29/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Grow the Majority-Martin Blank, \$(3,300), 8/29/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Heartland Resurgence, Inc., \$100,000, 10/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, High Plains PAC, \$250,000, 8/26/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Hogan Victory Fund, \$3,300, 4/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Hogan Victory Fund, \$3,300, 4/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Hogan Victory Fund, \$5,000, 4/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Hovde for Wisconsin, \$3,300, 4/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Hovde for Wisconsin, \$3,300, 4/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, in the Arena PAC, \$5,000, 2/23/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Jean for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 4/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Jeff Hurd for Congress, \$3,300, 10/11/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Jim Justice for U.S. Senate, \$3,300, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Jim Justice for U.S. Senate, \$3,300, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Joey Carr for State Representative, \$2,500, 9/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, John Curtis for Utah, \$3,300, 3/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Johnson for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Karl Lake for Senate, \$3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Kustoff for Congress, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Kustoff for Congress, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Land of Opportunity PAC, \$5,000, 2/23/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Laurel Lee for Congress, \$3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Laurel Lee for Congress, \$3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Leadership in Action, \$20,000, 10/11/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Lundstrum for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Make America Great Again Inc., \$1,000,000, 12/2/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Make America Great Again Inc., \$1,000,000, 10/11/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Make America Great Again Inc., \$1,000,000, 8/26/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Make America Great Again Inc., \$1,000,000, 7/26/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Manchin for West Virginia, \$(2,900), Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Mary Draves for Congress, \$3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Maryland's Future, \$1,000,000, 5/6/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Matt Brown for Arkansas, \$2,500, 9/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Matt Duffield for State Representative, \$2,500, 9/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, McHenry for Congress, (3,300), Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, McHenry for Congress, (3,300), Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Michael Waltz for Congress, 3,300, 10/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Mindy McAlindon for Arkansas, 2,500, 9/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Moore Capita for WV, (2,800), 9/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Moore Capito for WV, 2,800, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Moore Capito for WV, 2,800, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Moore for Arkansas, 2,500, 9/26/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Moore for West Virginia (Team Riley), 3,300, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Moore for West Virginia (Team Riley), 3,300, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Moran for Kansas, 3,300, 8/14/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Mountaineer PAC (Team Riley), 5,000, 2/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, National Republican Senatorial Committee, 289,100, 2/2/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, NHA Action, 250,000, 10/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Nikki Haley, (3,300), 09/17/24, Harriet Stephens (Spouse), Refund.

2024, Nikki Haley—Joint Pac (SFA Fund Inc), 125,000, 01/26/24, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2024, Paul Junge for Congress, 3,300, 10/11/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Pete Session for Congress, 3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Pilkington for AR, 2,500, 9/13/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Pit Crew PAC, 5,000, 8/14/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Pole Position PAC, 50,000, 10/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Puryear for Arkansas, 2,500, 9/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Ray for House of Representatives, 2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Re-Elect Rep. Jeff Wardlaw, 2,500, 10/25/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Re-Elect Representative Mary Bentley, 2,500, 10/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Republican Leadership Fund, 500,000, 8/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Republican Majority Fund, 5,000, 3/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Results for the Rock Campaign Committee, 25,000, 10/31/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, RGPPC, 500,000, 8/12/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Rice for State Senate, 2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Rick McClure for State Representative, 2,500, 9/26/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, RJ Hawk for State Representative, 2,500, 10/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Rogers for U.S. Senate, 3,300, 3/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Rural America Counts PAC, 5,000, 3/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Anna Paulina Luna, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Anna Paulina Luna, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Bryan Steil, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Bryan Steil, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Kevin Kiley, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Kevin Lincoln, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Marcus Molinaro, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Marcus Molinaro, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Mike Simpson, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-NRCC Building Fund 2024, 123,900, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-NRCC General Account 20, 41,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-NRCC Legal Fund 2024, 123,900, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Scott Perry, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Scott Perry, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Scalise Leadership Fund-Tony Gonzales, 3,300, 3/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Schaefer for Congress, (3,300), 8/21/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Schaefer for Congress, 3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Schaefer for Congress, 3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Screaming Eagle PAC, 50,000, 9/4/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Senate Leadership Fund, 2,000,000, 10/16/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Senate Leadership Fund, 500,000, 7/8/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Senate Leadership Fund, 1,000,000, 5/9/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Senate Path to Victory 2024, 5,000, 5/30/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Senate Path to Victory 2024, 5,000, 5/30/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Sentinel Action Fund, 250,000, 8/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Sentinel Action Fund, 100,000, 4/5/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, SFA Fund, Inc, 250,000, 1/29/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, SFA Fund, Inc, 500,000, 1/25/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Smucker for Congress, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, South Alabama Conservatives PAC, \$50,000, 2/2/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Stephen Meeks Campaign, \$2,500, 10/7/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Steve Garvey for U.S. Senate, \$3,300, 7/22/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Team Gallagher, \$(3,300), 3/25/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Team Stand for America, \$(3,300), 9/16/2024, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2024, Team West Virginia, \$500,000, 5/1/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Ted Budd Majority Committee 2028, \$3,300, 4/16/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Ted Budd Majority Committee 2028, \$5,000, 4/16/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Ted Cruz for Senate, \$3,300, 3/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Texans for Jodey Arrington, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, The Pat Harrigan Committee, \$3,300, 3/27/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, The Volunteer PAC, \$5,000, 9/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Theriault for Congress, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Theriault for Congress, \$3,300, 6/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Thomas for Little Rock Board, \$250, 4/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Together for Nevada's Future PAC, \$250,000, 10/16/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Tony Furman for State Representative, \$2,500, 10/2/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Tosh for House of Representatives, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump 47 Committee, \$3,300, 4/3/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump 47 Committee, \$3,300, 4/3/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump 47 Committee, \$41,300, 4/3/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump 47 Committee, \$123,900, 4/3/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump 47 Committee, \$78,200, 4/3/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump Vance 2025 Transition, Inc., \$1,000,000, 11/25/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Trump Vance Inaugural Committee, Inc., \$4,000,000, 12/2/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Tucker for State Senate, \$250, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Unger for Arkansas, \$2,500, 9/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Vern Buchanan for Congress, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Vern Buchanan for Congress, \$3,300, 5/17/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Virginia in Milwaukee 2024, \$100,000, 7/10/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Vote NO on Prop One Committee, \$500,000, 10/18/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Wallace for State Senate, \$2,500, 2/15/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Winning for Women Action Fund Inc, \$250,000, 8/19/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2024, Winning for Women Action Fund Inc, \$250,000, 4/12/2024, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, America Strong and Free Action Inc, \$1,000,000, 1/20/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Andy Barr for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Andy Barr for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, ARKPAC, \$5,000, 6/6/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, August Pfluger for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, August Pfluger for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Barrasso Victory 2024, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Barrasso Victory 2024, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Blaine for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Blaine for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Brandon for Congress NY 22, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Brandon for Congress NY 22, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Calvert for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Calvert for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cathy McMorris Rodgers for U.S. Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cathy McMorris Rodgers for U.S. Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Celeste for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Ciscomani for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Ciscomani for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Committed to America PAC, \$100,000, 6/16/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 6/29/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cotton Majority Committee, \$400, 6/2/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cotton Majority Committee, \$400, 6/2/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cotton Majority Committee, \$5,000, 6/2/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cotton Majority Committee, \$4,200, 6/2/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cramer for Senate, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Cramer for Senate, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Daniel Webster for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Daniel Webster for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Deb Fischer for U.S. Senate, \$3,300, 10/19/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Deb Fischer for U.S. Senate, \$3,300, 10/19/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Defending America's Future, \$250,000, 11/2/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Delivers PAC, \$5,000, 12/8/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, D'Esposito for New York, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, D'Esposito for New York, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, DNU Stephens Inc. Federal PAC (Inactive), \$5,000, 12/11/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Don Bacon for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Don Bacon for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Election Fund of Tom Kean, 2,100 11/2/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Emmer Victory Committee, \$3,300, 8/16/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Emmer Victory Committee, \$3,300, 8/16/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Emmer Victory Committee, \$5,000, 8/16/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Feenstra for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Feenstra for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Fischer Victory Fund, \$5,000, 10/19/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, French Hill for Arkansas, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, French Hill for Arkansas, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Friends of Dave McCormick, \$3,300, 11/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Friends of Dave McCormick, \$3,300, 11/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Friends of Justice Dan Kelly, 10,000 3/13/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Garbarino for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Go with Chuck Goodrich, \$3,300, 11/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Go with Chuck Goodrich, \$3,300, 11/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Ashley Hinson, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Ashley Hinson, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Jen Kiggans, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Jen Kiggans, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Lori Chavez-DeRemer, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Lori Chavez-DeRemer, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Maria Elvira Salazar, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Maria Elvira Salazar, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Mariannette Miller-Meeks, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Mariannette Miller-Meeks, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Michelle Steel, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Michelle Steel, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Monica De La Cruz, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Monica De La Cruz, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Nancy Mace, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Nancy Mace, 400 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Wendy Davis, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Wendy Davis, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Winning for Women Action Fund Inc-PAC, \$5,000, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Young Kim, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, GOP Winning Women 2024-Young Kim, \$3,300, 6/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Craig Riedel, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Craig Riedel, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-David Schweikert, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-David Schweikert, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Derrick Anderson, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Derrick Anderson, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Derrick Van Orden, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Derrick Van Orden, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Dr. Prasanth Reddy, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Dr. Prasanth Reddy, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-George Logan, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-George Logan, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Joe McGraw, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Joe McGraw, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Joe Teirab, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Joe Teirab, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Laurie Buckhout, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Laurie Buckhout, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Martin Blank, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Martin Blank, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Mayra Flores, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Mayra Flores, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-RNC General-Mike Johnson JFC, \$41,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Rob Bresnahan, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Rob Bresnahan, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Ryan Zinke, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Ryan Zinke, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Scott Baugh, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Scott Baugh, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Tom Barrett, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Tom Barrett, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Yvette Herrell, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Grow the Majority-Yvette Herrell, \$3,300, 12/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, House GOP Battleground Fund, \$3,300, 12/19/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, House GOP Battleground Fund, \$3,300, 12/19/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, House GOP Battleground Fund \$5,000, 12/19/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Huizenga for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Huizenga for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, In the Arena PAC, \$5,000, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Innovation PAC, \$5,000, 11/29/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Iowans for Zach Nunn, \$3,300, 11/14/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Iowans for Zach Nunn, \$3,300, 11/14/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Jake Ellzey for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Jake Ellzey for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, John Boozman for Senate, \$3,300, 6/6/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, John Boozman for Senate, \$3,300, 6/6/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, John Duane for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, John Duane for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, John James for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, John James for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Johnson Leadership Fund, \$3,300, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Johnson Leadership Fund, \$3,300, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Johnson Leadership Fund, \$5,000, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Julia Letlow for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Julia Letlow for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Kean for Congress, Inc., \$3,300, 9/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Kean for Congress, Inc., \$3,300, 9/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Keystone Renewal PAC, \$250,000, 11/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Land of Opportunity PAC, \$5,000, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Lawler for Congress, \$3,300, 11/14/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Lawler for Congress, \$3,300, 11/14/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Loudermilk for Congress, \$3,300, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Loudermilk for Congress, \$3,300, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Marsha for Senate, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Marsha for Senate, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, McHenry for Congress, \$3,300, 11/8/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, McHenry for Congress, \$3,300, 11/8/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Bost for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Bost for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Flood for Congress, \$3,300, 11/14/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Flood for Congress, \$3,300, 11/14/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Garcia for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Garcia for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Kelly for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Mike Kelly for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, More Jobs. Less Government, \$100,000, 11/20/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Nancy Mace for Congress, \$2,900, 5/9/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$284,900, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Nick LaLota for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Nick LaLota for Congress, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Nikki Haley, \$3,300, 10/18/23, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2023, Nikki Haley, \$3,300, 10/18/23, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2023, Pete Ricketts Victory Fund, \$3,300, 5/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Pete Ricketts Victory Fund, \$3,300, 5/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Pete Ricketts Victory Fund, \$5,000, 5/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Republican National Committee, \$123,900, 12/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Republican National Committee, \$123,900, 12/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Republican National Committee, \$123,900, 12/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Rick Crawford for Congress, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Rick Crawford for Congress, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Rural America Counts PAC, \$5,000, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Sam Brown for Nevada, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Sam Brown for Nevada, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Scalise Leadership Fund-NRCC Building Fund, \$123,900, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Scalise Leadership Fund-NRCC General Account, \$41,300, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Scalise Leadership Fund-NRCC Legal Proceedings Fund, \$123,900, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Scalise Leadership Fund-Steve Scalise, \$3,300, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Scalise Leadership Fund-Steve Scalise, \$3,300, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Scalise Leadership Fund-Steve Scalise- Eye of the Tiger PAC, \$5,000, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Senate Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 12/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Senate Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 6/6/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$1,000,000, 11/13/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$(5,000), 9/28/2023, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$(5,000), 9/28/2023, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$5,000, 9/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$5,000, 9/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$1,000,000, 9/22/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, SFA Fund, Inc, \$25,000, 6/30/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Sheehy Victory Committee, \$5,000, 11/20/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, STAND PAC, \$5,000, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Gallagher, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Gallagher, \$3,300, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Gallagher, \$5,000, 11/21/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team McCormick, \$5,000, 11/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Rick Scott, \$500, 11/20/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Rick Scott, \$500, 11/20/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Rick Scott, \$5,000, 11/20/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Stand for America, \$5,000, 10/18/23, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2023, Team Stand for America, \$5,000, 10/18/23, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2023, Team Stand for America, \$5,000, 9/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Stand for America, \$5,000, 9/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Stand for America, \$3,300, 7/25/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Team Stand for America, \$3,300, 7/25/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Tell it Like it is PAC, \$50,000, 6/8/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, The Public Policy Institute of NYS, Inc., \$150,000, 12/1/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, The Stewart Cathey, Jr. Campaign, \$2,500, 1/18/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Tim Scott for President, \$3,300, 7/25/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Tim Scott for President, \$3,300, 7/25/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Tim Sheehy for Montana, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Tim Sheehy for Montana, \$3,300, 11/7/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Trust in the Mission PAC, \$25,000, 7/25/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Valadao for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Valadao for Congress, \$3,300, 11/17/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Vallas for Mayor, \$5,000, 3/13/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Virginia Foxx For Congress, \$3,300, 12/11/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Virginia Foxx For Congress, \$3,300, 12/11/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Westerman For Congress, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Westerman For Congress, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Wicker For Senate, \$3,300, 11/6/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Wicker For Senate, \$3,300, 11/6/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Winning For Women Action Fund Inc, \$250,000, 6/9/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Womack For Congress, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2023, Womack For Congress, \$3,300, 6/27/2023, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Anchor For House of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Alabama Conservatives Fund, \$200,000, 05/31/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Alabama Conservatives Fund, \$100,000, 03/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Alabama Conservatives Fund, \$100,000, 03/10/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Alabama's Future, \$100,000, 03/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Amanda Adkins For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, American Opportunity Alliance, \$250,000, 01/06/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, American Policy Fund, \$250,000, 10/11/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Andrew Collins For State Representative, \$2,900, 07/07/22, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2022, Andrew Thompson For State, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Arkansans Against Issue 1, \$25,000, 10/12/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ashley Hudson For State, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Barker For House of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Bart Hester For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Beck For House of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Bentley For House of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Berry For House of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Berry For State Representative, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Bill Sample For State Senate, \$1,900, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Blake Johnson For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Blake Johnson For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Blake Masters For Senate, \$2,900, 10/28/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Bob Ballinger For State, \$(1,000), 06/27/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Bob Ballinger For State, \$1,000, 06/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Boyd For State Senate, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Boyd For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Breanne Davis For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Breaux For House of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Brian Evans For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Brian Fitzpatrick, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Brian Fitzpatrick, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Brian Hester For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Brit McKenzie For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Britt For Alabama, \$2,900, 04/27/22, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2022, Britt For Alabama, \$2,900, 04/27/22, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2022, Brown For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Bruce Cozart For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Bryant For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Caldwell For State Senate, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Cameron Cooper For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Carlton Wing For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Carol Dalby For State, \$1,900, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Cavanaugh For House Of Representatives, \$750, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Charlene Fite For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Chris Beller For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Cindy Crawford For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Collins For House Of Representatives, \$2,900, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Committee to Elect Wendy Wood, \$2,000, 04/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 04/26/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Cozart For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Craig Christiansen For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Crawford For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dalby For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dan Sullivan For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Danny Watson For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dave McCormick For US Senate, \$2,900, 01/20/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dave McCormick For US Senate, \$2,900, 01/20/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, David Hillman For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Davis For State Representative, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Davis For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Deann Vaught For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dees For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Delia Haak For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Denise Ennett For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Denise Garner For State, \$(500), 08/22/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Denise Garner For State, \$500, 06/30/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Denise Garner For State, \$(500), 06/30/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Denise Garner For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dismang For State Senate, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Don Bacon For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Don Bacon For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dr. Oz For Senate, \$2,900, 06/29/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dr. Oz For Senate, \$2,900, 06/29/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Drew Ferguson For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Drew Ferguson For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Dwight Tosh For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Eaves For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Elise Victory Fund, \$2,900, 03/04/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Elise Victory Fund, \$2,900, 03/04/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Emmer For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Emmer For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, English For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Esther For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Eubanks For House Of Representatives, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Evans For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Evergreen Principles Pac, \$500,000, 10/11/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ferguson For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ferguson For Representative, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Fielding For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Fite For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Flowers For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Fortner For House Of Representatives, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Fran Cavanaugh For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Fred Allen For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Fred Love For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Gary Stubblefield For State, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Gayla Hendren Mckenzie, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Gazaway For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Gazaway For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Gonzales For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Grant Hodges For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Greg Leding For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Harlan Breaux For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Heartland Resurgence Inc., \$250,000, 04/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Heartland Resurgence, Inc., \$250,000, 02/10/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Hill For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Hodges For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Holcomb For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Holcomb For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Hollowell For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Honor Pennsylvania Inc., \$150,000, 05/03/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Honor Pennsylvania Inc., \$100,000, 04/26/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Hope Hendren Duke For State, \$(500), 03/21/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Hope Hendren Duke For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Howard Beaty For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Huizenga For Congress, \$2,900, 10/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Hunt For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Iowans For Zach Nunn, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jack Ladyman For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jaime For Congress, \$(2,900), 09/30/22, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse), Refund.

2022, Jaime Herrera Beutler For Congress, \$(2,900), 09/30/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, James Sturch For State Senate, \$(1,000), 06/27/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, James Sturch For State Senate, \$1,000, 06/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, James Sturch For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jamie Scott For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jan For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jane English For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jane Timken For Ohio, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jay Richardson For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jd Vance For Senate, \$2,900, 10/28/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jean For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jeremy For Georgia, \$2,900, 06/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jeremy For Georgia, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jesse Reising For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jim Dotson For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jim Petty For State Senate, \$(1,000), 07/18/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Jim Petty For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jim Wooten For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jimmy Hickey For State Senate, \$900, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, John James For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, John Maddox For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Johnson For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jon Eubanks For State, \$2,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jon Eubanks For State, \$(1,000), 04/18/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Jon Milligan For State, \$(500), 08/22/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Jon Milligan For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Jonathan Dismang For State, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Joy Springer For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Karilyn Brown For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Kay Ivey For Governor, \$25,000, 02/15/22, Harriet Stephens, (Spouse).

2022, Keith Brooks For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Kenden Underwood For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Kenneth Ferguson For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Kim Hammer For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, King For State Senate, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ladyman For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lalota For Congress, \$1,000, 09/26/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lanny Fite For House Of Representative, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lanny Fite For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Laxalt For Senate, \$2,900, 10/19/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Laxalt For Senate, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lee Johnson For State, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Les Eaves For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Les Warren For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lisa Murkowski For Us Senate, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lisa Murkowski For Us Senate, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lisa Scheller For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lundstrum For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Lynch For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Manchin Far West Virginia, \$2,900, 04/28/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Manchin For West Virginia, \$2,900, 04/28/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Marcus Richmond For State, \$1,000, 06/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Marcus Richmond For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Marcus Richmond For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mark Berry For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mark Perry For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Marty Moss For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Matt Brown For State, \$(500), 06/15/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Matt Brown For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Matt Stone For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Matthew Shepherd For State, \$900, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mayberry For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mccullough For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mcelroy For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, McGrew For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mchenry For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mchenry For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mckenzie For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, McNair For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Michael Waltz For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Michael Waltz For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mike Gallagher For Wisconsin, \$(2,900), 06/06/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Mike Gallagher For Wisconsin, \$(2,900), 06/06/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Mike Gallagher For Wisconsin, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mike Gallagher For Wisconsin, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mike Garcia For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Mike Garcia For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Milton Nicks Jr For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Missy Irvin For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Monica For Congress, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Republican Congressional Committee, \$109,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Republican Congressional Committee, \$36,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Republican Congressional Committee, \$109,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$109,500, 01/06/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$36,500, 01/06/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$109,500, 01/06/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, National Right To Work Committee, \$250,000, 10/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Neighbors For Frank Scott, Jr, \$2,900, 11/16/22, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2022, Nicks For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Nicole Clowney For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Painter For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Payton For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Penzo For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Perry For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Peter Meijer For Congress, \$1,000, 04/20/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Pilkington For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rebecca Burkes For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Regan 4 Congress, \$2,900, 10/01/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Reggie Murdock For State, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Republican National Committee, \$109,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Republican National Committee, \$109,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Republican National Committee, \$36,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Republican National Committee, \$109,500, 01/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Responsible Growth Arkansas, \$500,000, 11/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rice For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/19/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Richard McGrew For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Richmond For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rick Beck For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rick McClure For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ricky Hill For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Robin Lundstrum For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Roger Lynch For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ron Caldwell For State Senate, \$1,900, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ron Johnson For Senate Inc, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ron Johnson For Senate Inc, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ron McNair For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rose For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rose Roland For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rutledge For Lt. Governor, \$250 01/26/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ryan Rose For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Rye For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Safer Cities Arkansas, \$75,000, 05/05/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Schmitt For Senate, \$2,900, 07/28/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Scott Flippo For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Senate Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 04/26/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Senate Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 11/14/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Senate Leadership Fund, \$2,000,000, 10/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Shad Pierce For State, (\$500), 05/05/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Shad Pierce For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Shawn Bates For State, (\$500), 06/09/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Shawn Bates For State, \$500, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Smiley For Washington Inc., \$2,900, 05/13/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Smiley For Washington Inc., \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Sonia Eubanks Barker For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Spencer Hawks For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Stan Berry For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Stephanie Flowers For State, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Stephen Meeks For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Stephens Federal Pac, \$5,000, 02/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Steve Crowell For State Senate, (\$1,000), 03/21/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Steve Crowell For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Steve Hollowell For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Steve Magie For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Stone For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Strahan For Congress, (\$2,900), 06/02/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Stu For Indiana, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Stubblefield Far State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Sullivan For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Supporters Of Brown Dudley, (\$2,900), 10/04/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Supporters Of Brown Dudley, \$2,900, 03/15/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Supporters Of Brown Dudley, \$2,900, 03/15/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tanya For Arizona, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tara Shephard For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Team Herschel, Inc, \$2,900, 11/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Team Herschel, Inc, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ted Budd For Senate, \$2,900, 06/21/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Ted Budd For Senate, \$2,900, 06/21/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Terry Rice For State Senate, \$1,000, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Texans For Morgan Luttrell, \$2,900, 03/23/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Thurston For Secretary Of, \$250, 04/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tippi Mccullough For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tom Kean For Congress, Inc, \$2,900, 02/03/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tom Kean For Congress, Inc, \$2,900, 02/03/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tony Furman For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tony Gonzales For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Toshi For House Of Representatives, \$1,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Trent Garner For State Senate, (\$1,000), 03/21/22, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2022, Tyler Dees For State Senate, \$1,000, 06/07/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Tyler Dees For State Senate, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Underwood For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Unger For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Vought For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Virginia Foxx For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Virginia Foxx For Congress, \$2,900, 03/17/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Vivian Flowers For State, \$500, 02/24/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Wallace For State Senate, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, WardFaw Far House Of Representatives, \$2,000, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Wardlaw For State, \$1,000, 04/25/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Watson For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Westerman For Congress, \$2,900, 08/10/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Whitaker For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Will Jones For Prosecuting Attorney, \$2,900, 05/03/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Wing For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Winning For Women Action Fund, \$250,000, 10/11/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Winning For Women Action Fund, \$1,000,000, 04/26/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Winning For Women-Texas, \$2,900, 10/04/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Winning For Women-Texas, \$2,900, 10/04/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Winning For Women-Texas, \$2,900, 10/04/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Womack For Congress, \$2,900, 08/04/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2022, Wooten For House Of Representatives, \$500, 10/18/22, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Alan Clark For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Andrew Collins For State, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Ashley Hudson For State, \$(500), 03/01/21, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2021, Ben Gilmore For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Blaine For Congress, \$2,900, 10/13/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Blaine For Congress, \$2,900, 10/13/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Boozman For Arkansas, \$2,900, 04/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Boozman For Arkansas, \$2,900, 04/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Boyd For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Britt For Alabama, \$2,900, 11/09/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Britt For Alabama, \$2,900, 11/09/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Britt For Alabama, \$2,900, 11/09/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Burgess 4 Utah, \$2,800, 06/08/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Carol Dalby For State, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Chesterfield For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Claudia Tenney For Congress, \$2,900, 03/22/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Claudia Tenney For Congress, \$2,900, 03/22/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Committee To Rebuild The Rock, \$15,000, 08/13/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 12/16/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Congressional Leadership Fund, \$500,000, 05/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Cotton For Senate, \$2,900, 04/29/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Cotton For Senate, \$2,900, 04/29/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Crawford For Congress, \$2,900, 11/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Crawford For Congress, \$2,900, 11/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Dan Crenshaw For Congress, \$2,900, 06/21/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Dan Crenshaw For Congress, \$2,900, 06/21/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, David Fielding For State, \$500, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Feenstra For Congress, \$2,900, 12/06/21, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2021, Feenstra For Congress, \$2,900, 12/06/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Fortner For State, \$500, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, French Hill For Arkansas, \$2,900, 05/21/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, French Hill For Arkansas, \$2,900, 05/21/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, French Hill For Arkansas, \$2,900, 05/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, French Hill For Arkansas, \$2,900, 05/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, French Hill For Arkansas, \$5,800, 05/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, French Hill For Arkansas, \$(5,800), 05/14/21, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2021, Friends Of Todd Young, \$2,900, 05/20/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Friends Of Todd Young, \$2,900, 05/20/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Glenn Youngkin For Governor, \$10,000, 10/13/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, GOP Winning Women, \$52,200, 06/15/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, GOP Winning Women-Asley Hinson-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Asley Hinson-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Beth Van Duyn-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Beth Van Duyn-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Jaime Herrera Beutler-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Jaime Herrera Beutler-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Maria Elivira Salazar-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Maria Elivira Salazar-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Mariannette Miller-Meeks-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Mariannette Miller-Meeks-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Michelle Steel-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Michelle Steel-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Nancy Mace-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Nancy Mace-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Nicole Malliotakis-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Nicole Malliotakis-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Stephanie Bice-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Stephanie Bice-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Young Kim-General, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, GOP Winning Women-Young Kim-Primary, \$2,900, 10/08/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, Grassley Committee Inc, \$100, 12/06/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Grassley Committee Inc, \$100, 12/06/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, James Sturch For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Jean For State Representative, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Jett For State Representative, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Jimmy Hickey For State Senate, \$2,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, John Kennedy For US, Inc, \$2,900, 08/17/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, John Kennedy For US, Inc, \$2,900, 08/17/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, John Milligan For State, \$(500), 03/01/21, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2021, Jon Eubanks For State, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Julia Letlow For Congress, \$2,900, 03/09/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Julia Letlow For Congress, \$2,900, 03/09/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Kevin McCarthy For Congress, \$2,900, 03/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Kevin McCarthy For Congress, \$2,900, 03/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Kiggans For Congress, \$2,900, 10/13/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Kiggans For Congress, \$2,900, 10/13/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Marco Rubio For Senate, \$2,900, 06/21/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Marco Rubio For Senate, \$2,900, 06/21/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Mark Johnson For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Mark McElroy For, \$(500), 03/01/21, Warren A. Stephens, Refund.

2021, Matthew Shepherd For, \$2,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Miller-Meeks For Congress, \$2,900, 05/18/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Miller-Meeks For Congress, \$2,900, 05/18/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, National Republican Congressional Committee, \$255,500, 03/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, National Republican Senatorial, \$109,500, 04/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, National Republican Senatorial, \$36,500, 04/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, National Republican Senatorial, \$109,500, 04/14/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Republican National Committee, \$109,500, 04/30/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Republican National Committee, \$109,500, 04/30/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Republican National Committee, \$36,500, 04/30/21, Warren A. Stephens, FEC has this duplicated.

2021, Republican National Committee, \$109,500, 04/30/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Ron Caldwell For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Rye For State Representative, \$500, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Sample For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Sarah For Governor, \$2,800, 04/14/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, Sarah For Governor, \$2,800, 04/14/21, Harriet Stephens (Spouse).

2021, Scalise For Congress, \$2,900, 03/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Scalise For Congress, \$2,900, 03/10/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Senate Leadership Fund, \$1,000,000, 08/17/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Stan Berry For State, \$500, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Strahan For Congress, \$2,900, 12/20/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Strahan For Congress, \$2,900, 12/20/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Tom Rice For Congress, \$2,900, 05/06/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Trent Garner For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Wallace For State Senate, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Wardlaw For State, \$1,000, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Warren For State, \$500, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Whitaker For State, \$500, 10/28/21, Warren A. Stephens.

2021, Winning For Women, \$500,000, 06/18/21, Warren A. Stephens.

*Thomas Barrack, of Colorado, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Turkey.

Nominee: Thomas J. Barrack, Jr.

Post: Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Türkiye.

Donor, Contributions, amount, date, and donee:

Thomas J. Barrack, Jr.: Trump 47 Committee Contribution; \$100,000, 10/24/2024, Trump 47 Committee;

Thomas J. Barrack, Jr.: Trump 47 Committee In-Kind Contribution; \$68,334, 10/12/2024, Trump 47 Committee.

*Tilman Fertitta, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Italian Republic, and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of San Marino.

Nominee: Tilman J. Fertitta.

Post: Ambassador to Italy.

(The following is a list of members of my immediate family. I have asked each of these persons to inform me of the pertinent contributions made by them. To the best of my knowledge, the information contained in this report is complete and accurate.)

Contributions, amount, date, and donee:

Committee to Elect Michael Watson, \$1,000.00, 1/5/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Michael Watson PAC, \$1,000.00, 2/1/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Friends of Delbert Hosemann, \$1,000.00, 3/1/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Judge Mark Henry Campaign, \$5,000.00, 5/12/2021, Landry's PAC.

Philip Cortez Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Avel Herrero Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kelly Hancock Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jared Patterson Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Steve Allison Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kyle Kacal Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cody Vasut Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Valoree Swanson Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jose Menendez Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ray Lopez Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Trent Ashby Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jim Lozano Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Inda Minjarez Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Mike Schofield Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Joe Deshotel Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Claudia Ordaz Perez Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Charles Schwertner Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Travis Clardy Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jay Dean Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dawn Buckingham Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brandon Creighton Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Angela Paxton Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jacey Jetton Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dan Huberty Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Nicole Collier Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lynn Stuckey

Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Donna Campbell Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Raney Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Briscoe Cain Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Steve Toth Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Penny Morales Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Armando Walle Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ana Hernandez Campaign, \$2,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Shawn Thierry Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Judith Zaffirini Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Terry Canales Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Liz Campos Campaign, \$1,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Joan Huffman Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Candy Noble Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dennis Paul Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Phil Stephenson Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/18/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Edie Rodriguez Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Terry Wilson Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Nathan Johnson Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Liz Campos Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Paul Bettencourt Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Glenn Hegar Campaign, \$25,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gene Wu Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Cyrier Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Rhett Bowers Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Phil King Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jarvis Johnson Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Matt Krause Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, James Talarico Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Stephanie Klick Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brad Buckley Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Glenn Rogers Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lois Kolkhorst Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Drew Springer Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sam Harless Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Art Fierro Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Justin Holland Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Chuy Hinojosa Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Eddie Morales Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brian Birdwell Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, David Spiller Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ernest Bailes Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Scott Sanford Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Tom Oliverson Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ryan Guillen Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dade Phelan Campaign, \$50,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gregg Bonnen Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dustin Burrows Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Craig Goldman Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jeff Leach Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cody Harris Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ben Leman Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dwayne Burns Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brooks Landgraf Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Andy Murr Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gary Vandever Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Keith Bell Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Reggie Smith Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ken King Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ed Thompson

Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Shelby Slawson Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Will Metcalf Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Bryan Hughes Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cole Hefner Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Morgan Meyer Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Bobby Guerra Campaign, \$1,500.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Robert Nichols Campaign, \$5,000.00, 6/23/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Greg Abbot Campaign, \$200,000.00, 6/29/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dan Patrick Campaign, \$100,000.00, 6/30/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, R. Jack Cagle Campaign, \$2,500.00, 7/28/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Scalise Leadership Fund, \$50,000.00, 8/26/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Republican National Committee, \$36,500.00, 8/26/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Senator Royce West, \$5,000.00, 9/13/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Adria Garcia, \$1,000.00, 9/13/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kim Ogg Campaign, \$2,500.00, 9/17/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jimmy Fullen Campaign, \$10,000.00, 10/19/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta, Texans for Greg Abbott, \$200,000.00, 11/2/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Clay Wagner for Congress, \$1,000.00, 11/9/2021, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Mario Bravo Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Jalen McKee Rodriguez Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Phyllis Viagran Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Andriana Rocha Garcia Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Teri Castillo Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Melissa Havrda Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Ana Sandoval Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Many Pelaez Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, John Courage Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Clayton Perry Campaign, \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Mayor Ron Nirenberg Campaign, \$1,000.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC, Landry's LLC (Mario Bravo Event), \$500.00, 11/29/2021, Landry's PAC.

Shad White for Auditor, \$500.00, 1/11/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Dade Phelan Campaign, \$25,000.00, 1/18/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ken Paxton Campaign, \$20,000.00, 2/9/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Glenn Hegar Campaign, \$20,000.00, 2/9/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Carol Alvarado, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Paul Bettencourt, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cesar Blanco, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Donna Campbell, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brandon Creighton, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sarah Eckhardt, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Pete Flores, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Roland Gutierrez, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kelly Hancock, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Juan Hinojosa, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Joan Huffman, \$10,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Bryan Hughes, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Nathan Johnson, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Phil King, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lois Kolkhorst, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Morgan Lamantia, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jose Menendez, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Mayes Middleton, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Boris Miles, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Robert Nichols, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Tan Parker, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Charles Schwertner, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kevin Sparks, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Drew Springer, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Royce West, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Whitmire, \$25,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Judith Zaffirini, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J.

Fertitta, Alma Allen, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Steve Allison, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Rafael Anchia, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Trent Ashby, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ernest Bailes, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cecil Bell, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Keth Bell, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Diego Bernal, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Greg Bonnen, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Rhett Bowers, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brad Buckley, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Bucy, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dewayne Burns, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dustin Burrows, \$5,000.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Angie Button, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Briscoe Cain, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Liz Campos, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Terry Canales, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Giovanni Capriglione, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Travis Clardy, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sheryl Cole, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Nicole Collier, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, David Cook, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Philip Cortez, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Drew Darby, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Yvonne Davis, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jay Dean, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Harold Dutton, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Art Fierro, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Trey Martinez, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gary Gates, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Charlie Green, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Barbara Gervin Hawkins, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Craig Goldman, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jessica Gonzalez, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Bobby Guerra, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ryan Guillen, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sam Harless, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cody Harris, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ana Hernandez, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Abel Herrero, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gina Hinojosa, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Justin Holland, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Donna Howard, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lacey Hull, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Todd Hunter, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jayce Jetton, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ann Johnson, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jarvis Johnson, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kyle Kacal, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ken King, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Tracy King, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Stephanie Klick, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Kuempel, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brooks Landgraf, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jeff Leach, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Oscar Longoria, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ray Lopez, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, J.M. Lozano, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Lujan, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Armando Martinez, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Will Metcalfe, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Morgan Meyer, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Joe Moody, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Christina Morales, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Eddie Morales, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Penny Morales Shaw, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Geanie Morrison, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sergio Munoz, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Andy Murr, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Victoria Neave,

\$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Tom Oliverson, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lina Ortega, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Raney, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Richard Raymond, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ramon Romero, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Toni Rose, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jon Rosenthal, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Hugh Shine, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Phil Stephenson, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Senfronia Thompson, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Chris Turner, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Greg Travis, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dennis Paul, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Mary Ann Perez, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Four Price, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ron Reynolds, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Mike Schofield, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Carl Sherman, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Reggie Smith, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lynn Stuckey, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, James Talarico, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Shawn Thierry, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ed Thompson, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Steve Toth, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gary Vandever, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cody Vasut, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Hubert Vo, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Armando Walle, \$2,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gene Wu, \$1,500.00, 2/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Amy Peck Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Tarsha Jackson Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Abbie Kamin Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Carolyn Evans-Shabazz Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Dave Martin Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Tiffany Thomas Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Mary Nan Huffman Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Karla Cisneros Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Robert Gallegos Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Edward Pollard Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Martha Castex-Tatum Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Mike Knox Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, David Robinson Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Michael Kubosh Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Letitia Plummer Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC, Sallie Alcorn Campaign, \$1,000.00, 2/28/2022, Landry's PAC.

The Post Oak Hotel (UH PAC), \$3,522.78, 3/8/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, The Post Oak Hotel (Kim Ogg), \$2,684.71, 3/8/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Cornyn Campaign, \$100,000.00, 3/14/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Texans for Gregg Abbott, \$250,000.00, 3/14/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, The Post Oak Hotel (Steve Scalise), \$3,842.41, 3/29/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Patrick Gurski Campaign, \$5,000.00, 4/22/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Pete Flores Campaign, \$5,000.00, 5/16/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dan Patrick Campaign, \$100,000.00, 5/16/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Laxalt Victory Committee, \$2,900.00, 5/17/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Committee to Elect Zach Conine, \$2,500.00, 5/23/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Friends of Ron Desantis, \$15,000.00, 5/25/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Conservative Champions PAC, \$1,000.00, 6/16/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Texans for Gregg Abbott, \$250,000.00, 6/27/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, Conservative Louisiana (Kennedy), \$2,500.00, 7/8/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Committee to elect Steve Sisolak, \$10,000.00, 7/20/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Committee to elect Steve Sisolak, \$5,000.00, 7/20/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

MARK KELLY FOR SENATE, \$2,900.00, 8/17/2022, Lauren Fertitta.

MARK KELLY FOR SENATE, \$2,900.00, 8/17/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Friends for Jim Gibson, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Segerblom for County Commission, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Joes for Nevada, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, STEVE WOLFSON FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, COMMITTEE TO ELECT KEVIN MCMAHILL, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, FRIENDS FOR JIM GIBSON, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, STEVE WOLFSON FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, COMMITTEE TO ELECT KEVIN MCMAHILL, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, COMMITTEE TO ELECT STEVE SISOLAK, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, COMMITTEE TO ELECT STEVE SISOLAK, \$10,000.00, 8/26/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, SEGERBLOM FOR COUNTY COMMISSIONER, \$10,000.00, 8/29/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, JONES FOR NEVADA, \$10,000.00, 8/29/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Committee to Elect Zach Connie, \$1,000.00, 9/1/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

WIN THE SENATE, \$3,333.35, 9/9/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP FUND (McCarthy), \$100,000.00, 9/12/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Casey Eure Re-Election Campaign, \$500.00, 9/15/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

KEN PAXTON CAMPAIGN, \$20,000.00, 9/29/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, DAN PATRICK CAMPAIGN, \$100,000.00, 9/29/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, STEVEN SCALISE CAMPAIGN, \$50,000.00, 9/29/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, \$36,500.00, 9/30/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Committee to Elect Michael Watson, \$2,500.00, 10/5/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Tate for Governor, \$5,000.00, 10/25/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN, \$100,000.00, 10/31/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Alex Mealer for Judge, \$25,000.00, 11/3/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Friends of Richard Bennett, \$1,000.00, 11/7/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Eric Johnson for Dallas Mayor, \$1,000.00, 11/11/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Villanueva for Los Angeles County Sheriff, \$1,500.00, 11/16/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Friends to Elect Fo Fo Gilich, \$500.00, 11/24/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Dade Phelan Campaign, \$35,000.00, 12/9/2022, Tilman J. Fertitta, TEXAS INAUGURAL COMMITTEE—(ABBOTT), \$250,000.00, 1/10/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Shad White for Auditor, \$500.00, 1/11/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

TWILA CARTER CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 1/23/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Committee to Elect Mike Ezell, \$750.00, 1/26/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Teri Castillo Campaign, \$500.00, 2/1/2023, Landry's PAC, John Courage Campaign \$500.00, 2/1/2023, Landry's PAC.

PROTECT AND SERVE TEXAS, \$50,000.00, 2/8/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

THE POST OAK HOTEL (WHITMIRE), \$4,870.17, 3/3/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (UH PAC), \$3,510.35, 3/3/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (HOFFMAN & BONNEN), \$3,597.46, 3/3/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

MAYOR RON NIRENBURG CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, MARIO BRAVO CAMPAIGN \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, JALEN MCKEE RODRIQUEZ CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, PHYLISS VIAGRAM CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/

16/2023, Landry's PAC, MELISSA HARVDA CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, MARINA GAVITO CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, MANNY PELAEZ CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, MARK WYTE CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC, ADRINNA ROCHA GARCIA CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 3/16/2023, Landry's PAC.

Friends of Joel Carter, \$1,000.00, 4/4/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, \$100,000.00, 4/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

THE POST OAK HOTEL (RONNA MCDANIEL), \$831.91, 5/9/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TRUMP, \$6,600.00, 6/26/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TED CRUZ, \$6,600.00, 6/26/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, GREG ABBOTT CAMPAIGN, \$200.00.00, 6/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (SCALISE), \$2,061.58, 6/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (DESANTIS), \$1,826.94, 6/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (CRENSHAW), \$3,902.09, 6/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Michael Watson for Secretary of State, \$1,000.00, 6/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Tate for Governor, \$2,500.00, 7/25/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

JOHN WHITMIRE CAMPAIGN, \$5,000.00, 8/31/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, CATCH STEAK ASPEN (RNC EVENT), \$3,143.00, 9/6/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, Blue Grass Freedom Action, \$10,000.00, 9/6/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Friends of Billy Hewes, \$500.00, 9/8/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Dave Martin Campaign, \$1,500.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, Martha Castex-Tatum Campaign, \$2,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, Letitia Plummer Campaign, \$1,500.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sallie Alcorn Campaign, \$1,500.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, Amy Peck Campaign, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TARSHA JACKSON CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, ABBIE KAMIN CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, CAROLYN EVANS-SHABAZZ CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TIFANY THOMAS CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, MARY NAN HUFFMAN CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, EDWARD POLLARD CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, NICK HELLYAR CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TWILA CARTER CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, JOAQUIN MARTINEZ CAMPAIGN, \$500.00, 9/12/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

POST OAK HOTEL (JOHN WHITMIRE), \$1,714.68, 9/21/2023, Landry's PAC.

SERGEANT WILLIAM GORMAN CAMPAIGN, \$1,500.00, 9/22/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

PROTECT AND SERVE TEXAS, \$50,000.00, 10/17/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

CHRIS HOLLINS CAMPAIGN, \$1,000.00, 10/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, WESLEY HUNT VICTORY FUND, \$6,600.00, 10/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TED CRUZ CAMPAIGN, \$3,300.00, 10/20/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, TONY BUZBEE CAMPAIGN, \$5,000.00, 10/30/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta.

LIZ BAKER MURRILL FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL, \$5,000.00, 11/7/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, LANDRY FOR LOUISIANA, \$5,000.00, 11/7/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Friends of Richard Bennett, \$250.00, 11/7/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, Friends to Elect Zachary Grady, \$500.00, 11/7/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, PROTECT & SERVE PAC, \$100,000.00, 11/29/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, \$100,000.00, 12/6/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

THE POST OAK HOTEL (JOAN HUFFMAN), \$2,863.25, 12/18/2023, Tilman J.

Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (TED CRUZ), \$3,325.18, 12/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (UH PAC), \$3,604.22, 12/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (WESLEY HUNT), \$3,515.40, 12/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (KIM OGG), \$7,868.80, 12/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (CEDRIC CREAR), \$3,087.01, 12/18/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, DAN PATRICK CAMPAIGN, \$100,000.00, 12/27/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, THE POST OAK HOTEL (ATTORNEY GENERAL DANIEL CAMERON), \$1,764.35, 12/29/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, BIDEN VICTORY CAMPAIGN, \$6,600.00, 12/29/2023, Tilman J. Fertitta, JOHN BOLTON PAC, \$10,000.00, 1/9/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Friends of Dan Cuevas, \$1,000.00, 1/15/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Kim Ogg Campaign, \$20,000.00, 2/1/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ernest Bailes Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Greg Bonnen Campaign, \$10,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta,

Ben Bumgarner Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dwayne Burns Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dustin Burrows Campaign, \$5,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Birscoe Cain Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Travis Clardy Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Drew Darby Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jay Dean Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Mano Deayala Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Frederick Frazier Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Gary Gates Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Charlie Geren Campaign, \$5,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Cody Harris Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Justin Holland Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Lacey Hull Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jacey Jetton Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Ken King Campaign, \$10,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Stephanie Klick Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Juempel Campaign, \$5,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Stan Lambert Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jeff Leach Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Christian Manuel Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Morgan Meyer Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dade Phelan Campaign, \$10,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Hugh Shine Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, David Spiller Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Shawn Thierry Campaign, \$2,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Kronda Thimesch Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Nathan Johnson Campaign, \$10,000.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Keith Bell Campaign, \$1,500.00, 2/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Trump 47 Committee, \$814,600.00, 4/5/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Rodney Ellis, \$2,500.00, 4/24/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Brian Jack for Congress, \$3,300.00, 5/6/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Summitt Seafood (Abbott Flight), \$7,500.00, 6/25/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dan Patrick Campaign, \$150,000.00, 6/26/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Greg Abbott Campaign, \$250,000.00, 6/26/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Sean Teare Campaign, \$20,000.00, 6/26/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Summitt Seafood (Abbott Flight), \$11,250.00, 7/17/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Jalen McKee Rodriguez Campaign, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Terri Castillo Campaign, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Phyliss Viagran Campaign, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Adrianna Rocha Garcia, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Melissa Havrda Campaign, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Marina A. Gavito Campaign, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, March Whyte Campaign,

\$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Manny Pelaez Campaign, \$1,000.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, John Courage Campaign, \$1,000.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Suk Kaur Campaign, \$500.00, 7/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Kenny Holloway Mayor Campaign, \$500.00, 7/23/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Trump 47 Committee, \$25,000.00, 8/12/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Lynn Fitch for Mississippi, \$500.00, 9/3/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Post Oak Hotel (Reception for Bernie Moreno), \$2,014.54, 9/20/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Post Oak Hotel (Jimmy Fullen for Sheriff), \$3,937.13, 9/20/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Post Oak Hotel (Sheila Jackson Lee), \$5,249.57, 9/20/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Post Oak Hotel (House Majority Leadership PAC), \$3,314.27, 9/20/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Post Oak Hotel (UH PAC Reception), \$4,896.17, 9/20/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Trump 47, \$924,600.00, 10/1/2024, Lauren Fertitta.

Trump 47, \$55,000.00, 10/1/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Truth and Courage PAC, \$100,000.00, 10/2/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Carol Alvarado Campaign, \$5,000.00, 10/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Casey Eure Re-Election Campaign, \$500.00, 10/8/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Battleground Victory 2024, \$25,000.00, 10/9/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Greg Bonnen Campaign, \$25,000.00, 10/15/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Debbie Wasserman Schultz, \$5,000.00, 10/22/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Mike Johnson Grow TE Majority Fund, \$100,000.00, 10/23/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

Friends of Shad White for Auditor, \$500.00, 11/19/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta Company.

Brandon Creighton Campaign, \$10,000.00, 12/6/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta, Dustin Burrows Campaign, \$15,000.00, 12/12/2024, Tilman J. Fertitta.

*David Perdue, of Georgia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People's Republic of China.

Nominee: David Perdue, Jr.

Post: Republic of China.

(The following is a list of members of my immediate family. I have asked each of these persons to inform me of the pertinent contributions made by them. To the best of my knowledge, the information contained in this report is complete and accurate.)

Recipient name, Disbursement date, Disbursement amount:

Trump 47 Committee, Inc., 10/3/2024 0:00, \$5,000; Marsha for Senate, 8/10/2023 0:00, \$5,000; Marci McCarthy for Georgia LLC., 5/30/2023 0:00, \$750; Caroline Jeffords for GOP Secretary, 5/30/2023 0:00, \$500; Jax First, 12/15/2022 0:00, \$10,000; National Victory Action Fund, 9/27/2022 0:00, \$200,000; Friends of Ron Desantis, 9/26/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Friends of McCormick, 9/20/2022 0:00, \$2,500; Vote Dan Perdue, 9/20/2022 0:00, \$3,000; Collins for Congress, 8/1/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Burt Jones for Georgia, 8/1/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Beach for Senate, 8/1/2022 0:00, \$3,000; Vernon Jones for Congress, 6/8/2022 0:00, \$1,400; Collins for Congress, 6/8/2022 0:00, \$1,000; Friends of Jeff Jones, 6/6/2022 0:00, \$1,600; Ohioans for JD, 4/29/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Lets Get to Work PAC, 4/29/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Georgia Republican Party, Inc., 3/2/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Friends of Jeff Jones, 2/17/2022 0:00, \$1,000; Vernon Jones for Congress, 2/15/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Georgia Federation of Republican Women, 2/9/2022 0:00, \$500; Republican Women of Forsyth County, 1/11/2022 0:00, \$250; Heller for Nevada Governor, 1/11/2022 0:00, \$5,000; Perdue for Governor, 12/20/2021 0:00, \$4,500; Perdue for Governor, 12/20/2021 0:00, \$7,600; Perdue for Governor, 12/20/2021 0:00, \$4,500; Perdue for Governor, 12/20/2021 0:00, \$7,600; Jax First, 12/1/2021 0:00, \$5,000; Georgia Republican Party, Inc., 11/1/2021 0:00, \$5,000;

McMaster-Evette 22, 9/29/2021 0:00, \$1,000; Strategic Advance Services LLC, 9/24/2021 0:00, \$10,000; NRSC, 9/22/2021 0:00, \$5,000; Georgia Republican Party, Inc., 6/23/2021 0:00, \$5,000.

By Mr. CRUZ for the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

* Arielle Roth, of the District of Columbia, to be Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

* By Mr. LEE for the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

* James Danly, of Tennessee, to be Deputy Secretary of Energy.

* Katharine MacGregor, of Florida, to be Deputy Secretary of the Interior.

By Mrs. CAPITO for the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

* Sean Donahue, of Florida, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

* Jessica Kramer, of Wisconsin, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

* Brian Nesvik, of Wyoming, to be Director of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

By Mr. PAUL for the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

* Scott Kupor, of California, to be Director of the Office of Personnel Management for a term of four years.

* Eric Matthew Ueland, of Virginia, to be Deputy Director for Management, Office of Management and Budget.

By Mr. MORAN for the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

* Samuel Brown, of Nevada, to be Under Secretary of Veterans Affairs for Memorial Affairs.

* James Baehr, of Louisiana, to be General Counsel, Department of Veterans Affairs.

* Richard Topping, of Ohio, to be Chief Financial Officer, Department of Veterans Affairs.

* Nomination was reported with recommendation that it be confirmed subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. CRAMER (for himself and Mr. COONS):

S. 1361. A bill to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to give priority in the consideration of suicide prevention grants to entities located in States that have not received such a grant, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. CORNYN (for himself and Mr. PETERS):

S. 1362. A bill to require the Department of Defense to use information and communications technology products obtained from original equipment manufacturers or authorized resellers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. LUJÁN:

S. 1363. A bill to provide for greater cooperation and coordination between the Federal Government and the governing bodies and community users of land grant-mercedes in New Mexico relating to historical or traditional uses of certain land grant-mercedes on Federal public land, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Ms. CORTEZ MASTO:

S. 1364. A bill to exempt articles imported from Israel or Ukraine from duties imposed under the Executive Order entitled "Regulating Imports with a Reciprocal Tariff to Rectify Trade Practices that Contribute to Large and Persistent Annual United States Goods Trade Deficits"; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN:

S. 1365. A bill to prohibit the awarding of contracts and grants to companies beneficially owned by special Government employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Ms. SMITH:

S. 1366. A bill to protect, for current and future generations, the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness and interconnected Federal land and waters, including Voyageurs National Park, within the Rainy River Watershed in the State of Minnesota, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. COONS (for himself, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, and Mr. TILLIS):

S. 1367. A bill to protect intellectual property rights in the voice and visual likeness of individuals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCOTT of Florida:

S. 1368. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to address the responsibilities of fiduciaries with respect to the Thrift Savings Fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Mr. KAINE (for himself, Mr. CASSIDY, Mr. HEINRICH, and Mr. CURTIS):

S. 1369. A bill to support the execution of bilateral agreements concerning illicit transnational maritime activity and to authorize the President to impose sanctions with respect to illegal, unreported, or unregulated fishing and the sale, supply, purchase, or transfer of endangered species, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. HEINRICH (for himself, Mr. KING, Mr. KELLY, Mr. BENNET, Mr. KAINE, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WYDEN, and Ms. HIRONO):

S. 1370. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to restrict the possession of certain firearms, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BOOZMAN:

S. 1371. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the number of eligible shareholders of an S corporation; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. CORTEZ MASTO (for herself, Mr. BENNET, Ms. ALSOBROOKS, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. BLUNT ROCHSTER, Mr. BOOKER, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. COONS, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mr. GALLEGOS, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. KAINE, Mr. KELLY, Mr. KIM, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. PETERS, Mr. REED, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. SCHUMER, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. SLOTKIN, Ms. SMITH, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Mr. WARNOCK, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WELCH, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, and Mr. WYDEN):

S. 1372. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to expand, and make per-

manent certain modifications of, the earned income credit; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. VAN HOLLEN:

S. 1373. A bill to make the Union Station Redevelopment Corporation eligible to receive certain grants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. HEINRICH (for himself, Ms.

COLLINS, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mr. COONS, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. KAINE, Mr. REED, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. DURBIN, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. PADILLA, Ms. SMITH, Mr. KING, Mr. KELLY, Mr. BENNET, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. BOOKER, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. WELCH, and Mr. SCHIFF):

S. 1374. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit machinegun conversion devices and illegal modifications of semiautomatic firearms, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGERTY:

S. 1375. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reinstate the exception for de minimis payments by third party settlement organizations with respect to returns relating to payments made in settlement of payment card and third party network transactions, as in effect prior to the enactment of the American Rescue Plan Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. TILLIS (for himself, Mr. WARNOCK, and Mr. BUDD):

S. 1376. A bill to amend the National Trails System Act to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct a study on the feasibility of designating the Benton MacKaye Trail as a national scenic trail; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. HOEVEN (for himself and Mr. KAINE):

S. 1377. A bill to ensure the maintenance of a herd of horses in Theodore Roosevelt National Park, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. SCHATZ (for himself, Mr. SHEEHY, Mr. LUJÁN, and Mr. WELCH):

S. 1378. A bill to enhance the use by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration of artificial intelligence for weather forecasting, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. LUJÁN (for himself and Mr. HAWLEY):

S. 1379. A bill to ensure consumers have access to data relating to their motor vehicles, critical repair information, and tools, and to provide them choices for the maintenance, service, and repair of their motor vehicles, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Ms. ROSEN (for herself and Mr. WICKER):

S. 1380. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize a loan repayment program to encourage specialty medicine physicians to serve in rural communities experiencing a shortage of specialty medicine physicians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. DURBIN (for himself, Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. SCHATZ, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 1381. A bill to amend title 11, United States Code, to improve protections for employees and retirees in business bankruptcies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BANKS:

S. 1382. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to enhance the child tax

credit, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. SCOTT of Florida (for himself, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. MORAN, and Mr. BLUMENTHAL):

S. 1383. A bill to establish the Veterans Advisory Committee on Equal Access, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. BANKS (for himself, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. TUBERVILLE, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. BUDD, Mr. DAINES, and Mr. RISCH):

S. 1384. A bill to require States to report information on Medicaid payments to abortion providers; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. FETTERMAN (for himself, Mr. SCHIFF, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. MERKLEY, Ms. BALDWIN, Ms. SMITH, Mr. WELCH, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. WYDEN, and Mr. KING):

S. 1385. A bill to amend the Agricultural Research, Extension, and Education Reform Act of 1998 and the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 to direct the Agricultural Research Service to expand organic research, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. CORNYN:

S. 1386. A bill to provide a taxpayer bill of rights for small businesses; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. YOUNG (for himself and Mr. PADILLA):

S. 1387. A bill to authorize the National Biotechnology Initiative, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. MORENO (for himself, Ms. SLOTKIN, and Mr. SHEEHY):

S. 1388. A bill to require the review by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States of greenfield and brownfield investments by foreign countries of concern; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

By Mr. MARSHALL (for himself, Mr. BENNET, Mr. MORAN, and Mr. HICKENLOOPER):

S. 1389. A bill to amend the Food Security Act of 1985 to modify the conservation reserve enhancement program; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. LANKFORD (for himself, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. CASSIDY, Mr. TILLIS, Mr. CORNYN, Mr. MULLIN, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. BARRASSO, and Mr. BUDD):

S. 1390. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to revise certain physician self-referral exemptions relating to physician-owned hospitals; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. MURKOWSKI (for herself, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. SULLIVAN, Ms. WARREN, Mr. KING, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mr. PETERS):

S. 1391. A bill to amend the Federal Ocean Acidification Research And Monitoring Act of 2009 to require the Secretary of Commerce, acting through the Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, to collaborate with State and local governments and Indian Tribes on vulnerability assessments related to ocean acidification, research planning, and similar activities, and for purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Ms. MURKOWSKI (for herself, Ms. CANTWELL, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. KING, and Mr. SULLIVAN):

S. 1392. A bill to establish Ocean Innovation Clusters to strengthen the coastal communities and ocean economy of the United States through technological research and

development, job training, and cross-sector partnerships, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. BENNET (for himself, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. WARNOCK, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. WYDEN, Ms. ALSOBROOKS, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. COONS, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. FETTERMAN, Mr. GALLEGOS, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. HEINRICH, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. KAINE, Mr. KELLY, Mr. KIM, Mr. KING, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. LUJÁN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. PETERS, Mr. REED, Ms. ROSEN, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. SCHUMER, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Ms. SLOTKIN, Ms. SMITH, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. WARNER, Ms. WARREN, Mr. WELCH, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 1393. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to establish a refundable child tax credit with monthly advance payment; to the Committee on Finance.

By Ms. SMITH (for herself, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. WARREN, Mr. SCHATZ, Mr. PADILLA, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. FETTERMAN, Ms. HIRONO, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. MERKLEY, and Mr. WYDEN):

S. 1394. A bill to provide enhanced funding for family planning services; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. COONS (for himself and Mr. MORAN):

S. 1395. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out activities to reduce food loss and waste, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Ms. CANTWELL (for herself, Mrs. BLACKBURN, and Mr. HEINRICH):

S. 1396. A bill to require transparency with respect to content and content provenance information, to protect artistic content, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself and Mr. YOUNG):

S. 1397. A bill to require the Secretary of State to establish a quantum cooperation program to enhance international cooperation in quantum information science; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. RICKETTS (for himself, Ms. SMITH, and Mr. SCOTT of South Carolina):

S. 1398. A bill to require the Secretary of Agriculture to submit to Congress a report on residue testing for all imported organic feedstuffs shipped in bulk, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. ROUNDS (for himself, Mr. HEINRICH, and Mrs. BLACKBURN):

S. 1399. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to ensure appropriate payment of certain algorithm-based healthcare services under the Medicare program; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. REED (for himself and Mr. YOUNG):

S. 1400. A bill to amend the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act and the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act to strengthen adult education; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

By Mr. KENNEDY (for himself, Mr. RICKETTS, and Mr. CORNYN):

S. 1401. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide a certification process for the issuance of nondisclosure requirements accompanying certain administrative

subpoenas, to provide for judicial review of such nondisclosure requirements, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROUNDS (for himself, Mr. BANKS, and Mr. SHEEHY):

S. 1402. A bill to abolish the Department of Education, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. BENNET (for himself and Mr. HICKENLOOPER):

S. Res. 163. A resolution recognizing the contributions of Clela Rorex, a pioneering county clerk who, in 1975, advanced civil rights for all couples seeking to be married; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself and Mr. BUDD):

S. Res. 164. A resolution supporting the goals and ideals of National Public Safety Telecommunicators Week; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. SANDERS:

S. Res. 165. A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the plan of President Trump and Elon Musk to fire 83,000 employees of the Department of Veterans Affairs is unacceptable and must be rescinded; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Ms. DUCKWORTH:

S. Res. 166. A resolution demanding the immediate reinstatement of all veteran Federal employees involuntarily removed or otherwise dismissed without cause since January 20, 2025; to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

By Ms. MURKOWSKI (for herself and Mr. KING):

S. Res. 167. A resolution recognizing the importance of the Arctic Council and reaffirming the commitment of the United States to the Arctic Council; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. SCHATZ (for himself, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. PADILLA, Ms. WARREN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mr. WYDEN):

S. Res. 168. A resolution supporting the goals and ideals of the Rise Up for LGBTQI+ Youth in Schools Initiative, a call to action to communities across the United States to demand equal educational opportunity, basic civil rights protections, and freedom from erasure for all students, particularly LGBTQI+ young people, in K-12 schools; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 39

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of Florida, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mrs. MOODY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 39, a bill to increase the maximum reward amount for information leading to the arrest and conviction of Nicolas Maduro Moros to \$100,000,000, which shall be paid out by the Federal Government from all assets being withheld from Nicolas Maduro Moros, officials of the Maduro regime and their co-conspirators.

S. 46

At the request of Mrs. SHAHEEN, the name of the Senator from Arizona (Mr.

GALLEGO) was added as a cosponsor of S. 46, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to expand eligibility for the refundable credit for coverage under a qualified health plan.

S. 83

At the request of Mr. CRUZ, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BANKS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 83, a bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to provide enhanced penalties for convicted murderers who kill or target America's public safety officers.

S. 124

At the request of Mr. MORAN, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mrs. MOODY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 124, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for disciplinary procedures for supervisors and managers at the Department of Veterans Affairs and to modify the procedures of personnel actions against employees of the Department, and for other purposes.

S. 128

At the request of Mr. LEE, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BANKS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 128, a bill to amend the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 to require proof of United States citizenship to register an individual to vote in elections for Federal office, and for other purposes.

S. 300

At the request of Mr. BUDD, the name of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 300, a bill to improve accountability in the disaster loan program of the Small Business Administration, and for other purposes.

S. 339

At the request of Mr. CRAPO, the name of the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. MCCONNELL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 339, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for Medicare coverage of multicancer early detection screening tests.

S. 455

At the request of Mr. BLUMENTHAL, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Ms. ALSOBROOKS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 455, a bill to amend section 287 of the Immigration and Nationality Act to limit immigration enforcement actions at sensitive locations, to clarify the powers of immigration officers at sensitive locations, and for other purposes.

S. 475

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the names of the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. KENNEDY) and the Senator from Nevada (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO) were added as cosponsors of S. 475, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to ensure appropriate access to non-opioid pain management drugs under part D of the Medicare program.

S. 537

At the request of Mr. DAINES, the name of the Senator from Nebraska

(Mr. RICKETTS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 537, a bill to prohibit the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture from prohibiting the use of lead ammunition or tackle on certain Federal land or water under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture, and for other purposes.

S. 556

At the request of Mr. SULLIVAN, the name of the Senator from Kansas (Mr. MORAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 556, a bill to impose sanctions with respect to persons engaged in logistical transactions and sanctions evasion relating to oil, gas, liquefied natural gas, and related petrochemical products from the Islamic Republic of Iran, and for other purposes.

S. 813

At the request of Mr. CORNYN, the name of the Senator from Maine (Mr. KING) was added as a cosponsor of S. 813, a bill to amend the Food, Conservation, and Energy Act of 2008 to provide families year-round access to nutrition incentives under the Gus Schumacher Nutrition Incentive Program, and for other purposes.

S. 925

At the request of Mrs. CAPITO, the names of the Senator from Maine (Ms. COLLINS) and the Senator from Wisconsin (Ms. BALDWIN) were added as cosponsors of S. 925, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a tax credit for working family caregivers.

S. 1000

At the request of Ms. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1000, a bill to establish an Ambassador-at-Large for Arctic Affairs.

S. 1009

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from California (Mr. SCHIFF) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1009, a bill to establish the Baltic Security Initiative for the purpose of strengthening the defensive capabilities of the Baltic countries, and for other purposes.

S. 1110

At the request of Mr. HUSTED, the name of the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. MULLIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1110, a bill to require the use of artificial intelligence to review agency regulations, and for other purposes.

S. 1295

At the request of Mr. JUSTICE, the name of the Senator from Idaho (Mr. RISCH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1295, a bill to require the Director of the Bureau of Prisons to develop and implement a strategy to interdict fentanyl and other synthetic drugs in the mail at Federal correctional facilities.

S. 1300

At the request of Mr. SCHIFF, his name was withdrawn as a cosponsor of S. 1300, a bill to reauthorize the Project

Safe Neighborhoods Grant Program Authorization Act of 2018, and for other purposes.

S. 1308

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the name of the Senator from Florida (Mrs. MOODY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1308, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to modify the criteria for approval of certain independent study programs for purposes of the educational assistance programs of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

S. 1314

At the request of Ms. ERNST, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BANKS) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1314, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide that floor plan financing includes the financing of certain trailers and campers.

S. 1318

At the request of Mr. MORAN, the name of the Senator from California (Mr. SCHIFF) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1318, a bill to direct the American Battle Monuments Commission to establish a program to identify American-Jewish servicemembers buried in United States military cemeteries overseas under markers that incorrectly represent their religion and heritage, and for other purposes.

S. 1332

At the request of Mr. SANDERS, the name of the Senator from Michigan (Ms. SLOTKIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1332, a bill to provide for increases in the Federal minimum wage, and for other purposes.

S. 1345

At the request of Mr. KING, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Ms. HASSAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1345, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the limitation on the credit for biomass stoves and boilers and to include biomass heating appliances in the energy credit.

S. 1356

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of Florida, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was withdrawn as a cosponsor of S. 1356, a bill to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 to require national securities exchanges to identify issuers that are consolidated variable interest entities, and for other purposes.

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of Florida, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1356, *supra*.

S. 1360

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of Florida, the name of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN) was withdrawn as a cosponsor of S. 1360, a bill to require an annual report on United States portfolio investments in the People's Republic of China, and for other purposes.

At the request of Mr. SCOTT of Florida, the name of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mrs. SHAHEEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1360, *supra*.

S. RES. 145

At the request of Mr. TILLIS, the name of the Senator from California (Mr. SCHIFF) was added as a cosponsor of S. Res. 145, a resolution protecting the Iranian political refugees, including female former political prisoners, in Ashraf-3 in Albania.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. DURBIN (for himself, Mr. HAWLEY, Mr. SCHATZ, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, and Mr. WHITEHOUSE):

S. 1381. A bill to amend title 11, United States Code, to improve protections for employees and retirees in business bankruptcies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1381

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “Protecting Employees and Retirees in Business Bankruptcies Act of 2025”.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Findings.

TITLE I—IMPROVING RECOVERIES FOR EMPLOYEES AND RETIREES

Sec. 101. Increased wage priority.

Sec. 102. Claim for stock value losses in defined contribution plans.

Sec. 103. Priority for severance pay and contributions to employee benefit plans.

Sec. 104. Financial returns for employees and retirees.

Sec. 105. Priority for WARN Act damages.

TITLE II—REDUCING EMPLOYEES’ AND RETIREES’ LOSSES

Sec. 201. Rejection of collective bargaining agreements.

Sec. 202. Payment of insurance benefits to retired employees.

Sec. 203. Protection of employee benefits in a sale of assets.

Sec. 204. Claim for pension losses.

Sec. 205. Payments by secured lender.

Sec. 206. Preservation of jobs and benefits.

Sec. 207. Termination of exclusivity.

Sec. 208. Claim for withdrawal liability.

TITLE III—RESTRICTING EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION PROGRAMS

Sec. 301. Executive compensation upon exit from bankruptcy.

Sec. 302. Limitations on executive compensation enhancements.

Sec. 303. Prohibition against special compensation payments.

Sec. 304. Assumption of executive benefit plans.

Sec. 305. Recovery of executive compensation.

Sec. 306. Preferential compensation transfer.

TITLE IV—OTHER PROVISIONS

Sec. 401. Union proof of claim.

Sec. 402. Exception from automatic stay.

Sec. 403. Effect on collective bargaining agreements under the Railway Labor Act.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds the following:

(1) Business bankruptcies have increased sharply in recent years and remain at high levels. These bankruptcies include several of the largest business bankruptcy filings in history. As the use of bankruptcy has expanded, job preservation and retirement security are placed at greater risk.

(2) Laws enacted to improve recoveries for employees and retirees and limit their losses in bankruptcy cases have not kept pace with the increasing and broader use of bankruptcy by businesses in all sectors of the economy. However, while protections for employees and retirees in bankruptcy cases have eroded, management compensation plans devised for those in charge of troubled businesses have become more prevalent and are escaping adequate scrutiny.

(3) Changes in the law regarding these matters are urgently needed as bankruptcy is used to address increasingly more complex and diverse conditions affecting troubled businesses and industries.

TITLE I—IMPROVING RECOVERIES FOR EMPLOYEES AND RETIREES

SEC. 101. INCREASED WAGE PRIORITY.

Section 507(a) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (4)—

(A) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) and (B) as clauses (i) and (ii), respectively;

(B) in the matter preceding clause (i), as so redesignated, by inserting “(A)” before “Fourth”;

(C) in subparagraph (A), as so designated, in the matter preceding clause (i), as so redesignated—

(i) by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$20,000”;

(ii) by striking “within 180 days”; and

(iii) by striking “or the date of the cessation of the debtor’s business, whichever occurs first,”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) Severance pay described in subparagraph (A)(i) shall be deemed earned in full upon the layoff or termination of employment of the individual to whom the severance is owed.”; and

(2) in paragraph (5)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)—

(i) by striking “within 180 days”; and

(ii) by striking “or the date of the cessation of the debtor’s business, whichever occurs first”; and

(B) by striking subparagraph (B) and inserting the following:

“(B) for each such plan, to the extent of the number of employees covered by each such plan, multiplied by \$20,000.”.

SEC. 102. CLAIM FOR STOCK VALUE LOSSES IN DEFINED CONTRIBUTION PLANS.

Section 101(5) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “or” at the end;

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) right or interest in equity securities of the debtor, or an affiliate of the debtor, if—

“(i) the equity securities are held in a defined contribution plan (within the meaning of section 3(34) of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1002(34))) for the benefit of an individual who is not an insider, a senior executive officer, or any of the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers;

“(ii) the equity securities were attributable to either employer contributions by the debtor or an affiliate of the debtor, or elective deferrals (within the meaning of sec-

tion 402(g) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986), and any earnings thereon; and

“(iii) an employer or plan sponsor who has commenced a case under this title has committed fraud with respect to such plan or has otherwise breached a duty to the participant that has proximately caused the loss of value.”.

SEC. 103. PRIORITY FOR SEVERANCE PAY AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO EMPLOYEE BENEFIT PLANS.

Section 503(b) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (8)(B), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (9), by striking the period and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(10) severance pay owed to employees of the debtor (other than to an insider of the debtor, a senior executive officer of the debtor, the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor), under a plan, program, or policy generally applicable to employees of the debtor (but not under an individual contract of employment), or owed pursuant to a collective bargaining agreement, for layoff or termination on or after the date of the filing of the petition, which pay shall be deemed earned in full upon such layoff or termination of employment; and

“(11) any contribution to an employee benefit plan that is due on or after the date of the filing of the petition.”.

SEC. 104. FINANCIAL RETURNS FOR EMPLOYEES AND RETIREES.

Section 1129(a) of title 11, United States Code is amended—

(1) by striking paragraph (13) and inserting the following:

“(13) With respect to retiree benefits, as that term is defined in section 1114(a), the plan—

“(A) provides for the continuation after the effective date of the plan of payment of all retiree benefits at the level established pursuant to subsection (e)(1)(B) or (g) of section 1114 at any time before the date of confirmation of the plan, for the duration of the period for which the debtor has obligated itself to provide such benefits, or if no modifications are made before confirmation of the plan, the continuation of all such retiree benefits maintained or established in whole or in part by the debtor before the date of the filing of the petition; and

“(B) provides for recovery of claims arising from the modification of retiree benefits or for other financial returns, as negotiated by the debtor and the authorized representative (to the extent that such returns are paid under, rather than outside of, a plan).”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(17) The plan provides for recovery of damages payable for the rejection of a collective bargaining agreement, or for other financial returns as negotiated by the debtor and the authorized representative under section 1113 (to the extent that such returns are paid under, rather than outside of, a plan).”.

SEC. 105. PRIORITY FOR WARN ACT DAMAGES.

Section 503(b)(1)(A)(ii) of title 11, United States Code is amended by inserting “any back pay, civil penalty, or damages for a violation of any Federal or State labor and employment law, including the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act (29 U.S.C. 2101 et seq.) and any comparable State law, and” before “wages and benefits” each place that term appears.

TITLE II—REDUCING EMPLOYEES' AND RETIREES' LOSSES

SEC. 201. REJECTION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS.

Section 1113 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by striking subsections (a) through (f) and inserting the following:

“(a) The debtor in possession, or the trustee if one has been appointed under this chapter, other than as provided in section 103(m) for collective bargaining agreements covered by the Railway Labor Act (45 U.S.C. 151 et seq.), may reject a collective bargaining agreement only in accordance with this section. In this section, a reference to the trustee includes the debtor in possession.

“(b) No provision of this title shall be construed to permit the trustee to unilaterally terminate or alter any provision of a collective bargaining agreement before complying with this section. The trustee shall timely pay all monetary obligations arising under the terms of the collective bargaining agreement. Any such payment required to be made before a plan confirmed under section 1129 is effective has the status of an allowed administrative expense under section 503.

“(c)(1) If the trustee seeks modification of a collective bargaining agreement, the trustee shall provide notice to the labor organization representing the employees covered by the collective bargaining agreement that modifications are being proposed under this section, and shall promptly provide an initial proposal for modifications to the collective bargaining agreement. Thereafter, the trustee shall confer in good faith with the labor organization, at reasonable times and for a reasonable period in light of the complexity of the case, in attempting to reach mutually acceptable modifications of the collective bargaining agreement.

“(2) The initial proposal and subsequent proposals by the trustee for modification of a collective bargaining agreement shall be based upon a business plan for the reorganization of the debtor, and shall reflect the most complete and reliable information available. The trustee shall provide to the labor organization all information that is relevant for negotiations. The court may enter a protective order to prevent the disclosure of information if disclosure could compromise the position of the debtor with respect to the competitors in the industry of the debtor, subject to the needs of the labor organization to evaluate the proposals of the trustee and any application for rejection of the collective bargaining agreement or for interim relief pursuant to this section.

“(3) In consideration of Federal policy encouraging the practice and process of collective bargaining and in recognition of the bargained-for expectations of the employees covered by the collective bargaining agreement, modifications proposed by the trustee—

“(A) shall be proposed only as part of a program of workforce and nonworkforce cost savings devised for the reorganization of the debtor, including savings in management personnel costs;

“(B) shall be limited to modifications designed to achieve a specified aggregate financial contribution for the employees covered by the collective bargaining agreement (taking into consideration any labor cost savings negotiated within the 12-month period before the filing of the petition), and shall be not more than the minimum savings essential to permit the debtor to exit bankruptcy, such that confirmation of a plan of reorganization is not likely to be followed by the liquidation, or the need for further financial reorganization, of the debtor (or any successor to the debtor) in the short term; and

“(C) shall not be disproportionate or overly burden the employees covered by the collec-

tive bargaining agreement, either in the amount of the cost savings sought from such employees or the nature of the modifications.

“(d)(1) If, after a period of negotiations, the trustee and the labor organization have not reached an agreement over mutually satisfactory modifications, and further negotiations are not likely to produce mutually satisfactory modifications, the trustee may file a motion seeking rejection of the collective bargaining agreement after notice and a hearing. Absent agreement of the parties, no such hearing shall be held before the expiration of the 21-day period beginning on the date on which notice of the hearing is provided to the labor organization representing the employees covered by the collective bargaining agreement. Only the debtor and the labor organization may appear and be heard at such hearing. An application for rejection shall seek rejection effective upon the entry of an order granting the relief.

“(2) In consideration of Federal policy encouraging the practice and process of collective bargaining and in recognition of the bargained-for expectations of the employees covered by the collective bargaining agreement, the court may grant a motion seeking rejection of a collective bargaining agreement only if, based on clear and convincing evidence—

“(A) the court finds that the trustee has complied with the requirements of subsection (c);

“(B) the court has considered alternative proposals by the labor organization and has concluded that such proposals do not meet the requirements of subsection (c)(3)(B);

“(C) the court finds that further negotiations regarding the proposal of the trustee or an alternative proposal by the labor organization are not likely to produce an agreement;

“(D) the court finds that implementation of the proposal of the trustee shall not—

“(i) cause a material diminution in the purchasing power of the employees covered by the collective bargaining agreement;

“(ii) adversely affect the ability of the debtor to retain an experienced and qualified workforce; or

“(iii) impair the labor relations of the debtor such that the ability to achieve a feasible reorganization would be compromised; and

“(E) the court concludes that rejection of the collective bargaining agreement and immediate implementation of the proposal of the trustee is essential to permit the debtor to exit bankruptcy, such that confirmation of a plan of reorganization is not likely to be followed by liquidation, or the need for further financial reorganization, of the debtor (or any successor to the debtor) in the short term.

“(3) If, during the bankruptcy, the trustee has implemented a program of incentive pay, bonuses, or other financial returns for an insider of the debtor, a senior executive officer of the debtor, any of the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor, or such a program was implemented within 180 days before the date of the filing of the petition, the court shall presume that the trustee has failed to satisfy the requirements of subsection (c)(3)(C).

“(4) In no case shall the court enter an order rejecting a collective bargaining agreement that would result in modifications to a level lower than the level proposed by the trustee in the proposal found by the court to have complied with the requirements of this section.

“(5) At any time after the date on which an order rejecting a collective bargaining agree-

ment is entered, or in the case of a collective bargaining agreement entered into between the trustee and the labor organization providing mutually satisfactory modifications, at any time after that collective bargaining agreement has been entered into, the labor organization may apply to the court for an order seeking an increase in the level of wages or benefits, or relief from working conditions, based upon changed circumstances. The court shall grant the request only if the increase or other relief is not inconsistent with the standard set forth in paragraph (2)(E).

“(e) During a period during which a collective bargaining agreement at issue under this section continues in effect and a motion for rejection of the collective bargaining agreement has been filed, if essential to the continuation of the business of the debtor or in order to avoid irreparable damage to the estate, the court, after notice and a hearing, may authorize the trustee to implement interim changes in the terms, conditions, wages, benefits, or work rules provided by the collective bargaining agreement. Any hearing under this subsection shall be scheduled in accordance with the needs of the trustee. The implementation of such interim changes shall not render the application for rejection moot and may be authorized for not more than 14 days in total.

“(f)(1) Rejection of a collective bargaining agreement constitutes a breach of the collective bargaining agreement, and shall be effective no earlier than the entry of an order granting such relief.

“(2) Notwithstanding paragraph (1), solely for purposes of determining and allowing a claim arising from the rejection of a collective bargaining agreement, rejection shall be treated as rejection of an executory contract under section 365(g) and shall be allowed or disallowed in accordance with section 502(g)(1). No claim for rejection damages shall be limited by section 502(b)(7). Economic self-help by a labor organization shall be permitted upon a court order granting a motion to reject a collective bargaining agreement under subsection (d) or pursuant to subsection (e), and no provision of this title or of any other provision of Federal or State law may be construed to the contrary.

“(g) The trustee shall provide for the reasonable fees and costs incurred by a labor organization under this section, upon request and after notice and a hearing.

“(h) A collective bargaining agreement that is assumed shall be assumed in accordance with section 365.”

SEC. 202. PAYMENT OF INSURANCE BENEFITS TO RETIRED EMPLOYEES.

Section 1114 of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by inserting “, without regard to whether the debtor asserts a right to unilaterally modify such payments under such plan, fund, or program” before the period at the end;

(2) in subsection (b)(2), by inserting “, and a labor organization serving as the authorized representative under subsection (c)(1),” after “section”;

(3) by striking subsection (f) and inserting the following:

“(f)(1) If a trustee seeks modification of retiree benefits, the trustee shall provide a notice to the authorized representative that modifications are being proposed pursuant to this section, and shall promptly provide an initial proposal. Thereafter, the trustee shall confer in good faith with the authorized representative at reasonable times and for a reasonable period in light of the complexity of the case in attempting to reach mutually satisfactory modifications.

“(2) The initial proposal and subsequent proposals by the trustee shall be based upon

a business plan for the reorganization of the debtor and shall reflect the most complete and reliable information available. The trustee shall provide to the authorized representative all information that is relevant for the negotiations. The court may enter a protective order to prevent the disclosure of information if disclosure could compromise the position of the debtor with respect to the competitors in the industry of the debtor, subject to the needs of the authorized representative to evaluate the proposals of the trustee and an application pursuant to subsection (g) or (h).

“(3) Modifications proposed by the trustee—

“(A) shall be proposed only as part of a program of workforce and nonworkforce cost savings devised for the reorganization of the debtor, including savings in management personnel costs;

“(B) shall be limited to modifications that are designed to achieve a specified aggregate financial contribution for the retiree group represented by the authorized representative (taking into consideration any cost savings implemented within the 12-month period before the date of filing of the petition with respect to the retiree group), and shall be no more than the minimum savings essential to permit the debtor to exit bankruptcy, such that confirmation of a plan of reorganization is not likely to be followed by the liquidation, or the need for further financial reorganization, of the debtor (or any successor to the debtor) in the short term; and

“(C) shall not be disproportionate or overly burden the retiree group, either in the amount of the cost savings sought from such group or the nature of the modifications.”;

(4) in subsection (g)—

(A) by striking the subsection designation and all that follows through the semicolon at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting the following:

“(g)(1) If, after a period of negotiations, the trustee and the authorized representative have not reached agreement over mutually satisfactory modifications and further negotiations are not likely to produce mutually satisfactory modifications, the trustee may file a motion seeking modifications in the payment of retiree benefits after notice and a hearing. Absent agreement of the parties, no such hearing shall be held before the expiration of the 21-day period beginning on the date on which notice of the hearing is provided to the authorized representative. Only the debtor and the authorized representative may appear and be heard at such hearing.

“(2) The court may grant a motion to modify the payment of retiree benefits only if, based on clear and convincing evidence—

“(A) the court finds that the trustee has complied with the requirements of subsection (f);

“(B) the court has considered alternative proposals by the authorized representative and has determined that such proposals do not meet the requirements of subsection (f)(3)(B);

“(C) the court finds that further negotiations regarding the proposal of the trustee or an alternative proposal by the authorized representative are not likely to produce a mutually satisfactory agreement;

“(D) the court finds that implementation of the proposal shall not cause irreparable harm to the affected retirees; and

“(E) the court concludes that an order granting the motion and immediate implementation of the proposal of the trustee is essential to permit the debtor to exit bankruptcy, such that confirmation of a plan of reorganization is not likely to be followed by liquidation, or the need for further financial reorganization, of the debtor (or a successor to the debtor) in the short term.

“(3) If, during the bankruptcy, a trustee has implemented a program of incentive pay, bonuses, or other financial returns for insiders of the debtor, senior executive officers of the debtor, the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division managers of the debtor, or any consultants providing services to the debtor, or such a program was implemented within 180 days before the date of the filing of the petition, the court shall presume that the trustee has failed to satisfy the requirements of subsection (f)(3)(C).”; and

(B) in the matter following paragraph (3)—

(i) by striking “except that in no case” and inserting the following:

“(4) In no case”; and

(ii) by striking “is consistent with the standard set forth in paragraph (3)” and inserting “assures that all creditors, the debtor, and all of the affected parties are treated fairly and equitably, and is clearly favored by the balance of the equities”;

(5) in subsection (h)(1), by inserting “for a period of not longer than 14 days” before the period; and

(6) by striking subsection (k) and redesignating subsections (l) and (m) as subsections (k) and (l), respectively.

SEC. 203. PROTECTION OF EMPLOYEE BENEFITS IN A SALE OF ASSETS.

(a) **REQUIREMENT TO PRESERVE JOBS AND MAINTAIN TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.**—Section 363 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(q)(1) In approving a sale or lease of property of the estate under this section or a plan under chapter 11, the court shall give substantial weight to the extent to which a prospective purchaser or lessee of the property will—

“(A) preserve the jobs of the employees of the debtor;

“(B) maintain the terms and conditions of employment of the employees of the debtor; and

“(C) assume or match the pension and health benefit obligations of the debtor to the retirees of the debtor.

“(2) If there are two or more offers to purchase or lease property of the estate under this section or a plan under chapter 11, the court shall approve the offer of the prospective purchaser or lessee that will best carry out the actions described in subparagraphs (A) through (C) of paragraph (1).”.

(b) **CHAPTER 11 PLANS.**—Section 1129(a) of title 11, United States Code is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(17) If the plan provides for the sale of all or substantially all of the property of the estate, the plan requires the purchaser of the sale to carry out the actions described in subparagraphs (A) through (C) of section 363(q)(1).”.

SEC. 204. CLAIM FOR PENSION LOSSES.

Section 502 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(1) The court shall allow a claim asserted by an active or retired participant, or by a labor organization representing such participants, in a defined benefit plan terminated under section 4041 or 4042 of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1341, 1342), for any shortfall in pension benefits accrued as of the effective date of the termination of such pension plan as a result of the termination of the plan and limitations upon the payment of benefits imposed pursuant to section 4022 of that Act (29 U.S.C. 1322), notwithstanding any claim asserted and collected by the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation with respect to such termination.

“(m) The court shall allow a claim of a kind described in section 101(5)(C) by an active or retired participant in a defined contribution plan (within the meaning of section 3(34) of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1002(34))), or by a labor organization representing such participants. The amount of such claim shall be measured by the market value of the stock at the time of contribution to, or purchase by, the plan and the value as of the commencement of the case.”.

SEC. 205. PAYMENTS BY SECURED LENDER.

Section 506(c) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by adding “(1)” after “(c)”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(2) If one or more employees of the debtor have not received wages, accrued vacation, severance, or any other compensation owed under a plan, program, policy or practice of the debtor, or pursuant to the terms of a collective bargaining agreement, for services rendered on or after the date of the commencement of the case, or the debtor has not made a contribution due under an employee benefit plan on or after the date of the commencement of the case, such unpaid obligations shall be deemed reasonable, necessary costs and expenses of preserving, or disposing of, property securing an allowed secured claim and benefitting the holder of the allowed secured claim, and shall be recovered by the trustee for payment to the employees or the employee benefit plan, as applicable, even if the trustee, or a successor or predecessor in interest has otherwise waived the provisions of this subsection under an agreement with the holder of the allowed secured claim or a successor or predecessor in interest.”.

SEC. 206. PRESERVATION OF JOBS AND BENEFITS.

Chapter 11 of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by inserting before section 1101 the following:

“§ 1100. Statement of purpose

“A case under this chapter involving a debtor that is not an individual shall have as its principal purpose the reorganization of its business to preserve going concern value to the maximum extent possible through the productive use of its assets and the preservation of jobs that will sustain productive economic activity.”;

(2) in section 1129—

(A) in subsection (a), as amended by section 104 of this Act, by adding at the end the following:

“(18) If the plan contemplates continuation of the debtor's business, the proponent of the plan has demonstrated that the reorganization preserves going concern value to the maximum extent possible through the productive use of the assets of the debtor and preserves jobs that sustain productive economic activity.”; and

(B) in subsection (c)—

(i) by inserting “(1)” after “(c)”; and

(ii) by striking the last sentence and inserting the following:

“(2) If the requirements of subsections (a) and (b) are met with respect to more than 1 plan, the court shall, in determining which plan to confirm—

“(A) consider the extent to which each plan would preserve going concern value through the productive use of the assets of the debtor and the preservation of jobs that sustain productive economic activity; and

“(B) confirm the plan that better serves such interests.

“(3) A plan that incorporates the terms of a settlement with a labor organization representing employees of the debtor shall presumptively constitute the plan that satisfies this subsection.”; and

(3) in the table of sections, by inserting before the item relating to section 1101 the following:

“1100. Statement of purpose.”.

SEC. 207. TERMINATION OF EXCLUSIVITY.

Section 1121(d) of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(3) For purposes of this subsection, cause for reducing the 120-day period or the 180-day period includes—

“(A) the filing of a motion pursuant to section 1113 seeking rejection of a collective bargaining agreement if a plan based upon an alternative proposal by the labor organization is reasonably likely to be confirmed within a reasonable time; and

“(B) the proposed filing of a plan by a proponent other than the debtor, which incorporates the terms of a settlement with a labor organization if such plan is reasonably likely to be confirmed within a reasonable time.”.

SEC. 208. CLAIM FOR WITHDRAWAL LIABILITY.

Section 503(b) of title 11, United States Code, as amended by section 103 of this Act, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(12) with respect to withdrawal liability owed to a multi-employer pension plan for a complete or partial withdrawal pursuant to section 4201 of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1381) where such withdrawal occurs on or after the commencement of the case, an amount equal to the total benefits payable from such pension plan that accrued as a result of employees' services rendered to the debtor during the period beginning on the date of commencement of the case and ending on the date of the withdrawal from the plan.”.

TITLE III—RESTRICTING EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION PROGRAMS

SEC. 301. EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION UPON EXIT FROM BANKRUPTCY.

Section 1129(a) of title 11, United States Code, as amended by sections 104 and 206 of this Act, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (4)—

(A) by adding “(A)” after “(4)”;

(B) in subparagraph (A), as so designated, by striking “Any payment” and inserting “Subject to subparagraph (B), any payment”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(B)(i) Subject to clause (ii), the plan does not provide for payments or other distributions to, or for the benefit of, an insider of the debtor, a senior executive officer of the debtor, any of the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor, unless—

“(I) the payments or other distributions are part of a program that is generally applicable to all full-time employees of the debtor; and

“(II) the payments or distributions do not exceed the compensation limits established in section 503(c)(1) in comparison to the nonmanagement workforce of the debtor.

“(ii) The requirement under clause (i) shall not apply to the compensation described in paragraph (5)(C).”; and

(2) in paragraph (5)—

(A) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by striking “and” at the end;

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following:

“(C) the compensation disclosed under subparagraph (B) has been approved by, or is subject to the approval of, the court as—

“(i) reasonable when compared to individuals holding comparable positions at com-

parable companies in the same industry as the debtor; and

“(ii) not excessive or disproportionate in light of economic losses of the nonmanagement workforce of the debtor.”.

SEC. 302. LIMITATIONS ON EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION ENHANCEMENTS.

Section 503(c) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by inserting “and subject to section 363(b)(3)” after “subsection (b)”;

(2) in paragraph (1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A)—

(i) by inserting “, a senior executive officer of the debtor, any the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor” before “for the purpose”; and

(ii) by inserting “or for the payment of performance or incentive compensation, or a bonus of any kind, or other financial returns designed to replace or enhance incentive, stock, or other compensation in effect before the date of the commencement of the case,” after “remain with the debtor's business.”;

(B) by amending subparagraph (A) to read as follows:

“(A) the transfer or obligation is part of a program that is generally applicable to all full-time employees of the debtor; and”;

(C) by striking subparagraph (B);

(D) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (B); and

(E) in subparagraph (B), as so redesignated—

(i) in clause (i), by striking “10” and inserting “2”; and

(ii) in clause (ii)—

(I) by striking “25” and inserting “10”; and

(II) by striking “insider” and inserting “person”;

(3) in paragraph (2)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by inserting “, a senior executive officer of the debtor, any of the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor,” before “, unless”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking “10” and inserting “2”; and

(4) by amending paragraph (3) to read as follows:

“(3) other transfers or obligations to, or for the benefit of, an insider of the debtor, a senior executive officer of the debtor, the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor that are outside of the ordinary course of business, except as part of a plan of reorganization and subject to the approval of the court under paragraphs (4) and (5) of section 1129(a).”.

SEC. 303. PROHIBITION AGAINST SPECIAL COMPENSATION PAYMENTS.

Section 363 of title 11, United States Code, as amended by section 203 of this Act, is amended—

(1) in subsection (b), by adding at the end the following:

“(3) No plan, program, or other transfer or obligation to, or for the benefit of, an insider of the debtor, a senior executive officer of the debtor, the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor shall be approved if the debtor has, on or after the date that is 1 year before the date of the filing of the petition—

“(A) discontinued any plan, program, policy, or practice of paying severance pay to the nonmanagement workforce of the debtor; or

“(B) modified any plan, program, policy, or practice described in subparagraph (A) in order to reduce benefits under the plan, program, policy, or practice.”; and

(2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “If the business” and inserting “Except as provided in paragraph (5), if the business”; and

(B) by adding at the end the following:

“(5) In the case of a transaction that is a transfer or obligation described in paragraphs (1) through (3) of section 503(c), the trustee shall obtain the prior approval of the court after notice and an opportunity for a hearing.”.

SEC. 304. ASSUMPTION OF EXECUTIVE BENEFIT PLANS.

Section 365 of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking “and (d)” and inserting “(d), (q), and (r)”;

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(q) No deferred compensation arrangement for the benefit of an insider of the debtor, a senior executive officer of the debtor, or any of the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers shall be assumed if a defined benefit plan for employees of the debtor has been terminated pursuant to section 4041 or 4042 of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1341, 1342), on or after the date that is 1 year before the date of the commencement of the case.

“(r) No plan, fund, program, or contract to provide retiree benefits for insiders of the debtor, senior executive officers of the debtor, or the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers shall be assumed if the debtor has obtained relief under subsection (g) or (h) of section 1114 to impose reductions in retiree benefits or under subsection (d) or (e) of section 1113 to impose reductions in the health benefits of active employees of the debtor, or has otherwise reduced or eliminated health benefits for employees or retirees of the debtor on or after the date that is 1 year before the date of the commencement of the case.”.

SEC. 305. RECOVERY OF EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter III of chapter 5 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by inserting after section 562 the following:

“§ 563. Recovery of executive compensation

“(a) If a debtor has obtained relief under section 1113(d) or section 1114(g), by which the debtor reduces the cost of its obligations under a collective bargaining agreement or a plan, fund, or program for retiree benefits (as defined in section 1114(a)), the court, in granting relief, shall determine the percentage diminution in the value of the obligations when compared to the obligations of the debtor under the collective bargaining agreement, or with respect to retiree benefits, as of the date of the commencement of the case under this title before granting such relief. In making its determination, the court shall include reductions in benefits, if any, as a result of the termination pursuant to section 4041 or 4042 of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1341, 1342), of a defined benefit plan administered by the debtor, or for which the debtor is a contributing employer, effective at any time on or after 180 days before the date of the commencement of a case under this title. The court shall not take into account pension benefits paid or payable under that Act as a result of any such termination.

“(b) If a defined benefit pension plan administered by the debtor, or for which the debtor is a contributing employer, has been terminated pursuant to section 4041 or 4042 of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1341, 1342), effective at any time on or after 180 days before the date of the commencement of a case under this title, but a debtor has not obtained relief under section 1113(d), or section 1114(g), the court, upon motion of a party in interest, shall determine the percentage diminution in the value of benefit obligations when compared to the total benefit liabilities before such termination. The court shall not take into account pension benefits paid or payable under title IV of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (29 U.S.C. 1301 et seq.) as a result of any such termination.

“(c) Upon the determination of the percentage diminution in value under subsection (a) or (b), the estate shall have a claim for the return of the same percentage of the compensation paid, directly or indirectly (including any transfer to a self-settled trust or similar device, or to a non-qualified deferred compensation plan under section 409A(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) to any officer of the debtor serving as member of the board of directors of the debtor within the year before the date of the commencement of the case, and any individual serving as chairman or lead director of the board of directors at the time of the granting of relief under section 1113 or 1114 or, if no such relief has been granted, the termination of the defined benefit plan.

“(d) The trustee or a committee appointed pursuant to section 1102 may commence an action to recover such claims, except that if neither the trustee nor such committee commences an action to recover such claim by the first date set for the hearing on the confirmation of plan under section 1129, any party in interest may apply to the court for authority to recover such claim for the benefit of the estate. The costs of recovery shall be borne by the estate.

“(e) The court shall not award postpetition compensation under section 503(c) or otherwise to any person subject to subsection (c) of this section if there is a reasonable likelihood that such compensation is intended to reimburse or replace compensation recovered by the estate under this section.”.

(b) **TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections for chapter 5 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 562 the following:

“563. Recovery of executive compensation.”.

SEC. 306. PREFERENTIAL COMPENSATION TRANSFER.

Section 547 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(j)(1) The trustee may, based on reasonable due diligence in the circumstances of the case, avoid a transfer—

“(A) made—

“(i) to, or for the benefit of, an insider of the debtor (including an obligation incurred for the benefit of an insider under an employment contract), a senior executive officer of the debtor, the 20 highest compensated employees of the debtor who are not insiders or senior executive officers, any department or division manager of the debtor, or any consultant providing services to the debtor made in anticipation of bankruptcy; or

“(ii) in anticipation of bankruptcy to a consultant who is formerly an insider and who is retained to provide services to an entity that becomes a debtor (including an obligation under a contract to provide services to such entity or to a debtor); and

“(B) made or incurred on or within 1 year before the filing of the petition.

“(2) No provision of subsection (c) shall constitute a defense against the recovery of a transfer described in paragraph (1).

“(3) The trustee or a committee appointed pursuant to section 1102 may commence an action to recover a transfer described in paragraph (1), except that, if neither the trustee nor such committee commences an action to recover the transfer by the time of the commencement of a hearing on the confirmation of a plan under section 1129, any party in interest may apply to the court for authority to recover the claims for the benefit of the estate. The costs of recovery shall be borne by the estate.”.

TITLE IV—OTHER PROVISIONS

SEC. 401. UNION PROOF OF CLAIM.

Section 501(a) of title 11, United States Code, is amended by inserting “, including a labor organization,” after “A creditor”.

SEC. 402. EXCEPTION FROM AUTOMATIC STAY.

Section 362(b) of title 11, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in paragraph (28), by striking “and” at the end;

(2) in paragraph (29), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (29) the following:

“(30) of the commencement or continuation of a grievance, arbitration, or similar dispute resolution proceeding established by a collective bargaining agreement that was or could have been commenced against the debtor before the filing of a case under this title, or the payment or enforcement of an award or settlement under such proceeding.”.

SEC. 403. EFFECT ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS UNDER THE RAILWAY LABOR ACT.

Section 103 of title 11, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(m) Notwithstanding sections 365, 1113, or 1114, neither the court nor the trustee may change the wages, working conditions, or retirement benefits of an employee or a retiree of the debtor established by a collective bargaining agreement that is subject to the Railway Labor Act (45 U.S.C. 151 et seq.), except in accordance with section 6 of that Act (45 U.S.C. 156).”.

By Mr. REED (for himself and Mr. YOUNG):

S. 1400. A bill to amend the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act and the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act to strengthen adult education; to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, we have a longstanding adult literacy crisis that affects the quality of life for individuals and families and holds our economy back, and the latest international assessments show that it is only getting worse. It is time for a major expansion of adult education. Today, I am proud to introduce bipartisan legislation—the Adult Education Workforce Opportunity and Reskilling for Knowledge and Success Act—or the Adult Education WORKS Act—with my colleague Senator YOUNG.

Adult education provides numeracy, literacy, digital literacy, English language skills, work readiness, soft skills, high school equivalency, and numerous wraparound services to millions of adult learners nationwide. These essential skills can make the dif-

ference between earning a family-sustaining wage and struggling to make ends meet. A study commissioned by the Barbara Bush Foundation estimated that getting all U.S. adults to the equivalent of a sixth grade reading level would generate an additional \$2.2 trillion in annual income for the country. Without the opportunities provided through adult education programs, many adults will be left on the sidelines.

The latest results for U.S. adults on the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies, PIAAC, are sobering. Between 2017 and 2023, literacy and numeracy skills sank, with the percentage of adults at the lowest performance levels increasing from 19 to 28 percent in literacy and from 29 to 34 percent in numeracy.

Building a sustainable economy that truly works for everyone is going to require helping these individuals acquire the basic skills they need to succeed. Unfortunately, we are reaching only a fraction of these individuals today. A recent study from the Adult Literacy and Learning Impact Network, found that over 80 percent of the adults surveyed indicated a strong or moderate interest in developing their skills, but only 20 percent reported knowing about existing programs in their communities. At current funding levels, the Department of Education reports that 1.1 million individuals were served, with over one-third of programs reporting waiting lists.

In my home State of Rhode Island, there are over 61,000 adults who could benefit from English language instruction and nearly 64,000 working-age adults without a high school credential. Yet, under current funding levels, the adult education program serves just over 5,100 individuals.

The Adult Education WORKS Act provides a roadmap for addressing this crisis. It calls for increased resources, nearly doubling funding for adult education by 2030. At the same time, it makes significant improvements to the adult education system. It calls for a new emphasis on digital and information literacy, which are essential for success in the workplace and in navigating everyday life. It enhances the role of adult education providers, with a special focus on public libraries and community-based organizations throughout the workforce development system, ensuring coordination and efficient use of resources. It invests in the professionalization of the adult education field, strengthening State certification policies, encouraging full-time staffing models, and expanding professional development opportunities and career pathways for adult educators. It provides support for college and career navigators in public libraries and community-based organizations to support adult learners where they live. Finally, it invests in innovation and accountability through pilot projects that test new approaches for measuring program performance and learner outcomes.

In developing this legislation, Senator YOUNG and I worked closely with key stakeholders, who are on the frontlines in the adult education community. I am pleased to count the American Library Association, the Center for Law and Social Policy, the Coalition on Adult Basic Education, the National Coalition for Literacy, National Skills Coalition, ProLiteracy, the TESOL, Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, International Association, and the Urban Libraries Council among the supporters of this legislation.

I urge my colleagues to cosponsor this legislation and work with us to ensure it is passed on its own or as part of legislation to reauthorize the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act.

SUBMITTED RESOLUTIONS

SENATE RESOLUTION 163—RECOGNIZING THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CLELA ROREX, A PIONEERING COUNTY CLERK WHO, IN 1975, ADVANCED CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL COUPLES SEEKING TO BE MARRIED

Mr. BENNET (for himself and Mr. HICKENLOOPER) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 163

Whereas Clela Ann Rorex (referred to in this preamble as “Clela”) was born in Denver on July 23, 1943;

Whereas Ruby Rorex, the mother of Clela, was a dance and theater teacher, and Cecil Rorex, the father of Clela, served for 30 years as clerk of Routt County, Colorado, where Clela grew up in Steamboat Springs;

Whereas Clela earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Colorado Boulder in 1973 and a master's degree in Public Administration from the University of Colorado Denver in 1981;

Whereas, in January 1975, at the age of 31, Clela became the Boulder County Clerk and Recorder;

Whereas, in 1975, when a same-sex couple requested a marriage license in Boulder County, Clela consulted the assistant district attorney and learned that Colorado state laws did not specifically prohibit granting a marriage license to a same-sex couple;

Whereas, as a newly-elected county clerk, Clela issued a marriage license to Dave McCord and Dave Zamora, the first marriage license issued to a same-sex couple in the United States;

Whereas Clela was quoted in 2016 as saying, “After having been so deeply involved in the women's rights movements, who was I to then deny a right to anyone else? It wasn't my job to legislate morality.”;

Whereas, after issuing the first marriage license to a same-sex couple in 1975, Clela issued 5 more marriage licenses to same-sex couples over the next month;

Whereas national news outlets circulated the groundbreaking story of Clela issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples, after which Clela reported receiving a deluge of death threats and condemnation in hundreds of letters and phone calls to the Boulder County Clerk's office;

Whereas, despite the threats, Clela continued her advocacy efforts on behalf of the

LGBTQ community, including by marching, volunteering, and donating to LGBTQ efforts for decades;

Whereas, in 2014, a series of court rulings cleared the way for same-sex marriages in Colorado, and, in 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States legalized same-sex marriage nationwide, 40 years after Clela issued the first same-sex marriage license in the United States;

Whereas Clela was 78 years old when she died on June 19, 2022, in Longmont, Colorado;

Whereas, in honor of Clela and her advocacy for human rights, Boulder County, Colorado, declared July 23, 2022, to be “Clela Rorex Day”;

Whereas Clela should be recognized for her leadership as a national civil rights leader, paving the way for countless individuals: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) recognizes—

(A) the contributions of Clela Rorex as a pioneer for civil rights and same-sex marriage;

(B) the respect and bravery Clela Rorex demonstrated when issuing the first same-sex marriage license in the United States; and

(C) the courage Clela Rorex exhibited following the threats she received when she issued marriage licenses to same-sex couples; and

(2) designates March 26, 2025, as “Clela Rorex Day”.

SENATE RESOLUTION 164—SUPPORTING THE GOALS AND IDEALS OF NATIONAL PUBLIC SAFETY TELECOMMUNICATORS WEEK

Ms. KLOBUCHAR (for herself and Mr. BUDD) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

S. RES. 164

Whereas public safety telecommunications professionals play a critical role in emergency response;

Whereas the work that public safety telecommunications professionals perform goes far beyond simply relaying information between the public and first responders;

Whereas, when responding to reports of missing, abducted, and sexually exploited children, the information obtained and actions taken by public safety telecommunications professionals form the foundation for an effective response;

Whereas, when a hostage taker or suicidal individual calls 911, the first contact that individual has is with a public safety telecommunications professional, whose negotiation skills can prevent the situation from worsening;

Whereas, during crises, public safety telecommunications professionals, while collecting vital information to provide situational awareness for responding officers—

(1) coach callers through first aid techniques; and

(2) give advice to those callers to prevent further harm;

Whereas the work done by individuals who serve as public safety telecommunications professionals has an extreme emotional and physical toll on those individuals, which is compounded by long hours and the around-the-clock nature of the job;

Whereas public safety telecommunications professionals should be recognized by all levels of government for the lifesaving and protective nature of their work;

Whereas major emergencies highlight the dedication of public safety telecommunications professionals and their important work in protecting the public and police, fire, and emergency medical officials; and

Whereas public safety telecommunications professionals are often called as witnesses to provide important testimony in criminal trials: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) supports the goals and ideals of National Public Safety Telecommunicators Week;

(2) honors and recognizes the important and lifesaving contributions of public safety telecommunications professionals in the United States; and

(3) encourages the people of the United States to remember the value of the work performed by public safety telecommunications professionals.

SENATE RESOLUTION 165—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT THE PLAN OF PRESIDENT TRUMP AND ELON MUSK TO FIRE 83,000 EMPLOYEES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS IS UNACCEPTABLE AND MUST BE RESCINDED

Mr. SANDERS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

S. RES. 165

Whereas, at the direction of President Trump and Elon Musk, the Department of Veterans Affairs is preparing a plan to fire up to 83,000 employees who provide care and benefits to our veterans: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Department of Veterans Affairs must immediately reject and rescind its Agency Reduction in Force and Reorganization Plan.

SENATE RESOLUTION 166—DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE REINSTATEMENT OF ALL VETERAN FEDERAL EMPLOYEES INVOLUNTARILY REMOVED OR OTHERWISE DISMISSED WITHOUT CAUSE SINCE JANUARY 20, 2025

Ms. DUCKWORTH submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs:

S. RES. 166

Whereas, on February 13, 2025, the Department of Veterans Affairs (in this preamble referred to as the “Department”) issued a statement dismissing more than 1,000 employees, including Veterans Crisis Line workers;

Whereas, on February 24, 2025, the Department issued a statement dismissing an additional 1,400 employees, once again including Veterans Crisis Line workers;

Whereas, on March 4, 2025, the Department distributed an internal memorandum outlining plans to dismiss up to 83,000 employees this year;

Whereas, at least 6,000 veterans have been dismissed across the Federal workforce because of the Trump administration's sweep of mass terminations across the Federal Government;

Whereas, despite repeated demands for transparency and good governance, Members of Congress and the United States public have yet to receive—

(1) data or justification about—

(A) the decision-making process that lead to these involuntary dismissals; or

(B) the already existing disruptions to several critical Department programs; or

(2) the Administration's plan for the future of the Department;

Whereas veterans make up 30 percent of the Federal workforce, serving first in uniform and then choosing to continue to serve in the Federal Government; and

Whereas it is the duty of the United States to support our veterans by making sure they have the benefits and care they were promised: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that any veteran Federal employee that was involuntarily removed or otherwise dismissed without cause since January 20, 2025, should—

(1) be immediately reinstated with guaranteed full and timely back pay; and

(2) receive timely notice of their reinstatement with clear instructions on the path forward for their position, with clear understanding, communication, and oversight from their respective chains of command.

SENATE RESOLUTION 167—RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ARCTIC COUNCIL AND REAFFIRMING THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE ARCTIC COUNCIL

Ms. MURKOWSKI (for herself and Mr. KING) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. RES. 167

Whereas the United States became an Arctic nation upon the purchase of Alaska in 1867;

Whereas the Arctic Council was established on September 19, 1996, through the Ottawa Declaration, to enhance cooperation, coordination, and interaction among the Arctic states with the active involvement of Arctic Indigenous peoples and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues;

Whereas the United States is a founding member of the Arctic Council and has twice served as Chair, from 1998 to 2000, and again from 2015 to 2017;

Whereas the Ottawa Declaration defines 8 states, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden, and the United States, as Arctic states and members of the Arctic Council as they have sovereignty over territory in the Arctic region;

Whereas the Arctic region is undergoing unprecedented environmental, economic, and social changes due to the impacts of climate change and increased human activity;

Whereas the Arctic Council has an advanced understanding of Arctic challenges through scientific assessments, policy recommendations, and collaborative initiatives;

Whereas the engagement of Indigenous communities and respect for traditional knowledge are integral to the Arctic Council's success;

Whereas the Arctic Council is the leading intergovernmental initiative involving all Arctic states, raising global awareness of the Arctic's significance and influencing international climate policies;

Whereas the Arctic Council has addressed key issues such as persistent organic pollutants, oil spill prevention, search and rescue, and scientific collaboration;

Whereas the Arctic Council emphasizes sustainable development, environmental protection, and peace in the Arctic amidst grow-

ing competition over resources and shipping routes;

Whereas the Arctic Council has played a vital role in maintaining the Arctic as a region of low tension and its continued work is essential to ensuring a safe, secure, and stable Arctic for all;

Whereas the Arctic Council has made significant contributions to understanding Arctic biodiversity, ocean health, and sustainable resource management, while also addressing emerging threats such as microplastics and shipping pollution;

Whereas the United States has demonstrated leadership in Arctic affairs, notably through initiatives such as the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, which provided a groundbreaking understanding of climate change impacts, and the International Circumpolar Surveillance system, a region-wide disease surveillance system led by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention;

Whereas the United States has supported collaborative Arctic Council initiatives such as the Circumpolar Wildland Fire Initiative, developed under Norway's Chairship, in partnership with Gwich'in Council International;

Whereas the Russian Federation's illegal war of aggression against Ukraine has significantly impacted the operations of the Arctic Council, raising concerns over the Russian Federation's military modernization in the Arctic and reinforcing cooperative security ties among the 7 other Arctic states (commonly known as the "A7");

Whereas, in response to the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, the A7 states temporarily paused participation in all Arctic Council meetings;

Whereas the European Union suspended cooperation with the Russian Federation in the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, leading to the withdrawal of the Russian Federation in 2023;

Whereas, despite the suspension of cooperation with the Russian Federation, the Arctic Council and its working groups resumed activities in mid-2023;

Whereas, in February 2024, the Russian Federation suspended annual payments to the Arctic Council until its participation was reinstated;

Whereas, in February 2024, the 8 Arctic states, in consultation with Indigenous permanent participant organizations, reached consensus to gradually resume official working group meetings;

Whereas Finland and Sweden's accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has heightened the Arctic's strategic importance for the alliance;

Whereas, in recent years, the United States has expanded its diplomatic presence in the Arctic region and strengthened economic and people to people ties with the region;

Whereas the Russian Federation's diplomatic isolation from the A7 states has led to the Kremlin's increased cooperation with non-A7 countries, particularly the People's Republic of China, which poses a threat to United States and European national security; and

Whereas a national intelligence estimate by the National Intelligence Council indicates that both Arctic and non-Arctic states will likely increase their competitive activities and military presence in the region as warming temperatures make the Arctic more accessible and states seek to protect their investments: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) recognizes the key role the Arctic Council has played as a critical forum for fostering international cooperation, sustainable development, and environmental protection in the Arctic region;

(2) commends the Arctic Council for its achievements in promoting scientific research, policy coordination, and Indigenous participation to address regional challenges;

(3) affirms the United States commitment to active participation and leadership within the Arctic Council to advance shared goals and uphold the values of cooperation and respect among Arctic nations and Indigenous peoples;

(4) acknowledges the Arctic Council's 8 member states—Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden, and the United States—as key participants in the Arctic Council due to their sovereignty over territories in the Arctic Region, which enables them to engage in collaborative efforts to address Arctic issues;

(5) encourages increased collaboration among Arctic Council member states, permanent participants, and observers to address emerging challenges and opportunities in the Arctic, including the impacts of climate change and sustainable economic development;

(6) supports robust funding and resources for United States agencies and organizations engaged in Arctic Council activities to ensure the United States fulfills its responsibilities as an Arctic nation;

(7) calls upon the Arctic Council to continue prioritizing peace, security, and environmental stewardship in the Arctic to safeguard the region for future generations;

(8) urges the executive branch to uphold and promote the principles and objectives of the Arctic Council in its Arctic policy and diplomacy efforts;

(9) emphasizes the importance of increased United States attention and resources in the Arctic as geopolitical competition and human activities in the region intensify; and

(10) emphasizes the importance of the position of United States Arctic Ambassador-at-Large to provide strong and consistent United States leadership in Arctic diplomacy and engagement and urges the executive branch to take all necessary steps to prevent prolonged vacancies in this critical role.

SENATE RESOLUTION 168—SUPPORTING THE GOALS AND IDEALS OF THE RISE UP FOR LGBTQI+ YOUTH IN SCHOOLS INITIATIVE, A CALL TO ACTION TO COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES TO DEMAND EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTIONS, AND FREEDOM FROM ERASURE FOR ALL STUDENTS, PARTICULARLY LGBTQI+ YOUNG PEOPLE, IN K-12 SCHOOLS

Mr. SCHATZ (for himself, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. PADILLA, Ms. WARREN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, and Mr. WYDEN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions:

S. RES. 168

Whereas young people, teachers, school staff, families, and communities must be free from transphobia, homophobia, racism, sexism, and ableism in K-12 schools;

Whereas K-12 schools must be safe and inclusive learning environments that include and affirm LGBTQI+ young people, especially those who are transgender, nonbinary, intersex, Black, Indigenous, people of color, and people with disabilities and those who

are from communities that experience marginalization;

Whereas, for more than 2 decades, Congress has supported a resolution for a National Day of Silence, and, for a decade, Congress has supported a resolution for No Name-Calling Week;

Whereas advocates have designated 2025 to 2026 as a time for communities to support the Rise Up for LGBTQI+ Youth in Schools Initiative in support of LGBTQI+ young people in schools by building on the goals of National Day of (No) Silence and No Name-Calling Week to create a sustained call to action to demand equal educational opportunities, basic civil rights protections, and freedom from erasure for all students;

Whereas LGBTQI+ young people frequently experience bias-based bullying and harassment, discrimination, and punitive discipline that increases the likelihood they will enter the school-to-prison pipeline;

Whereas over 200 anti-LGBTQI+ education bills have been introduced each year in State legislatures across the United States, the majority of which specifically target transgender and nonbinary young people, including—

(1) in the 26 States that have enacted policies between 2021 and 2025 that prohibit transgender students from playing alongside their peers on school sports teams; and

(2) in the 17 States that have enacted laws between 2021 and 2025 that prevent transgender students from using the school bathroom or locker room that corresponds with their gender identity;

Whereas the GLSEN 2021 National School Climate Survey found that LGBTQI+ students who experienced discrimination on the basis of their LGBTQI+ identity at school in the past year, including being prevented from using the restroom that aligned with their gender identity and being barred from playing on the school sports team that aligned with their gender identity, were nearly 3 times as likely to have missed school in the past month, had lower grade point averages, reported lower feelings of school belonging, and had higher levels of depression compared to LGBTQI+ students who had not experienced similar discrimination;

Whereas LGBTQI+ young people are more likely than their non-LGBTQI+ peers to experience mental health concerns, including stress, anxiety, and depression;

Whereas nearly half of LGBTQI+ young people seriously considered suicide in the last year, a trend that increases among Indigenous, Black, and multiracial LGBTQI+ young people;

Whereas the GLSEN 2021 National School Climate Survey found that, among LGBTQI+ students who said that they were considering dropping out of school, 31.4 percent indicated that they were doing so because of the hostile climate created by gendered school policies and practices;

Whereas States have passed or attempted to pass legislation that erases or censors LGBTQI+ individuals, history, and contributions from classroom literature and curricula, including—

(1) in the 9 States that enacted laws between 2022 and 2025 censoring instruction related to LGBTQI+ people; and

(2) in the 8 States that enacted laws between 2021 and 2025 that treat instruction related to LGBTQI+ individuals in history, science, the arts, or any academic class as a sensitive topic that requires parental notification and allows parents to opt their child out of such instruction;

Whereas these laws harm students and force families to consider leaving their homes, as demonstrated in a Williams Institute report, which found that 56 percent of LGBTQI+ parents of students in the State of

Florida considered moving out of the State, and 16.5 percent have taken steps to move out of State because of the passage of the Parental Rights in Education Act by the State in 2022;

Whereas States have gone farther by specifically targeting transgender students and their families with policies that attack mental health counseling and gender-affirming care for transgender students, including the introduction of at least 35 bills in 18 States since the beginning of the 2025 legislative session that prohibit or create barriers to the social affirmation of transgender and nonbinary students in schools, such as using the chosen name and pronouns of a student, regardless of the risk to the safety, health, and well-being of the student;

Whereas 86 percent of transgender and nonbinary young people say that recent debates prompted by State legislation restricting the rights of transgender individuals have negatively impacted their mental health;

Whereas data provided by the Department of Justice shows that there were a reported 247 anti-LGBTQ hate crimes in schools in 2023;

Whereas every young person must have equal educational opportunity and freedom from the fear that their basic civil and educational rights will be taken away from them;

Whereas young people who develop in positive school climates, free from bullying, harassment, and discrimination, report greater physical and psychological safety, greater mental well-being, and improved educational and life outcomes;

Whereas positive school transformation must recognize that safety is too low of a bar and that all communities deserve to be acknowledged and affirmed in schools;

Whereas students and families, educators, and community members in every State and territory are advocating for safe and inclusive learning environments that affirm LGBTQI+ young people, particularly those who are transgender, nonbinary, intersex, Black, Indigenous, people of color, and people with disabilities;

Whereas affirming policies such as enumerated anti-bullying protections, gender neutral dress code guidelines, and inclusive learning practices are proven strategies to address hostile learning environments for all students; and

Whereas we must all demand the best possible future for all young people in schools, particularly those who identify as LGBTQI+, without exception: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) supports the goals and ideals of the Rise Up for LGBTQI+ Youth in Schools Initiative in demanding the best possible future for all young people in schools, particularly those who identify as LGBTQI+;

(2) recognizes the contributions of students and families, educators, and community members who participate in the National Day of (No) Silence, to draw attention to the bullying, harassment, assault, and discrimination faced by LGBTQI+ students; and

(3) encourages each State, territory, and locality to support the Rise Up for LGBTQI+ Youth in Schools Initiative and adopt laws and policies that prohibit bias-based victimization, exclusion, and erasure.

NOTICE OF INTENT TO OBJECT TO PROCEEDING

I, Senator RON WYDEN, intend to object to proceeding to the nomination of Sean Plankey, of Pennsylvania, to be Director of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, Depart-

ment of Homeland Security, dated April 9, 2025.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

Mrs. BLACKBURN. Mr. President, I have 14 requests for committees to meet during today's session of the Senate. They have the approval of the Majority and Minority Leaders.

Pursuant to Rule XXVI, paragraph 5(a), of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the following committees are authorized to meet during today's session of the Senate:

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

The Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct an executive session.

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

The Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 10:15 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The Committee on Energy and Natural Resources is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

The Committee on Environment and Public Works is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 9:45 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

The Committee on Environment and Public Works is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct an executive business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 9:30 a.m., to conduct a hearing on nominations.

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

The Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 10 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

The Committee on the Judiciary is authorized to meet during the session

of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 2:30 p.m., to conduct a hearing.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 11:30 a.m., to conduct a business meeting.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

The Committee on Aging is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 2:30 p.m., to conduct a joint hearing with the House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

The Select Committee on Intelligence is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 2:30 p.m., to conduct an open nomination hearing.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CYBERSECURITY

The Subcommittee on Cybersecurity of the Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 2:30 p.m., to receive testimony in closed and open sessions.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

The Subcommittee on Personnel of the Committee on Armed Services is authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, 2025, at 2:30 p.m., to receive testimony in open session.

APPOINTMENTS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair announces, on behalf of the Democratic leader, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 106-398, as amended by Public Law 108-7, and in

consultation with the Ranking Members of the Senate Committee on Armed Services and the Senate Committee on Finance, the appointment of the following individual to serve as a member of the United States-China Economic and Security Review Commission: Livia Shmavonian of the District of Columbia. For a term beginning on January 1, 2025 and expiring December 31, 2026 vice Kimberly T. Glas of Virginia.

The Chair, on behalf of the Democratic Leader, pursuant to the provisions of S. Res. 64, adopted March 5, 2013, appoints the following Senators as members of the Senate National Security Working Group for the 119th Congress: JACK REED of Rhode Island, Administrative Co-Chair; RICHARD J. DURBIN of Illinois, Co-Chair; TAMMY DUCKWORTH of Illinois, Co-Chair; RAPHAEL G. WARNOCK of Georgia; ALEX PADILLA of California; JEANNE SHAHEEN of New Hampshire; ADAM B. SCHIFF of California; ANDY KIM of New Jersey; and RUBEN M. GALLEGO of Arizona.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 2025

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand adjourned until 10 a.m. on Thursday, April 10; that following the prayer and pledge, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, morning business be closed, and the Senate resume consideration of Calendar No. 17, H.J. Res. 20; further, that at 11 a.m., all debate time on Calendar No. 17, H.J. Res. 20, be expired, the joint resolution be read a third

time, and the Senate vote on passage of the joint resolution; further, that notwithstanding rule XXII, the cloture motion with respect to the Meador nomination ripen following disposition of Calendar No. 17, H.J. Res. 20; finally, that if any nominations are confirmed during Thursday's session, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table and the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that it stand adjourned under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 8:19 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, April 10, 2025, at 10 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 9, 2025:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PETER HOEKSTRA, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO CANADA.

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

PAUL ATKINS, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TERM EXPIRING JUNE 5, 2026.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

KEVIN CABRERA, OF FLORIDA, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA.

MIKE HUCKABEE, OF ARKANSAS, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

RONALD JOHNSON, OF FLORIDA, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES.