

child goes hungry—no child—and that every family gets the same kind of support my family got when I was growing up.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

ISRAEL

Mrs. GILLIBRAND. Mr. President, this is my 10th floor speech since the October 7 attack. Ten times I have stood here and told the hostages' stories. Ten times I have expressed their families' endless pain. But for every minute that I have stood here, the hostages and their families have lived lifetimes, an eternity in each moment.

I have met so many families whose entire universe has been paralyzed. I have met mothers who are despondent, fathers who are desperate. They are living between hope and despair. They are asking themselves: Is my father alive? Is my daughter being raped every day? Is my husband being mistreated? Is my sister being fed?

I recently met a family who says several of their loved ones were kidnapped by Hamas. Two escaped, and one was released, but one, 39-year-old Carmel Gat, is still being held captive.

She is an occupational therapist by training. Carmel had recently returned from a 3-month trip to India and was staying with her parents in Kibbutz Be'eri.

On the morning of October 7, terrorists broke into her home. They took her mother to a street corner in the kibbutz and brutally murdered her. A few minutes later, they put Carmel into a car and drove her by that corner. That is how she learned her mother was killed.

Released hostages who were with her told Carmel's family about the cruelty and the viciousness of the guards, but they also told them how brave Carmel was, defending and caring for the children being held in captivity, keeping them safe, teaching them how to turn within themselves, to meditate, to do yoga, to breathe, to give them some tools just to survive.

Carmel was expected to be released on the eighth day of the November cease-fire, but just a few hours before it was her time to come home, the deal collapsed. Her family said they still haven't heard anything about her condition—whether she is alive, whether she is suffering, whether she will come home.

Carmel is just one of the roughly 130 people still being held hostage by Hamas, including as many as 6 Americans. But she, like every other person whose life has been torn apart by this conflict, is not a statistic. She is a daughter. She is loved. Our hearts are

with her, and we will not rest until she is home.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii.

NATIVE AMERICAN GRAVES PROTECTION AND REPATRIATION ACT

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, for centuries, Native people have had everything stolen from them—their lands, their water, their language, their children.

It wasn't that long ago it was the official policy of the U.S. Government to terminate—to terminate—the existence of Tribes and to forcibly assimilate their citizens. And a big part of that unrelenting, inhumane policy was that the remains of Native ancestors and culturally significant items were also taken from them, not with permission, but by force; not discovered, but stolen on battlefields and in cemeteries, under the cover of darkness or under guise of academic research.

Think about that. The U.S. Government literally stole bones. Soldiers and agents overturned graves and took whatever they could find. And these were not isolated incidents. They happened all across the country. In my home State of Hawaii, the remains of Native Hawaiians—or "iwi kupuna," as they are called—were routinely pillaged without regard for the sanctity of burials or Native Hawaiian culture.

All of it was brought to some of the most venerable institutions at home and abroad to be studied like biological specimens, displayed in museum exhibits as if they are paintings on loan or squirreled away in a professor's office closet never to be seen again.

The theft of hundreds of thousands of remains and items over generations was unconscionable in and of itself, but the legacy of that cruelty continues to this very day because these museums and universities continue to hold onto these sacred items in violation of everything that is right and moral and, more importantly, in violation of Federal law.

To remedy this injustice, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, or NAGPRA, in 1990. It required museums and universities to quickly return the remains and the items that they were holding that belonged to Native Hawaiians, Alaska Natives, and American Indians.

At the time, the Congressional Budget Office anticipated that it would take about 5 years to complete the process of repatriation. Thirty-four years later, it is nowhere close to being done. In fact, experts recently estimated that at the current rate, it may take up to 70 more years to complete the process. Why? Because these institutions, all otherwise well-respected and sought after, have done everything in their power to obstruct and obfuscate when confronted about their collections.

They act as if this is some sort of impossible task, either administratively or determining the lineage or provi-

dence of an item. They purposefully mischaracterize items as "culturally unidentifiable." Culturally unidentifiable.

They engage with Native communities as little as possible. They "borrow" collections from one another so they can never actually be held responsible for them. And maybe the most outrageous of all excuses, they claim that Tribes and Native groups lack the ability to take care of their own things—lack the ability to take care of their own items of cultural patrimony, bones stolen from graves.

This smells of the worst kind of colonialism, with a thin veneer of progressive ideology and verbiage. University provosts and presidents can do all of the land acknowledgements that they want. They can post lengthy statements about equity on their websites and champion any number of progressive causes, but that rings hollow when they are at the same time clinging onto vast collections of stolen items because of a perverse, patronizing sense of ownership.

This is not morally ambiguous. There is nothing to ponder here. The fact is these items do not belong in museums or universities or to science or academia. They belong to the Native people from which they came, which is why the Committee on Indian Affairs, where I am chair, held an oversight hearing on this issue almost 2 years ago and demanded explanations from the foremost offenders about their delays in repatriating these items.

They are located all over the country: Ohio History Connection; the Illinois State Museum; Harvard University; University of California, Berkeley; and Indiana University. Together, these five institutions still hold at least 30,000 Native ancestral remains. These institutions have been responsive, and many have accelerated their repatriation efforts since.

Earlier this month, Harvard, which has the third largest collection of these items in the country, pledged to cover the travel expenses of Native leaders to facilitate the repatriation process. Other museums, including the American Museum of Natural History and the Field Museum, have recently announced steps to finally comply with the Federal law. And yet there are still more than 70 other institutions holding almost 58,000 ancestral remains. That is not counting the additional hundreds of thousands of cultural items in their collections.

These museums and universities are everywhere: the University of Tennessee; the University of Kentucky; the University of Alabama; the University of Arizona; the University of Florida; the University of Missouri, Columbia; the University of Oklahoma; the Center for American Archaeology in Illinois; the University of Texas at Austin; the Milwaukee Public Museum; and so on. This is just a small sample, and I will enter the full list into the RECORD.

But the point is this: We are not done. Our work is not over. These are

supposedly liberal institutions who have no problem parroting whatever progressive expression is in vogue. And yet at the same time, they continue a colonial project against the explicit and repeated wishes of Native people. If you say you are for equal justice, for doing right by people of all backgrounds, then act like it. Return these remains and items to the Native people they belonged to all along.

Some of the challenges when it comes to addressing past injustices in American history can seem so big as to be totally overwhelming. Where do you

start? But this is not one of them. Returning these items matters, and the good news is it is imminently doable, but doable only if we collectively agree that getting this right is a necessary condition for justice to be restored.

Doing this alone will not right past wrongs or somehow erase a long and brutal history of injustice. Of course, it won't. Native people still need money for water and electricity and healthcare. They still, as ever, need the unimpeded right to self-determination. But the least we can do—and I mean that, the least we can do—is enable

them to tell their own stories and to define themselves, for themselves, to the rest of the world.

Give the items back. Comply with Federal law. Hurry. Devote resources to this. Demonstrate in three dimensions that you care about the values that you espouse.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the list of institutions in possession of the repatriated remains be printed in the RECORD.

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

Rank	Institution	Unrepatriated Ancestral Remains	Percent of National Total (97,622)
1	Ohio History Connection	7167	7.34
2	Illinois State Museum	7110	7.28
3	Harvard University	5680	5.82
4	University of California, Berkeley	4959	5.08
5	Indiana University	4838	4.96
6	University of Tennessee, Knoxville	3929	4.02
7	University of Kentucky	2807	2.88
8	Department of the Interior	3672	3.76
9	University of Alabama	2732	2.80
10	University of Arizona	2624	2.69
11	University of Florida	2620	2.68
12	University of Missouri, Columbia	2451	2.51
13	University of Oklahoma	2324	2.38
14	Department of Defense	1950	2.00
15	Center for American Archaeology, Kampsville Archaeological Center	1947	1.99
16	University of Texas at Austin	1905	1.95
17	American Museum of Natural History	1882	1.93
18	Milwaukee Public Museum	1600	1.64
19	Florida Department of State	1447	1.48
20	Field Museum	1298	1.33
21	State Museum of Pennsylvania	908	0.93
22	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	846	0.87
23	Arizona State University	786	0.81
24	University of Michigan	781	0.80
25	Museum of New Mexico, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture	779	0.80
26	Department of Agriculture	769	0.79
27	Auburn University	767	0.79
28	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	761	0.78
29	Virginia Department of Historic Resources	711	0.73
30	Carnegie Museum of Natural History	646	0.66
31	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	641	0.66
32	New York State Museum	584	0.60
33	Univ. of New Mexico	583	0.60
34	Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History	551	0.56
35	Cincinnati Museum Center	520	0.53
36	Florida State Univ.	508	0.52
37	Nassau County Dept. of Parks and Recreation	488	0.50
38	Cleveland Museum of Natural History	477	0.49
39	Univ. of Kansas	458	0.47
40	Dayton Museum of Natural History	438	0.45
41	San Jose State Univ.	429	0.44
42	Natural History Museum of Utah	416	0.43
43	Univ. of Pennsylvania	402	0.41
44	Wickliffe Mounds State Historic Site	383	0.39
45	Museum of Texas Tech Univ.	377	0.39
46	Tennessee Dept. of Env't and Conservation	374	0.38
47	Yale Univ.	366	0.37
48	West Virginia Division of Culture and History	365	0.37
49	West Texas A and M Univ.	362	0.37
50	California Dept. of Parks and Recreation	359	0.37
51	San Francisco State Univ.	359	0.37
52	Western Kentucky Univ.	351	0.36
53	Los Angeles County Natural History Museum	343	0.35
54	Kansas State Historical Society	305	0.31
55	Missouri Dept. of Natural Resources	301	0.31
56	Univ. of Texas at San Antonio	294	0.30
57	Gilcrease Museum	271	0.28
58	Sonoma State Univ.	267	0.27
59	North Carolina Office of State Archaeology	262	0.27
60	Univ. of South Carolina, SCIAA	261	0.27
61	Univ. of Louisville	259	0.27
62	Ball State Univ.	240	0.25
63	Wisconsin Historical Society	239	0.24
64	Indiana State Univ.	232	0.24
65	Univ. of Toledo	210	0.22
66	Univ. of Alaska Museum of the North	197	0.20
67	Mississippi State Univ.	196	0.20
68	Missouri Dept. of Transportation	196	0.20
69	Maryland Historical Trust	190	0.19
70	California Univ. of Pennsylvania	183	0.19
71	Univ. of California, Davis	172	0.18
72	HistoryMiami Museum	160	0.16
73	Univ. of Wisconsin, Oshkosh	159	0.16
74	East Carolina Univ.	152	0.16
75	Beloit College	145	0.15
Total		87,721	89.86
Grand Total		97,622	

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SCHATZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate

proceed to legislative session and 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.

ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. CARDIN. 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