

Well, I question what will happen if we don't support Ukraine. Withdrawing American support for Ukraine could very well end up with a victorious and newly emboldened Putin on the doorstep of four former Soviet satellite states—now NATO members whom we are bound by treaty to protect.

If Putin wins in Ukraine, it is not hard to imagine him viewing incursions into one or more of these former Soviet states as a good idea. And given our treaty obligations—and the imperative to prevent a Soviet Union 2.0—it is not hard to imagine American troops being drawn into the resulting conflict.

Supporting Ukrainians' efforts to defend themselves against Putin's war of aggression is a way of preventing a conflict that would require a far greater commitment from the United States—not to mention warding off a likely catastrophic economic fallout in Europe from a wider war, which would take a heavy toll on American businesses and consumers.

Furthermore, there is little question that a Russian victory in Ukraine would embolden not just Putin but other malign actors—notably China.

If Russia is successful at taking over part or all of Ukraine, why shouldn't China think it can successfully take over Taiwan? We should be supporting Ukraine—not just because peoples fighting for freedom against tyranny are worthy of support, but because supporting Ukraine, like supporting Taiwan and Israel and other free countries, is in our national interest.

We should support Ukraine with an endgame in mind. Saying we will back Ukraine “for as long as it takes,” as the President likes to say, is noble. But not being intentional about the resources we send risks prolonging this war without advancing toward that end state.

We can't expect Ukraine to tread water indefinitely. And I am hopeful that the arrival of M1 Abrams tanks, longer-reaching ATACMS missiles, and soon—soon—F-16s, while too late to meaningfully contribute to Ukraine's summer counteroffensive, will enable Ukraine to make new battlefield gains.

The Senate will soon take up a supplemental spending bill to address defense issues. And any such bill should promote security abroad by providing support for our allies—specifically, right now, Ukraine, Israel, and Taiwan.

And after three successive years of recordbreaking illegal immigration at our southern border, we should make sure that any supplemental also focuses on building up our security here at home by tightening security at our borders, in addition to addressing military priorities like ramping up munitions production.

Senators GRAHAM, LANKFORD, and COTTON have produced a substantive plan to help secure the border and stem the historic level of illegal migration under this President's watch. And we should take up their proposal to address this essential aspect of our national security.

We can't solve every problem or bring peace to every conflict around the world. But the United States can be a powerful force for good, if we are willing to lead. And we should use our strength and influence to contain evil actors and advance peace and freedom around the globe. Failing to do so may have consequences for our national security now and long into the future.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PADILLA). The Senator from Kansas.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST—H.R. 6126

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. President, what if it was your family in these body bags? What if your wife, your daughter, or your mom were raped, tortured, and killed? What if videos of your baby or your grandchild being massacred were posted all over social media? What if a month had passed and there has been no meaningful action from your ally, the most powerful nation in the world?

I stand here today to right this wrong. Today, we will show the world that, once again, America will be there to do justice, to stand up for humanity, and ensure Hamas does not become more powerful.

As I stand in this Chamber, we have the opportunity to send a real message to Iran and its terrorist proxies that we will stop their hatred and evil from spreading.

This morning, I rise in support of the bipartisan, House-passed, standalone legislation to provide aid to the people of Israel, our strongest ally in the Middle East, during their ongoing war with Hamas. It is hard to believe that today marks a month—a month—since the October 7 savage attacks by the Hamas army of terror on the people of Israel.

Hamas unleashed an attack that was worse than animals, killing thousands of Israelis and 36 American citizens. And, right now, there are as many as 240 people taken hostage by these savages that only know one language: death and destruction.

Right now, there are families of hostages here at the U.S. Capitol begging for their loved ones to be no longer tortured, for their loved ones to reach safety from the grips of this evil army of terror.

Time is of the essence. And it is imperative that the Senate not delay delivering this crucial aid to Israel another day. A timely military aid package with a unified voice from Congress showing support for Israel will not only add to Israel's stability, it will slow down and hopefully stop the evil plots of Hamas, Iran, and its proxies.

Our bill provides military assistance and resources to Israel at the exact spending levels the Biden administration has requested. And I want to emphasize: These are the exact spending levels President Biden put forth that he agrees Israel needs in this time of war.

You can imagine my surprise—and the surprise of many—to hear that our Commander in Chief, admitting to a

significant security crisis in the Middle East, has threatened to veto this aid package.

Now, think about this. Our President is threatening to veto the aid he requested from Congress. With this veto, he would snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. And why? “Why?” many, many people are asking. Just because it isn't being leveraged for a \$105 billion boondoggle package with another blank check to another unending war in Ukraine.

Today, we plan on calling the President's bluff and delivering this critical standalone measure in a bipartisan victory for the White House. We must fast-track this much needed assistance to one of our staunchest allies: the people of Israel.

If this military aid and our strong message of support is not delivered soon, Israel will find itself fighting a war on three fronts. We know that Iran has those capabilities; that through their proxy forces, they have the ability to send long-range missiles to Israel from Lebanon and Yemen.

Helping our ally who is fighting a war from all angles against Hamas shouldn't require a prolonged battle here in Congress. This is a no-brainer and should have been done yesterday—or the week before.

The support for this package to Israel is bipartisan and bicameral. Again, our legislation honors the spending levels outlined by the Biden administration for Israel and keeps aid to Israel separate from the other conflicts.

What I want to make perfectly clear to every American is that our standalone package is an opportunity to secure a huge, bipartisan win for all of humankind and get aid to Israel quickly. The legislation we brought to the floor today ensures that funding for Israel is not coupled with a billion dollars of additional moneys in aid to Ukraine, Taiwan, or for a mass amnesty program at the border.

By passing this standalone spending bill today, the Senate will expedite the arrival of the assistance to Israel after the House and our newly elected Speaker, MIKE JOHNSON, passed with bipartisan support.

Now, many of us have concerns about the Ukraine conflict. But until the White House answers the 12 questions posed by the House, including the need for an inspector general and a clear-cut peace strategy, many of us will continue to block sending billions more in dollars to what looks like a stalemate that has already, tragically, cost over 200,000 lives.

Here in the home front, what is even more disheartening for the American people is this White House embrace of open-border policies that has allowed almost 10 million—that is right, we are approaching 10 million illegal crossings of our border, making every State a border State and every American less safe.

And it is a poke in the eye to every Member of Congress who has been to

the border and advocated for border security. This President sends us a \$105 billion bill, gaslighting the American people with a small fraction of this money going to Israel, and funds to make our border even more porous—more open—with an asylum-assist program on steroids.

This is a slap in the face and disrespectful for the families who have lost a loved one to the fentanyl crisis, for the communities who are overwhelmed by our open borders, and for every American who feels less and less safe in their own homes every day. This package the White House has given us is the only unserious package in town, jammed with very serious topics, and each of these issues should be debated fully, completely, and individually.

But today, on this Senate floor, we have the opportunity to make a difference for the people of Israel and all mankind. The legislation we brought to the floor would provide \$14 billion to Israel, including \$3.5 billion for foreign military financing and \$200 million in diplomatic funding to help protect the U.S. Embassy and personnel.

This bill would provide funding for the Iron Dome and Iron Beam defense systems. It will allow the United States to stockpile more weapons in Israel and provide more funding to protect U.S. Embassies.

Importantly, this bill strips all aid to Gaza, which we know is frequently commandeered by Hamas.

All this will make Israel safer and help stop this war. And, yes, Israel has the right to defend itself and to defend its people.

Our legislation is a real opportunity to find common ground and unite here to help our allies. It passed with 226 bipartisan votes in the House. Let's stop playing politics and pass this stand-alone bill for Israel right now. The House moved quickly to deliver this legislation to us here in the Senate. We should do the same and get it to the President's desk today.

Today, I am pleased to be joined by one of my colleagues from the great State of Ohio, Senator VANCE, in leading this effort in the Senate and pushing for its passage today so we don't delay this critical funding for our greatest ally in the Middle East, Israel, and stop the spread of terror.

I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. VANCE. I appreciate my colleague from Kansas making a forceful case for why this package is necessary.

We have been told by the President, we have been told by our Israeli allies, and we have been told by a number of national security experts that Israel is in a fight for its life. It is in a fight for its life against not just an enemy in Israel but an enemy—radical Islamist terrorism—that very often has and is planning as we speak to come to our shores and to attack us.

This is a commonsense package. As the Senator from Kansas mentioned, it

gives the President the exact amount of money that he asked for to support our Israeli allies. What is different about our bill—what is different about the House's bill that had already passed from what the President requested is twofold.

First of all, this is ready to go. It is ready to go today. If we pass this package today, aid would flow to our Israeli allies immediately. That is reason No. 1 to support it.

The other difference from the President's \$106 billion behemoth of a supplemental is that this is about a single problem, because we should be debating single problems in this country. The world is complicated, of course. The world has intertwined complexities. But we should have enough respect for the American people to debate these issues distinctly because they raise separate questions.

Many of my colleagues may forget that a matter of weeks ago—a matter of months ago, there were people in this Chamber, there were people in the United States of America demanding that the State of Israel give money and weapons to the Ukrainians—money and weapons that the Israelis are now using this very moment to defend themselves.

The idea that these policies are not intended with one another, the idea that what happens in Russia and Ukraine is separate from what happens in Israel is not just obvious, it is common sense, and it has been borne out by the reality of the last couple of weeks.

My colleagues would like to collapse these packages. Too many of my colleagues would like to collapse these packages because they would like to use Israel as a political fig leaf for the President's Ukraine policy. But the President's Ukraine policy, just like the Israeli policy, should be debated. We should talk about it. We should discuss it. We should separate the cost and benefits and analyze them as distinct policies because that is what the American people deserve of their legislature.

There are many questions we could ask about the Ukraine policy, many issues that have gone completely unanswered.

No. 1: What is our end goal in Ukraine?

You hear commonly that the goal is to throw the Russians out of every inch of Ukrainian territory. Yet, when you talk to the President's own administration in private, they admit that is a strategic impossibility. Let me repeat that. No rational human being in the President's administration believes that it is possible to throw the Russians out of every inch of Ukrainian territory.

So why is that the public justification offered by many advocates of indefinite, unlimited Ukrainian aid? Because this debate is fundamentally dishonest. We are not telling the American people the truth because we know

that if we did tell them the truth, they would not support an indefinite flow of money to Ukraine.

What are we doing, ladies and gentlemen? How long is this supposed to go on? How much money are we expected to spend? What is the strategic objective? What are we trying to do? Are we monitoring the fact that we have spent nearly \$200 billion, if the supplemental passes—\$200 billion to one of the most corrupt countries in the world? Do we have proper assurances that all that money is being spent on the things we tell ourselves it is being spent on? The answer, of course, is no because we have not had a real debate in this Chamber. The American people, I think, should be ashamed of us for that fact.

Let me offer just one final observation here. You have heard in this Chamber—you heard even today—that the Ukraine policy was born of a spirit of bipartisan agreement; that we had this moment where Democrats and Republicans recognized that it was very, very important to help the Ukrainians push back against the Russian attack. Of course, we support and praise our Ukrainian friends. They have done a lot more than many people gave them credit for.

But let's also be honest that for 30 years, Washington, DC, has run on bipartisan foreign policy wisdom, and it has run this country to the ground with \$1.7 trillion deficits; war after war after war that has killed thousands of Americans, millions of other people, and has not led to the strategic strength of this country.

It was great bipartisan agreement after September 11 that threw Saddam out of Iraq. Of course, a lot of people celebrated it until right now we realize that Iraq is a client state of Iran. We empowered one of the worst regimes in the world with our bipartisan wisdom.

Maybe what we should have is some bipartisan wisdom that the foreign policy consensus of this country for the last three decades has been a disaster. It has been a disaster for this country. It has been a disaster for our dead marines, Army soldiers, Navy sailors, and Air Force airmen. It has been a disaster for this country's finances, and it has been a disaster for the entire world.

Let's have a real debate. We haven't had one in 30 years.

Mr. President, I yield to my distinguished colleague from Florida.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. SCOTT of Florida. Mr. President, the terror and devastation unleashed on Israelis by Iran-backed Hamas terrorists have rightly horrified the world. Innocent families were murdered in their homes. Children were beheaded. Girls were raped. Whole families were burned alive. An elderly, wheelchair-bound woman, later identified as a Holocaust survivor, was brutally dragged through the streets of

Gaza. Children who witnessed the murders of their parents have been kidnapped and are being held hostage by Hamas. Hundreds were mowed down at a music festival. Thousands are dead. At least 33 Americans are dead, and reportedly 10 are held hostage. The atrocities are too numerous to fully recount, but the images we have seen will never leave our memories.

In 2019, my wife Ann and I had the opportunity to visit Kfar Aza, one of the kibbutzes that was the site of a complete massacre. As the early reports were coming out, I was really worried about the kibbutz because of its proximity to Gaza. It is about half a mile away. When I heard the news that it was the site of some of the most horrific and barbaric activities, my heart just sank. We had spent an afternoon there, and it was the most peaceful place. I keep thinking about the moms and kids who were playing outside, enjoying the warm summer weather. It is gut-wrenching to think of the fate of the families we met that day.

I spoke with Chen, the lady who led our tour of the kibbutz, who was traveling outside of Israel that day and survived. I was able to speak to her right after it happened, and she has not been able to go back home. She said it was unclear if she will ever be allowed to go back home. Can you ever imagine?

So many of us in this Chamber are so deeply connected to Israel, and I bet almost everyone here as a story like mine. We know people in the IDF who have been called to serve. We have friends all over Israel who have spent days in bomb shelters as rockets have been launched by terrorists intent on wiping Israel and Jews off the face of the Earth.

I have met with survivors and hostage families. I have placed a poster outside my office that features the faces of the hostages being held by Hamas. I am not going to take it down until they get home.

Not since the Holocaust has the world witnessed such a brutal attack on the Jewish people. We have to really let that sink in. It is 2023, and it sure feels like history is repeating itself. We also have a President who can barely even talk about the Americans who are held hostage right now in Gaza.

The first step to freeing these hostages and helping Israel destroy these terrorists is passing aid for Israel. We must send the world a clear message: Attacking the United States and our allies and partners is a bad idea, and it will only end with us winning.

In the days and weeks ahead, Israel is going to once and for all destroy Hamas and its ability to exist as a terror state on Israel's borders. The United States has to support Israel right now and ensure they have the weapons they need to completely destroy Hamas.

That is why I am proud to join Senators MARSHALL, VANCE, and our colleagues on the bill. The House took de-

cisive action by passing this bill last week. They moved quickly, and the measure is fully paid for. The Senate can follow suit right now. I am proud to colead the companion bill in the Senate.

I yield back to my colleague from Kansas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MARSHALL. As if in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 6126, which was received from the House. I further ask that the bill be considered read a third time and passed and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, there are some fundamental flaws in the arguments my colleagues are making for the Senate to do only half of its job, to say nothing of the partisan, so-called pay-for here—which is a giveaway to billionaires—that actually costs our Nation money and sets a dangerous precedent that our allies are fair game to be used as partisan bargaining chips.

First, we should not be pitting funding for Israel against funding for Ukraine and other needs. There is no need given the widespread support for providing assistance to both nations on both sides of this aisle. There is strong support for providing the assistance the President requested for Israel, and there are also bipartisan supermajorities in both the House and Senate in favor of Ukraine aid. That is because most of us on both sides of the aisle understand that while there are important differences, the challenges we and our allies are facing around the world today are connected.

Just last month, over 300 House Members voted for Ukraine aid, so pretending that this doesn't have the votes to pass the House simply doesn't pass muster. There is strong support here in Congress to address these urgent priorities in one package, and that is exactly what I am working with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to do right now.

Secondly, our allies in Ukraine can no more afford a delay than our allies in Israel. Ukraine is at a critical point in a brutal war to defend its sovereignty against Putin's bloody invasion. We must not give Putin a win and throw Ukraine to the wolves for political expediency. After all, what sort of message does it send about our commitment to our allies if we delay Ukraine aid further, especially after we have already missed our earlier opportunities to get this done?

For American leadership to have any weight in the world, our word has to mean something. Our commitments have to be ironclad. That means we do not abandon our allies in their time of need, period.

Failing to stand by Ukraine now will only embolden Putin and other dictators looking to trample democracies, which brings me to my last point.

While the challenges we and our partners face across the globe have different natures and nuances, we have to be strategic enough to understand that they are connected, they are urgent, and they should be addressed as part of one package.

The Chinese Government is watching how we respond to Putin's aggression in Ukraine. Putin is wanting the Hamas attack to give him an opening to distract the world from aiding Ukraine against his brutal invasion.

In fact, we know that a Hamas delegation visited Moscow recently. So let's stop pretending there is no common thread.

And, make no mistake, Hamas is hoping that we ignore the humanitarian needs in Gaza so it can drive people to despair and anger and, ultimately, extremism.

When it comes to humanitarian aid, making sure that people have food and water and medical care isn't just the right and moral thing to do. It is also very clearly in our national interest, as this promotes long-term stability and security, combatting hopelessness that can spiral into new threats.

Our adversaries are watching closely to see whether we have the vision to recognize how these crises are related and the resolve to come together and respond forcefully to them. We need to send a strong message, and the way we do that is by passing a strong security package. We are working together right now to get that done, and I urge all of our colleagues to support us in those efforts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, reserving my right to object, I, too, believe, with my colleague from Washington State, that we must move forward with emergency funding for our allies—all of our allies, not just the State of Israel but also Ukraine. I also think we have to move quickly to head off a closure or shutdown of our government next week, and we have to address the pressing needs of the American people in this process.

But it is very clear that this proposal before us—this unanimous consent to pass the bill including only funds for Israel—is just an attempt to deny assistance to Ukraine. It is not really about helping Israel. It is about making sure we don't continue to keep our commitments to Ukraine.

And we have had a debate about Ukraine. We have talked over 2 years about Ukraine, how dangerous Russian aggression can be, not just with respect to the people of Ukraine but to the rest of the world.

As my colleague said, China is watching. In fact, I think they are paying more attention to Ukraine than the current issue in Israel because Putin's imperialistic dreams of restoring the

Russian Empire resonate more closely to the Xi Jinping's imperialist dreams to reunite Taiwan to China.

So if we fail in Ukraine, I think that will send a very strong and unfortunate message to China that you can attack, wait the West out, and, eventually, they will concede. That is not good strategy or policy.

My colleagues argue that this will deny Israel getting the means to defend itself. Well, we have already been supporting the State of Israel. We have moved two aircraft carrier strike groups into the region. We are moving marines into the region. We are sending signals that we are strongly protecting them. Indeed, we have already engaged and shot down missiles from our naval forces. We have also suffered more than 40 injuries of American military personnel because of actions against the United States' positions in the Middle East because of our protection of Israel.

We cannot abandon Ukraine. They have lost hundreds of thousands of civilians and military personnel.

If you want to talk about horrors, October 7 was a horrible day. I was in Israel. I saw photographs—some that have not yet been released—of the tragedy. It was traumatic for the entire State of Israel.

But go to Ukraine. Go to Bucha. Dig up the graves of people shot in the back of the head while their hands were tied.

You want to talk about atrocities? Those were atrocities.

So we are fighting forces that are dark and evil, and we have to support all of those democratic nations—Israel and Ukraine—that are struggling against that darkness.

Now, this is not my opinion alone. Last week, Mike Pompeo, the former Secretary of State for Donald Trump and a former Congressman from Senator MARSHALL's home State of Kansas wrote:

Make no mistake: the outcome of this war will have a direct impact on U.S. national security.

He was speaking of Ukraine.

Should Putin prevail—whether on the battlefield or through a war of attrition that leads to ill-conceived diplomacy—the war would be felt well beyond Ukraine's borders.

Indeed, I would add, if we fail to support Ukraine with funding and equipment, then it is more likely that young American servicemembers will be called upon to fight and die and suffer in Eastern Europe, because, as so many of my colleagues have suggested and as Secretary Pompeo suggested, Putin will not be satisfied with simply taking Ukraine, and we could see ourselves engaged in defending one of our NATO allies.

I have a very simple sort of notion about American military policy. I would rather send resources to a country fighting than send American soldiers to do the fighting, and, if we don't support Ukraine, that will happen.

Now, this is a situation that calls on us to do the right thing, and we have to do the right thing. But this is not something that we can do separate one from another, because, as we have all said, there is a connectivity here, and this connectivity has to be recognized.

Now, the other point I would make, too, is that this bill is paid for. Now, this to me is one of the most startling aspects of the legislation that the Senator from Kansas is promoting because they pay for it by taking money away from the Internal Revenue Service. Some would say they are using the Israeli crisis as a way to do what so many of my Republican colleagues like to do—give tax breaks to the wealthy—because when you take money away from the IRS, you go ahead and ensure that people can feel much more comfortable about not paying their taxes.

The Wall Street Journal published an article a few days ago. In 2021, the IRS failed to collect \$688 billion that was owed to the United States of America. That is many times this supplemental that we are talking about. No financial institution would take money away from its bill collectors on the notion that, oh, that is OK. Only in Washington would we do that.

This bill is, thus, irresponsible in the way it is paid for and irresponsible in ignoring our commitment to Ukraine.

It is time to get serious. We have 10 days before our government runs out of funding. Israel needs our support. Ukraine needs our support. American families and communities are counting on us to deliver critical disaster assistance. They need support for affordable, high-quality childcare. They need many things that are also at a crisis level. And we don't have time—we don't have time—to entertain political gestures to send a signal to Israel and a signal to the rich in America that we are with you and neglect and leave out Ukrainians, who have been struggling and fighting against a foe that is determined to continue this fight in Europe. Ultimately, I feel if we don't respond appropriately, this forces us to send our men and women into the fight.

I commend Chair MURRAY and Vice Chair COLLINS for standing up for this country and for our allies.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, as the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I have come to the floor to speak about Hamas's attack on Israel. I joined with Senator REED—10 Senators, 5 Democrats and 5 Republicans—to visit Israel 2 weeks ago. We saw the brutality of Hamas firsthand. We met with the families of the hostages. We made it clear that we stand with Israel's right to defend itself, and we strongly support President Biden's efforts and the supplemental appropriations to provide those funds to Israel.

So why do I have concern about the unanimous consent request that has been presented? Because it is not bipar-

tisan. If you want to look at bipartisanship, look at the work of Senator MURRAY and Senator COLLINS on the Appropriations Committee. They have worked to get the type of unity we need in order to pass appropriations bills and get them into law, consistent with the agreements that were reached earlier this year, recognizing the division in our Congress. We need to have a bipartisan supplemental appropriations bill on the floor as quickly as possible.

So I am extremely disappointed by the action of the House because it is urgent that we consider the supplemental appropriations bill, and, because of the action in the House, it will now be delayed. Make no mistake about that. If the House would have acted in a responsible, bipartisan way, including the package that was submitted by President Biden, we would have had an excellent opportunity to pass a supplemental appropriations bill before November 17—the date, by the way, that our continuing resolution expires.

I am now deeply concerned, as a result of what happened in the House, as to whether we are going to be able to get that supplemental appropriations bill done before November 17, and it is urgent that we do this.

So let me speak about Ukraine. Ukraine is the frontline in defense of democracy. We know that Russia's invasion of Ukraine was not just aimed at taking over Ukraine. Mr. Putin would not stop with Ukraine. The Baltic States are clearly in his vision, and Moldova, Georgia, and beyond.

And as Senator REED pointed out, it is a lot better for us to have the frontline with the use of our funds defending our democracy than having to send American soldiers to Europe.

It is urgent we get assistance to Ukraine. We missed an opportunity 2 months ago. We have got to show the world that we are committed to the defense of democracy—U.S. leadership.

Just think about the message it would send if we say: We are going to help Israel, but I am sorry, Ukraine, we don't have time for you.

That is giving Mr. Putin a gift. We can't do that.

U.S. leadership is critically important. We need to make sure that we provide the leadership, and, quite frankly, our allies around the world are joining us, providing in total more assistance than we are. But it is absolutely essential that America lead, and we must get this Ukrainian aid moving forward. We need to do it in a bipartisan way.

It is a good investment. It is a good investment in protecting our democracy in Ukraine. It is a good investment in degrading Russia's military.

So let me try to connect the dots here, if I might, because Russia's war of aggression in Ukraine is very much related to Hamas's attack in Israel. Two of the most dangerous and brutal dictatorships in the world, Iran and

North Korea, have joined forces with Putin to support Russia's war efforts. Make no mistake about it. It was Russia that invaded Ukraine. Iran's proxy, Hamas, attacked Israel. Connect the dots.

We can't ignore Russia and think we are going to be safe in the Middle East. We need to provide the type of security that will help us with our own national security.

Iran is building factories in Russia to pump out new drones. North Korea is sending munitions to help Putin rearm his forces. We need a supplemental appropriations package that counters all of these threats, and we need to do it now.

So for the sake of our national security, we can't waste time. That is exactly what the House is doing by sending us this supplemental appropriation. We need to come together and show the leadership—the bipartisan leadership—in the Senate. Keep the package together. Let's put America's security first, and let's get to work immediately.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, our colleague has come to the floor and asked for unanimous consent for a bill of some major significance. This bill deliberately throws the Republic of Ukraine under the bus by ripping Ukraine out of the emergency supplemental. This bill would have a very powerful, consequential impact. It will allow Ukraine to be torn apart by Putin's savage invasion.

In the process, it will shatter the Atlantic alliance; it will fracture NATO; it will destroy American leadership in defending democracies; and it will empower dictators around the world, dictators who conclude that they can outlast the coalition of democratic republics when a dictator seeks to conquer a democratic neighbor.

The last time our world saw such complicity placating a vicious conqueror was when Chamberlain went to Munich. In Munich, Chamberlain told Hitler he could take a big slice of Czechoslovakia, and England would look the other way.

Chamberlain declared peace in our time, but his appeasement did not produce peace in our time. Instead, it stoked Hitler's appetite for conquering adjacent land and set the stage for the Second World War, with a massive loss of life and treasure of Americans and life and treasure of many nations around the world.

I tell you this: Appeasing Putin today is as wrong and mistaken as appeasing Hitler was 85 years ago. We must stand with the freedom-loving, fierce-fighting, democracy-defending people of the Republic of Ukraine.

If you love Putin, then by all means, support this bill. If you love China and want to stoke China's appetite to invade Taiwan, then by all means, support this bill.

But if you love freedom, if you love democracy, if you respect the courage and the fortitude of the freedom-loving people of Ukraine, if you oppose democracy-crushing authoritarians wherever they are found, then oppose this bill.

There must be no Putin appeasement on the floor of the Senate. There must be no complicity in creating a Munich moment. And so I join my colleagues in preparing to object to this bill.

I yield to my colleague from Maryland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, at this moment of danger and peril around the world, we, the United States, must support our friends and democracies that are under attack from brutal adversaries. That means ensuring that Israel has the right to defend itself in the aftermath of the brutal October 7 attack of Hamas. It also means ensuring that the people of Ukraine can defend themselves against Putin's rank aggression.

This proposal on the floor today is tantamount to surrendering to Putin's aggression. This is waving the white flag.

All of us were gathered in the Old Senate Chamber—most of us—recently when President Zelenskyy addressed the U.S. Senate. President Zelenskyy was very clear that the Ukrainians would continue to fight on no matter what. But he was equally clear that without the support of the United States and our allies, Putin has the upper hand, and it becomes a matter of time.

As we speak here, the Ukrainians are shedding blood. They are giving their lives. For God's sake, the least we could do is continue to provide them with the military and other assistance they need to fight off aggression, and time is of the essence in Ukraine.

And as my colleagues have said, this is not only about defending democracy and sovereignty in Ukraine; it is about the credibility of the NATO alliance and our other European partners who have come together to say to Putin: We stand together against your aggression.

The United States takes a walk, it sends a terrible signal not just to Ukraine but to all our NATO partners with whom we also say we have shared security interest. They see the United States walk away, it undermines the credibility of the entire alliance, not just with respect to Ukraine but with respect to any further aggression by Putin or others.

And it is not just about the NATO alliance. As my colleagues have said, this is also about other autocrats around the world who are watching very closely what happens in Ukraine, including what happens with respect to U.S. support in Ukraine.

President Xi is watching very closely as he keeps one eye on Taiwan. So

make no mistake about it, you can't get out here on the Senate floor and say you want to help protect Taiwan, say that you want to be tough on China when you are weak on Ukraine because what happens in Ukraine has a direct bearing on what happens to Taiwan and a direct bearing on Xi's aggression in the Indo-Pacific region. You can't have it both ways. That has been very clear from our allies in East Asia.

Talk to the leaders of Japan. Talk to the leaders in the Republic of Korea. Talk to other leaders in the Indo-Pacific. They say, if the United States walks on assistance to Ukraine, that our credibility will be totally undermined with respect to our allies in the Indo-Pacific region and that President Xi will have the upper hand there. So let's not pretend we are tough on China when you are weak on Ukraine.

Finally, as the chair of Appropriations pointed out, embedded in this proposal is also what appears to be a very cynical effort to actually use the claim of supporting Israel in order to secure relief for very rich taxpayers in the United States. This cuts funding from the IRS that the IRS will use to enforce current law against very wealthy Americans who are not paying the taxes that are already due and owing.

So under the cover of this bill, our Republican friends apparently want to help out very wealthy taxpayers who aren't paying their fair share, which is why the Congressional Budget Office has said that even when you cut the moneys to the IRS, it is going to actually increase the deficit.

The provision that the House had to cut funding for the IRS, which I guess they thought they were going to fool people that it was going to cover the cost of helping Israel—it doesn't do that. It actually adds to the deficit. Why? Because the IRS will not be able to enforce current tax law against very wealthy Americans who refuse to pay their fair share.

I know Republicans are always looking for a way to give the very wealthy and the very rich a free ride, but this takes cynicism to a new level. So I propose that we come back to the Senate floor with a proposal that does the right thing to support and defend Israel and its attacks from Hamas but also does the right thing for Ukraine, for the credibility of the NATO alliance, for the credibility of our alliances in the Indo-Pacific, for the people of Taiwan, and makes sure that this isn't used as a cover to give very wealthy people here in the United States a free ride on the taxes that already are due and owing.

So, with that, I yield the floor to the Senator from New Hampshire.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I join my colleagues in opposition to Senator MARSHALL's proposal and in support of a supplemental funding request that

recognizes the breadth of our national security interests, which should include Ukraine, Israel, and the emerging challenges in the Indo-Pacific region.

In Ukraine, as we know, Russia's brutal campaign of aggression is threatening the country's freedom and sovereignty, and the horrific events of October 7—1 month ago today—have forced Israel to defend itself in response to the worst terrorist attack that they have encountered. Both nations—both nations—face a similar threat against adversaries that seek to destroy them: Hamas wants to wipe Israel off the map. Putin wants to absorb Ukraine into Russia to recreate the Soviet Union.

Now, our allies and partners have already contributed a total of \$94.1 billion to support Ukraine's war and recovery effort. And we, alongside our international partners, recognize that the Ukrainian people are not only defending their land and freedom, they are fighting for the preservation of liberal democracies around the world.

What some of my colleagues overlook in their singular campaign in support of Israel is just how closely the fate of Ukraine and Israel are tied together, and there is one country which links both of those countries together. That country is Iran. Iran has been complicit in Russia's actions in Ukraine, exporting weapons and drones which inflict further bloodshed and harm on the Ukrainian people, and Iran is backing Hamas, which is waging war on the State of Israel.

And what is especially egregious is the blatant display of their malign partnership. Last week, Putin hosted Hamas and Iranian leadership, and Hamas expressed appreciation for Russia's criticism of Israeli sanctions.

This bill that Senator MARSHALL is proposing would also cost the Federal government \$27 billion—almost double what it provides to support Israel—and Senator VAN HOLLEN has been very eloquent in the reasons why that seems to be in the bill.

But it also strips out essential funding we need to address: the pacing threat from China in the Indo-Pacific. It ignores the humanitarian needs for both Ukraine and Israel. But most important, we can't pick and choose when the United States stands on the side of freedom and democracy. Do we really want to give a green light to Vladimir Putin to continue his revisionist crusade across Europe? Do we really want to give the impression to the allies and adversaries that the United States can't be depended on as a trusted partner? Do we really want to sow doubt in President Xi's mind that the United States will stand up for a free and open Indo-Pacific?

Our adversaries want the United States to fall short in standing up for our allies. They want us to be divided. We need to show them that we are united, and I am very pleased that Leader MCCONNELL and Appropriations Vice Chair COLLINS and so many of our

Republican colleagues are in full support of a holistic supplemental funding package. It is important that we fund this holistic response to address both Israel and Ukraine's needs, which includes humanitarian support for both Israel and Ukraine. I yield to my colleague from Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I rise today to implore my colleagues to pass a national security supplemental in line with what Senator SHAHEEN, the great Senator from New Hampshire, just outlined: yes, to stand up to the Hamas terrorists but also to stand up for an open and free Indo-Pacific, to stand up for humanitarian aid, and to stand up to Vladimir Putin and his barbaric invasion of our ally Ukraine.

That is what I am going to focus on today because I have seen many of our colleagues on both side of the aisle standing proudly with President Zelenskyy. The rhetoric of standing up for democracy has to be matched by what happens in this bill. Just as Putin has shown his true colors—intentionally bombing apartment buildings, capturing cities, and slaughtering innocents, abducting Ukrainian children—the Ukrainian people have shown theirs in bright blue and yellow against all odds.

Since the invasion last February, Ukraine has reclaimed 50 percent of the territory that Russia unlawfully seized from them.

As the Ukrainians advance, Putin—what has happened? He tried to capture Kyiv, but he failed. He tried to wipe Ukraine off the map, but he failed. He tried to drive a wedge between the United States and our allies, but he failed. He tried to topple the Ukrainian Government, but he failed.

Putin tried to break the Ukrainian spirit, but he has made it stronger. He tried to break NATO, but NATO added member states.

Our Ukrainian allies have persevered against all odds. When Putin tried to weaponize winter, Ukraine kept the lights on. When he tried to stop them from producing and selling grain, Ukraine found a way forward.

In his visit to Washington, DC, in September, President Zelenskyy made it clear: Ukraine as we know it depends on the support of its allies—not just the United States but countries in Europe, countries like South Korea, countries like Japan. To abandon our allies now would be a dereliction of duty.

We will not abandon our allies. As Americans, we believe in government based on the principles of democracy and decency at home and abroad. After World War II, we made it clear that big countries can't invade little countries. Our fight is not only a fight for Ukraine; it is a fight for protecting democracy across the globe.

As President Zelenskyy said at the U.N. earlier this year, if we allow Ukraine to be carved up, is the independence of any nation secure?

We know what Putin has done—bombed hospitals, schools, apartment buildings; continues to weaponize food and energy. We cannot let our Ukrainian allies succumb because the United States just decided, eh, we said we were going to do this before, but now, we don't think so. That is not standing up for democracy. As my colleagues have so well pointed out, other tyrants in the world are watching. They are watching to see if we keep our covenants. They are watching to see if we keep our word.

We know what is happening in Ukraine—ballerinas putting on camo and going to the frontlines; exhausted workers at the biggest nuclear powerplant in Europe trying to protect not only Ukraine but all of Europe from a nuclear disaster; the cellist playing melodies in the bombed-out remnants of a town square to remind people that despite Vladimir Putin's worst efforts, culture and humanity are there in Ukraine and are not going away—as we saw the head of the museum in Odesa remind us this week—despite the bombing.

As President Zelenskyy has said, "There is not a soul in Ukraine that does not feel gratitude to you, America."

When Rob Portman and I visited Kyiv this last August, what did we hear a year ago? We heard "Thank you for the HIMARS" on a bag of takeout food to the U.S. Embassy. We heard that was a name they were naming their kids—"Himar." They know what we have done. They need us now.

As Congress continues to negotiate the budget, we must find a way forward on Ukraine. As Senator MCCONNELL reaffirmed, "Think of it as an axis of evil: China, Russia and Iran. So this is not just a test for Ukraine," I say to my colleagues who are focused on national security. "It is a test for the United States and for the free world"—yes, an opportunity to secure our own borders but also an opportunity to secure the borders of our allies' democracies.

Remember the three words that Zelenskyy uttered on that first day when everyone had counted him out? He went to the street corner—just a few people around him—when everyone thought Russia was just going to take them out, and he said three words: "We are here."

"We are here."

That is what we have to do right now in this Chamber. We cannot send the message "We are not here" or "We were there before, but we are not here right now." We are here.

I yield the floor, and I turn it over to my colleague from the great State of Delaware.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HICKENLOOPER). The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I join my colleagues in standing to speak against a proposal brought to the floor by my



colleague from Kansas—a proposal that would move aid to Israel swiftly but ignore the urgency and the importance of humanitarian aid to countries around the world, of investments to secure our own border, of critical aid to Ukraine.

As my colleague has just spoken eloquently, we have all been inspired by the tens of thousands of Ukrainians who, hearing the urgency of the call to fight for their nation, to fight for their freedom, have laid down their lives, have worked to restructure their society and to aim towards freedom.

I have a hard time countenancing the idea that we today, on this floor, in this Senate, would walk away from this moment of challenge. As many colleagues have said and as I will briefly point out, the proposal that has come over from the House is not serious. It uses the tragedy, the horror of Hamas and its attack on innocent civilians in Israel, killing dozens of Americans, 1,400 in all—the brutality of that and the urgency of this moment—to advance a pay-for under the cloak of fiscal responsibility that would add \$27 billion to our national deficit.

Many of us have already dismissed this proposal as not serious, but this is a serious moment. As my colleague from Ohio has said, we need a serious debate about our path forward, about where we are going and why.

I want to speak briefly to two components of this bill and then close.

Our President's supplemental proposal includes \$13.6 billion to secure our border. The last serious, bipartisan proposal on border security, which was the King-Rounds bill we took up in 2018, invested \$25 billion over 10 years, \$2.5 billion a year. This supplemental would put \$13 billion in 1 year into hiring thousands of new border agents—CBP and Border Patrol; thousands of new staff—attorneys, folks who can move the asylum process quickly; money for detention and deportation; and nearly a billion-dollar investment in scanning everything coming across our border to end human trafficking and the importation of fentanyl. This is a serious proposal that deserves serious support.

Last, the humanitarian piece of this overall supplement would not just help ease the suffering in Ukraine, in Gaza, but in dozens of countries around the world facing a collapse due to a global calamity of hunger.

Let me conclude. It is right now—right now—twilight, dusk in Kyiv. It is right now as we debate on this floor twilight, dusk in Jerusalem. I am confident there are members of the Ukrainian Government, there are members of the leadership of Ukrainian forces, there are individuals on the frontline in Ukraine listening to this debate, urgently wondering: Will we stand? Will this Senate that invited President Zelenskyy to address us in the Old Senate Chamber just 6 weeks ago keep our word? Will we stand or will we fall? This is a moment that will

test our Nation. This is a moment that tests this body. Will we allow ourselves to be distracted by moments of comfort or ease or will we take up the hard work with the leadership of this talented and capable pair, the chair and vice chair of our Appropriations Committee? Will we negotiate? Will we compromise? Will we take up the challenge laid before us to be the indispensable Nation that will care for those in need, that will secure our own border, that will defend Israel, that will defend Ukraine, that will look and face this moment and say: We are the indispensable Nation.

Will we stand, Mr. President?

It is my prayer that we have, we must, and we will.

With that, I yield the floor to my colleague from the State of Washington.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, for all of these well-stated reasons, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. President, this has certainly been one of the most substantive debates we have had up here—very meaningful and very important to myself—because it exposes what our priorities are as Senators to everybody across the Nation.

Today, I heard lots of arguments on why we should combine funding. People essentially want to leverage support for Israel for their own priorities. Again, there were lots of arguments on why we should combine the funding, but I didn't hear one meaningful argument that describes why we should not fund Israel singularly. Why shouldn't we just do it by itself? There is near unanimous agreement up here. This is a great opportunity to say, indeed, this is the time to support Israel. No one is abandoning Ukraine today. We are not abandoning Taiwan today.

But it is interesting to me that no one talked about the concern of the corruption in Ukraine, talked about their federal government nationalizing communications companies, the fact that Poland and Hungary and other countries are leaving them and saying that they don't support the war anymore.

No one is talking about peace. No one is talking about the 200,000 people who have already died in Ukraine. Are those bodies—are those people not important as well? Why isn't America leading a peace agreement?

Time is of the essence. Time is of the essence. But, as we can tell today, we can debate each and every one of these topics until the Sun sets here, until the Sun rises in Israel, but there is not unanimous—not near unanimous support for Ukraine without some certain questions being answered. Lots of questions need to be answered. Is there a plan?

Look at the schedules this week. Why are we talking about some type of supplemental bill on the floor? Why

don't we have it on the floor yet? If we were serious up here, if my leaders across the aisle and at the White House were serious, they would have had something on the floor last week. This is the administration that takes a week to decide to send an aircraft carrier when our allies are in need. The schedule this week is embarrassing, what we are spending time on up here.

I want to go back to priorities. I think so often all these causes are important, and we all agree that we need to address each and every one of them, but if I listen to my friends across the aisle, they would describe Ukraine as the priority.

I don't think anyone back home can really take the President's supplemental bill as serious when he actually makes the border more open. Ten million people have crossed the border illegally under his watch, and what he throws into this supplemental package is actually going to increase the number of people crossing the border illegally. The priority should be to fix a broken immigration system and to secure the border; that at the end of the day, there are less people crossing the border illegally, not more; that we need a policy that turns off this magnet of asking people to come here.

At the end of the day, what it looks like to me is my friends across the aisle want to take this opportunity of support for Israel and leverage it to pass their votes for their own agenda—an agenda of an open border, endless funding for an endless war in Ukraine.

Every day I wake up, I pray that I would do justice, that I would love mercy, and I would like to think that would be true of every Member of the Senate.

The argument today is not about the IRS. It is not about what is happening in the House. It is about what we are saying. It is about what we are doing and our willingness to stand up and fight in this case for the people of Israel. But this is a battle that goes way beyond just a battle between the people of Israel and the Hamas army of terror; this is a battle for the future of humankind.

We have encountered 179 known terrorists on the watch list, 60,000 aliens of interest have crossed our border, and the numbers go on. Just this week, they caught a terrorist who was released at the border, caught in New York as well.

This is about doing what is fair, what is right, and what is just. We may disagree on Ukraine. We may disagree on what we should do in Taiwan. We definitely disagree on what we should do at the border. And I will admit to you, I could be wrong on Ukraine. It will take history 50 or 100 or 200 years to find out who was right or wrong on Ukraine. But I am telling you this. You can take this to the bank: I am right on securing the border, and I am right on supporting Israel.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I am going to ask unanimous consent, but before I do, I just want to respond to the Senator and say we have a proposal that covers Israel, humanitarian aid, Ukraine, and the border. We are working to get that done, and I welcome the input from our Republican colleagues so that we can be a strong United States of America and address the issues we all need to address.

NOMINATION OF MONICA M. BERTAGNOLLI

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise today to express my support for Dr. Monica M. Bertagnolli, whom President Biden nominated to serve as the next Director of the National Institutes of Health—NIH. As current director of the National Cancer Institute—NCI—and a distinguished professor and surgeon, Dr. Bertagnolli certainly possesses the experience that will make her an effective leader for our Nation's preeminent research center.

The NIH serves as the pinnacle of biomedical and behavioral research in the United States and provides valuable insights that are used around the world for saving lives and improving people's health. Whether we know it or not, the NIH and the research done there has touched all of our lives by giving our healthcare professionals the resources they need for success. We in Maryland are proud to have the NIH headquartered in Bethesda, with so many in our State contributing to its important mission.

Thanks to Dr. Bertagnolli's decades of experience as a physician-scientist, she has obtained a well-rounded view of medical research that I am confident will properly inform her decisions as NIH Director. Her work to better understand the development and treatment of various types of cancer highlights the diligence and effectiveness that qualify Dr. Bertagnolli for this position.

As NCI Director, Dr. Bertagnolli has demonstrated her leadership capabilities alongside her efficacy as a researcher, working with the Biden Administration to reignite the Cancer Moonshot, which aims to reduce cancer mortality by 50 percent over the next 25 years. This ambitious goal reflects the determination of our cancer research professionals and President Biden's continued commitment to investing in programs, consortia, and research projects that aim to end cancer as we know it. The NCI, along with spearheading the Cancer Moonshot initiative, has also partnered with the Biden Administration to address disparities in cancer outcomes for Americans living in low-income areas, working to implement community-based programs in locations facing persistent poverty.

Just a few weeks into her tenure as director of NCI, Dr. Bertagnolli's work became much more personal as she was diagnosed with early-stage breast cancer following a routine mammogram. She was forced to balance her new role as our Nation's leading cancer re-

searcher with her own personal battle with the disease. I cannot commend Dr. Bertagnolli enough for the strength she has shown to continue her service to Americans in the face of such a daunting challenge.

If the Senate confirms Dr. Bertagnolli today, I would encourage her to take aim at some of the most pressing healthcare issues facing our country. As things stand, significant health disparities exist in the United States, with many Americans not receiving equitable access to care. Dr. Bertagnolli's confirmation provides her with the chance to utilize the NIH's National Institute for Minority Health and Health Disparities to work towards solutions for underserved populations that aren't receiving the care they need. Her new role would also empower her to build a stronger, more diverse healthcare workforce, one that would be well-equipped to face the challenges of today.

As a Marylander, I would be proud to welcome Dr. Bertagnolli to our State. She will be tasked with addressing many crucial and complex issues as Director of the NIH, but I am confident that she is up to the challenge.

I ask the Senate colleagues to join me in recognizing Dr. Bertagnolli for the outstanding work she has done as a researcher and surgeon, to support her confirmation, and to wish her well in her new role should she be confirmed.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 2 minutes prior to the vote, followed by Senator SANDERS, who will speak for up to 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I have always strongly advocated for the NIH because I know the work that they do—as so many world-class institutions, including several in Washington State—isn't just cutting edge; it is lifesaving. This Agency, the NIH, holds the hope and future of patients across the country in its hands. So it is of the utmost importance to me to make sure we have an experienced leader at the helm of NIH, and Dr. Bertagnolli is an excellent choice to lead the Agency at this critical moment. You need a steady hand to be a cancer surgeon after all.

Her credentials go far beyond her record of accomplishment as an oncologist. She is a respected researcher and a proven leader. She has served on the board of directors of the American Society of Clinical Oncology, the American Cancer Society, and the Prevent Cancer Foundation. She was the CEO of Alliance Foundation Trials, LLC, a not-for-profit focused on making sure rural communities are included in clinical studies. Of course, now she is the head of the National Cancer Institute, where she has led the research strategy and goals for President Biden's Cancer Moonshot Initiative.

In addition to that which she brings to this role, she also brings a strong

personal connection, which she spoke about at our HELP Committee hearing. She brings the personal experience of growing up in a rural community, where she watched her uncle travel across the State to provide care to patients and where she watched her father fight cancer while care was far from home. And she brings the most recent personal experience of receiving a cancer diagnosis and then of receiving care that was made possible by NIH research.

It is clear that those experiences will inform how she approaches her new role at the NIH, and I know patients will be better for it.

I also want to take a moment to recognize that, in the field of biomedical research, where women have long been severely underrepresented both in clinical trials and in the workforce, it will be truly meaningful to have such an accomplished woman serving in a role that has real power to tackle issues like improving diversity in clinical trials, fighting sexual harassment that has pushed too many women out of the field, and tearing down other barriers to achievement and equal representation for women in medical research.

Dr. Bertagnolli is the right person to ensure the NIH stays on the cutting edge of innovation and research and fulfills its critical mission to promote health, improve equity, keep our Nation competitive, and give patients across the world real hope for the future. She has the experience in medicine, research, and management needed for this role. Most importantly, she has a deep understanding of what the NIH's work means for families in this country who are counting on medical breakthroughs.

I am proud to be voting yes. I urge my colleagues to do the same.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. President, the American people understand—whether they are Democrats, Republicans, or Independents—that our healthcare system is broken; it is dysfunctional; it is failing.

We spend almost twice as much per person on healthcare—an unsustainable \$13,000 for every man, woman, and child—than any other country on Earth, and yet the results of all of that spending are abysmal. While the insurance companies and the drug companies make hundreds of billions of dollars in profit, we have 85 million Americans who are uninsured or underinsured and over 60,000 people who die every single year because they can't get to a doctor when they need to.

In this country, despite our huge expenditures, we don't have enough doctors, nurses, dentists, pharmacists, or mental health specialists; and our life expectancy is far lower than in most other countries, especially for working class and lower income Americans. In my view—and I think it is the view of