

January 23, 2025

Mr. Elon Musk
Chair
Department of Government Efficiency
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Musk:

I write to share with the Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) a list of recommendations that would save the United States government and taxpayers at least \$2 trillion over the next decade.

On November 12, 2024, President-elect Trump tapped you to head the DOGE, with an agenda to “dismantle Government Bureaucracy, slash excess regulations, cut wasteful expenditures, and restructure Federal Agencies” to “[make] life better for all Americans.”¹ Since then, you have publicly called for sizable cuts in funding—from \$500 billion in annual spending² to “at least” \$2 trillion in cuts to federal spending³—although recently, you said you may not actually be able to meet that goal.⁴

The executive order that formalized DOGE on January 20, 2025 had a limited scope, but it is clear that you, personally, and the DOGE structure will play a significant role in President Trump’s second administration.⁵ Indeed, other executive orders and presidential actions that President Trump took on his first day in office include directives that DOGE play a hand in the federal hiring process and “reduce the size of the Federal Government’s workforce through

¹ NPR, “Trump taps Musk to lead a ‘Department of Government Efficiency’ with Ramaswamy,” Elena Moore Camila Domonoske, and Jeongyoon Han, November 12, 2024, <https://www.npr.org/2024/11/12/g-s1-33972/trump-elon-musk-vivek-ramaswamy-doge-government-efficiency-deep-state>.

² Wall Street Journal, “OPINION: Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy: The DOGE Plan to Reform Government,” Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy, November 20, 2024, https://www.wsj.com/opinion/musk-and-ramaswamy-the-doge-plan-to-reform-government-supreme-court-guidance-end-executive-power-grab-fa51c020?mod=opinion_trendingnow_article_pos1.

³ The Hill, “Musk draws skepticism with call for \$2 trillion in spending cuts,” Aris Folley, November 3, 2024, <https://thehill.com/business/4966789-elon-musk-skepticism-2-trillion-spending-cuts/>.

⁴ Politico, “Musk says DOGE might not be able to cut \$2 trillion, actually,” Andrew Howard, January 9, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/live-updates/2025/01/09/congress/elon-musk-doge-budget-cuts-00197274>.

⁵ White House, “ESTABLISHING AND IMPLEMENTING THE PRESIDENT’S ‘DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY’,” executive order, January 20, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/establishing-and-implementing-the-presidents-department-of-government-efficiency/>.

efficiency improvements and attrition.”⁶ You and President Trump are attempting to embed DOGE throughout the U.S. government—with plans to plant DOGE representatives at “most major government agencies” to advance your goals.⁷

I have very serious concerns about both the DOGE process and the policies that you have publicly discussed to date. With regard to process, as I raised in a still-unanswered letter to President-elect Trump regarding Mr. Musk sent on December 16, 2024, it is not clear that you and other DOGE leaders are able to identify and mitigate your conflicts of interest and adhere to common-sense ethics standards.⁸ As a result, the committee appears to be a venue for corruption, allowing well-connected billionaires to put government policies in place that enrich them while hurting ordinary Americans.⁹

With regard to policy, I am disturbed by the dangerous proposals you have discussed and released to date: proposals from you and your allies to cut Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, veterans’ benefits, and other programs that tens of millions of Americans count on and rely on are unrealistic and cruel.¹⁰ It would be outrageous to cut these programs in the name of government thriftiness while handing out trillions of dollars in tax cuts for billionaires and big corporations.¹¹

But, your broad point—that the federal government spends trillions of dollars on wasteful spending is correct. And if you are serious about working together in good faith to cut government spending—in a way that does not harm the middle class—I have proposals for your consideration.

During my twelve years in Congress, I have identified numerous instances of waste, fraud, and abuse in government spending, and I have long called out unsustainable spending, abusive

⁶ White House, “REFORMING THE FEDERAL HIRING PROCESS AND RESTORING MERIT TO GOVERNMENT SERVICE,” executive order, January 20, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/reforming-the-federal-hiring-process-and-restoring-merit-to-government-service/>; White House, “HIRING FREEZE,” presidential actions, January 20, 2025, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/hiring-freeze/>.

⁷ Business Insider, “Elon Musk’s DOGE intends to embed 2 cost-cutting representatives at most major government agencies: report,” Kwan Wei Kevin Tan, January 12, 2025, <https://www.businessinsider.com/doge-embed-2-representatives-most-major-government-agencies-report-2025-1>.

⁸ Letter from Senator Warren to President-Elect Donald Trump, December 16, 2024, https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/letter_to_trump_transition_reelonmuskconflictsofinterest.pdf.

⁹ Letter from Senator Warren to President-Elect Donald Trump, December 16, 2024, https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/letter_to_trump_transition_reelonmuskconflictsofinterest.pdf.

¹⁰ CNBC, “CNBC Transcript: Exclusive: DOGE Co-Lead, Author, and Former U.S. Presidential Candidate Vivek Ramaswamy Speaks with CNBC’s Eamon Javers and Morgan Brennan Live from the CNBC CFO Council Summit in Washington, DC Today,” news release, December 4, 2024, https://www.cnbc.com/2024/12/04/cnbc-transcript-exclusive-doge-co-lead-author-and-former-us-presidential-candidate-vivek-ramaswamy-speaks-with-cnbc-eamon-javers-and-morgan-brennan-live-from-the-cnbc-cfo-council-summit-in-washington-dc-today.html?utm_source=brevio&utm_campaign=Backchannel%20440&utm_medium=email; Dispatch, “Will DOGE Cut Billions From Veterans’ Health Care Benefits?” Alex Demas, December 12, 2024, <https://thedispatch.com/article/will-doge-cut-billions-from-veterans-health-care-benefits/>.

¹¹ AP News, “Trump tax cuts, if made permanent, stand to benefit highest income earners, Treasury analysis shows,” Fatima Hussein, January 10, 2025, <https://apnews.com/article/tax-cuts-jobs-act-trump-treasury-agenda-f4031196e0d69d0a1630e3b06b6d3cd7>.

practices and programs, and government contractors that line their pockets at taxpayer expense.¹² With this in mind, I have included in this letter a list of 30 recommendations for your consideration. You have recently backed away from your bombastic promises to cut \$2 trillion in federal spending.¹³ But my recommendations would reduce spending on wasteful programs and contracts, would cut out unfair loopholes and giveaways to the wealthiest Americans, would make the government more efficient and effective, and would save taxpayers at least \$2 trillion over the next decade—allowing DOGE to meet its goal while avoiding dangerous cuts to important federal programs. I am happy to work with you to eliminate this government waste.

The remainder of this letter contains detailed information on these proposals.

Cutting Wasteful Spending at the Department of Defense

Negotiate better Department of Defense (DoD) contracts. In Fiscal Year 2023, the DoD spent \$440.7 billion on contracts.¹⁴ Inspector General reports have found contractors regularly hike prices for the military, including overcharging the Air Force by 7,493 percent for soap dispensers¹⁵ and requiring the Army to pay \$71 for a pin that should have cost less than a nickel.¹⁶ I introduced the bipartisan *Stop Price Gouging the Military Act* to close loopholes in acquisition laws that make it nearly impossible for DoD to obtain the data they need to negotiate fair deals.¹⁷ Congress should immediately pass this bill.

But absent congressional action, DoD could save tens of billions of dollars a year by tightening its contract negotiations. Conducting a “should cost” analysis to find cost savings opportunities could save \$52.8 billion over 12 years for goods¹⁸ and \$10.3 billion for services.¹⁹ Cutting fee-

¹² Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, “ICYMI: At Hearing, Warren Presses Pentagon on Wasteful Service Contracting Spending, Does Not Get Answers,” press release, April 29, 2022, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/icymi-at-hearing-warren-presses-pentagon-on-wasteful-service-contracting-spending-does-not-get-answers>.

¹³ Politico, “Musk says DOGE might not be able to cut \$2 trillion, actually,” Andrew Howard, January 9, 2025, <https://www.politico.com/live-updates/2025/01/09/congress/elon-musk-doge-budget-cuts-00197274>; *Note*: The estimates included in this letter come from a variety of sources with a variety of methodologies and time frames over which the savings would occur. Additional detail on the source of these savings estimates can be found in the remainder of this letter, and in Appendix A. Although the timeline for these savings vary – some are estimated over a few years, some over a decade, and some for even longer – our estimates and extrapolations of 10-year savings indicate that these recommendations would save at least \$2 trillion over the next decade.

¹⁴ Department of Defense, Office of Local Defense Community Cooperation, “Defense Spending by State, Fiscal Year 2023, Executive Summary,” October 15, 2024, p. 1, https://oldcc.gov/sites/default/files/defense-spending-rpts/OLDCC_DSBS_FY2023_ExecutiveSummary_May2024-Revised.pdf.

¹⁵ Military.com, “Air Force Overcharged 7,943% for C-17 Hand Soap Dispensers, Watchdog Finds,” Thomas Novelly, October 30, 2024, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2024/10/30/air-force-overcharged-7943-c-17-hand-soap-dispensers-watchdog-finds.html>.

¹⁶ Nick Schwellenbach, “Leaked Audit: Boeing Overcharged Army Up to 177,000 Percent on Helicopter Spare Parts,” Project On Government Oversight, June 28, 2011 <https://www.pogo.org/investigations/leaked-audit-boeing-overcharged-army-up-to-177000-percent-on-helicopter-spare-parts>.

¹⁷ Roll Call, “Fight against ‘price gouging’ on military parts heats up,” John M. Donnelly, November 30, 2023, <https://rollcall.com/2023/11/30/fight-against-price-gouging-on-military-parts-heats-up/>; *Stop Price Gouging the Military Act*, S.4374, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/4374>.

¹⁸ Information 53 with the Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren.

¹⁹ *Id.*

on-fee markups and identifying cost savings opportunities in multiyear contracts could save another *\$45.7 billion*.²⁰ Better definitions of requirements for knowledge-based services and research and development could save *\$53 billion*.²¹

DoD is also missing opportunities to leverage competition to reduce costs. Converting sole-source contracts to competitive contracts could save *\$5.9 billion over 12 years*,²² and converting firm-fixed price performance-based logistics contracts to fixed price incentive contracts could save another *\$7.9 billion over the same period*.²³

On November 22, 2024, you both said that “[w]e need to strengthen our military by focusing on the *effectiveness* of our defense spending, rather than just reflexively increasing the magnitude” and that “DOGE will improve the efficiency of Defense spending.”²⁴ If you are serious about this approach, my recommendations for saving on Defense spending alone would save nearly \$200 billion in the next 12 years.

Recreate the DoD Renegotiation Board to challenge excess profits. Congress established the Renegotiation Board during World War II “as a method of lowering excessive prices on a contract-by-contract basis.”²⁵ From 1942 to 1946 the Board recovered over \$3 billion,²⁶ which, adjusted for inflation, would be over \$50 billion in 2024 .²⁷ Recreating a Renegotiation board to compel companies to provide cost or pricing data DoD needs could save DoD *billions of dollars*.

Stop requiring the military to perform civilian jobs. DoD estimated “more than 300,000 active-duty members of the military work in support, or commercial, jobs that could be performed by civilian employees or contractors.”²⁸ The Congressional Budget Office has found “fewer civilians could provide the same quantity and quality of services provided by military personnel at a lower overall cost to the federal government,” saving *\$19 billion over 10 years*.²⁹

Stop corporate welfare for DoD contractors and foreign governments. Taxpayers foot the bill to develop many of the weapons we sell overseas. Under the Arms Export Control Act, DoD is required to recover some of these costs from the foreign government purchasing the equipment.³⁰ But the Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that DoD waived this

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

²² *Id.*

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ Daily Beast, “‘Elon Is Right’: Bernie Sanders Praises Musk for Key DOGE Proposal,” Sean Craig, December 1, 2024, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/elon-is-right-bernie-sanders-praises-musk-for-key-doge-proposal/>.

²⁵ Staff to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, “History and Brief Outline of Renegotiation,” April 27, 1959, p. 1, <https://www.jct.gov/getattachment/b801ee1c-9e16-451d-9126-7719cd732dd4/jct-4-59-4286.pdf>.

²⁶ Staff to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, “History and Brief Outline of Renegotiation,” April 27, 1959, p. 9, <https://www.jct.gov/getattachment/b801ee1c-9e16-451d-9126-7719cd732dd4/jct-4-59-4286.pdf>.

²⁷ Bureau of Labor Statistics, “CPI Inflation Calculator,” <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>.

²⁸ Congressional Budget Office, “Replace Some Military Personnel with Civilian Employees,” December 7, 2022, <https://www.cbo.gov/budget-options/58658>.

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “Foreign Military Sales: DOD Should Take Additional Steps to Streamline Process for Assessing Potential Recovery of Certain Acquisition costs,” January 2018, p. 4, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-18-242.pdf>.

requirement 99 percent of the time, costing taxpayers approximately \$9.2 billion over the five years from 2012-2017.³¹ Subsequent reporting found those waivers including forgoing \$3.5 billion from the government of Saudi Arabia.³² Establishing a policy for DoD to recover as many of these costs as possible, rather than leaving taxpayer money on the table, could save *billions of dollars annually*.

Instruct DoD to stop gaming the budget process. Each year every federal agency submits a budget request to Congress. Unlike most federal agencies, the military services and combatant commands get a second bite at the apple, requesting additional funding for wish lists they call “unfunded priorities” that try to boost their budget by tens of billions of dollars.³³ In 2024, those requests reached a record high of \$29.4 billion.³⁴ There is bipartisan support for ending this practice.³⁵ To prevent runaway budget growth, the DOGE should recommend the services stop building these lists or require any requested additions be offset by spending cuts within DoD’s proposed budget.

Increase DoD’s energy efficiency. DoD “is the world’s largest institutional user of petroleum and correspondingly, the single largest institutional producer of greenhouse gases in the world.”³⁶ If DoD reduced its energy consumption by 15 to 35 percent, DoD could save *more than \$1 billion a year*.³⁷

Increase competition in the defense sector. The defense sector has consolidated in recent decade, reducing the number of prime aerospace and defense prime contractors from 51 to 5 since the 1990s.³⁸ This consolidation makes our supply chain more fragile and significantly

³¹ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “Foreign Military Sales: DOD Should Take Additional Steps to Streamline Process for Assessing Potential Recovery of Certain Acquisition costs,” January 2018, p. 12, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-18-242.pdf>.

³² Bloomberg, “Saudi Arms Buyers Won a \$3.5 Billion Discount From the Pentagon,” Anthony Capaccio, March 21, 2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2018-03-21/saudis-praised-by-trump-as-arms-buyers-won-a-big-u-s-discount>.

³³ Congressional Research Service, “Defense Primer: Defense and Intelligence Unfunded Priorities,” December 6, 2024, <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/natsec/IF11964.pdf>.

³⁴ Breaking Defense, “Major trends and takeaways from the Defense Department’s Unfunded Priority Lists,” Mark Cancian and Chris Park, April 19, 2024, <https://breakingdefense.com/2024/04/major-trends-and-takeaways-from-the-defense-departments-unfunded-priority-lists/>.

³⁵ Streamline Pentagon Spending Act of 2024, S. 5294, <https://www.congress.gov/118/bills/s5294/BILLS-118s5294is.pdf>

³⁶ Watson Institute: International & Public Affairs Brown University, “Pentagon Fuel Use, Climate Change, and the Costs of War,” Neta C. Crawford, November 13, 2019, pg. 2, <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/Pentagon%20Fuel%20Use%2C%20Climate%20Change%20and%20the%20Costs%20of%20War%20Revised%20November%202019%20Crawford.pdf>.

³⁷ Noblis, “Power Begins at Home: Assured Energy for U.S. Military Bases,” Jeffrey Marqusee, Craig Schultz, and Dorothy Robyn, January 12, 2017, p. ix, https://www.pewtrusts.org/~media/assets/2017/01/ce_power_begins_at_home_assured_energy_for_us_military_bases.pdf.

³⁸ Department of Defense, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Sustainment, “State of Competition within the Defense Industrial Base,” February 2022, p. 1, <https://media.defense.gov/2022/feb/15/2002939087/-1/-1/state-of-competition-within-the-defense-industrial-base.pdf>.

increases costs to DoD.³⁹ A recent GAO report found that DoD’s processes to review proposed mergers and acquisitions failed to fully consider “the full range of risks that defense-related mergers and acquisitions (M&A) pose to the defense industrial base.”⁴⁰ DOGE should recommend DoD adopt processes to better assess this risks, as well as authority to oppose mergers that would hurt the defense industrial base. According to GAO, M&A may “reduce competition and increase the risk of higher costs and reduced innovation.”⁴¹ DOGE should encourage GAO to look further into the impact of M&A on defense sector spending, and explore the potential impact of DoD actions to de-bundle contracts to allow for a greater pool of vendors to compete to provide goods and services to DoD.

Tackle repair restrictions on U.S. military equipment. GAO has found that DoD could save *billions of dollars* by tackling repair restrictions such as insufficient intellectual property (IP) rights,⁴² and that access to IP rights “gives DoD more options for keeping its aircraft, ships, submarines, and missiles running smoothly.”⁴³ Without these rights, services are unable to conduct necessary system repairs and must instead pay outside contractors. According to GAO, of the F-35’s \$2 trillion price tag, DoD estimates more than \$1.5 trillion will go to repair costs.⁴⁴ My provision in the Senate FY25 NDAA (Section 828), which received bipartisan support, would make it easier for the military to repair its own equipment by requiring contractors to provide DoD with “fair and reasonable access” to repair materials, including necessary parts, tools, and information, saving DoD billions and strengthening military readiness.⁴⁵

Avert wasteful government spending on plutonium pit production at the Savannah River Site. The National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) plans to increase the production of plutonium “pits”—shells of plutonium that trigger a nuclear weapon’s explosion—to 80 pits per year by 2030.⁴⁶ But this move is wasteful and premature. Independent studies found that plutonium pits “have credible minimum lifetimes in excess of 100 years,” giving current U.S.

³⁹ Congressional Research Service, “The U.S. Defense Industrial Base: Background and Issues for Congress,” October 12, 2023, p. 34-36, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47751>.

⁴⁰ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “Defense Industrial Base: DOD Needs Better Insight into Risks from Mergers and Acquisitions,” October 17, 2023, p. 33, <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-24-106129>.

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² GAO, “DEFENSE ACQUISITIONS: DOD Should Take Additional Actions to Improve How It Approaches Intellectual Property,” November 2021, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-22-104752.pdf>.

⁴³ GAO, “Protecting Intellectual Property,” <https://www.gao.gov/protecting-intellectual-property#:~:text=Securing%20intellectual%20property%20rights%20is,submarines%2C%20and%20missiles%20running%20smoothly>.

⁴⁴ GAO, “F-35 Sustainment: Costs Continue to Rise While Planned Use and Availability Have Decreased,” April 15, 2024, <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-24-106703>.

⁴⁵ National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2025, https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/fy25_ndaa_bill_text.pdf; Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, “Warren Leads Charge to Protect Military Readiness, Takes on Defense Contractors Seeking to Block the Military’s Right to Repair Its Weapons and Equipment,” press release, September 26, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/warren-leads-charge-to-protect-military-readiness-takes-on-defense-contractors-seeking-to-block-the-militarys-right-to-repair-its-weapons-and-equipment>; GAO, “DEFENSE ACQUISITIONS: DOD Should Take Additional Actions to Improve How It Approaches Intellectual Property,” November 2021, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-22-104752.pdf>.

⁴⁶ U.S. Department of Energy, “Plutonium Pit Production,” <https://www.energy.gov/nnsa/plutonium-pit-production>; U.S. Government Accountability Office, “NNSA Does Not Have a Comprehensive Schedule or Cost Estimate for Pit Production Capability,” January 2023, p. 1, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/d23104661.pdf>.

nuclear weapons at least 55 more credible years of use.⁴⁷ According to the GAO, producing just 30 pits per year by 2032 already will cost NNSA \$5 billion—and that rate has been said to be sufficient for projected needs of the major Sentinel program.⁴⁸ Still, NNSA wants to modernize a second location, called the Savannah River Site, which would cost up to \$25 billion.⁴⁹ But this is unnecessary: the new warhead slated to be built with pits at this site could instead re-use existing pits for a major part of its production, undercutting the need for new pits.⁵⁰ According to NNSA’s recent budget request, cutting the Savannah River from NNSA’s budget could save *over \$1.9 billion annually*.⁵¹

Cutting Waste, Fraud, and Abuse in Federal Health Care Programs

Curb taxpayer abuse by Medicare Advantage insurers. Today, private insurers in Medicare Advantage (MA) cover over half of all Medicare beneficiaries, 33 million seniors and people with disabilities.⁵² While the MA program was founded on the premise that these private insurance companies would administer Medicare coverage more cost-effectively, saving taxpayer dollars, the program has failed to deliver savings in any year since its inception in 2003. In fact, the non-partisan Medicare Payment Advisory Commission (MedPAC) estimates that private insurers in MA overcharged taxpayers by nearly *\$83 billion in 2024 alone, while other researchers put the dollar figure at \$140 billion*.⁵³

Non-partisan think tanks and researchers, including MedPAC, have proposed much-needed, common-sense reforms to eliminate taxpayer abuse in MA. For example, MedPAC has offered multiple reforms⁵⁴ to eliminate “upcoding,” the \$54 billion strategy in which private insurers add unsupported diagnosis codes to their MA enrollees’ medical charts to secure higher payments from taxpayers – even if enrollees receive no treatment for those conditions.⁵⁵ Even short of

⁴⁷ The MITRE Corporation, “Pit Lifetime,” January 11, 2007, <https://irp.fas.org/agency/dod/jason/pit.pdf>; Almost all U.S. pits were produced in the 1980s: Office of the Under Secretary of Defense, Acquisition and Sustainment, “Nuclear Matters Handbook 2020 [Revised],” p. 4, https://www.acq.osd.mil/ncbdp/nm/NMHB2020rev/docs/NMHB2020rev_Ch4.pdf.

⁴⁸ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “National Nuclear Security Administration: Assessments of Nuclear Weapon Acquisitions,” December 2024, p. 28-29, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-25-106048.pdf>; Los Alamos Study Group, “Thirty pits a year in 2028 at Los Alamos meets STRATCOM needs, commander says,” Dan Leone, February 2, 2024, https://www.lasg.org/press/2024/ExchangeMonitor_2Feb2024.html.

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ Senate Armed Services Committee, April 17, 2024, Jill Hruby, “Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee.” <https://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/41724fulltranscript.pdf>.

⁵¹ NNSA request 1,968,838,000 for 2025 and the program is expected to run through 2035: U.S. Department of Energy, “FY 2025 Congressional Justification, National Nuclear Security Administration,” March 2024, p.13, <https://www.energy.gov/sites/default/files/2024-03/oe-fy-2025-budget-vol-1-v3.pdf>.

⁵² STAT News, “Medicare Advantage enrollment races past 33 million,” Bob Herman, February 16, 2024, <https://www.statnews.com/2024/02/16/medicare-advantage-enrollment/>.

⁵³ Medicare Payment Advisory Commission, “Report to the Congress: Medicare Payment Policy,” June 2024, p. 373, https://www.medpac.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Mar24_Ch12_MedPAC_Report_To_Congress_SEC-1.pdf; Physicians For a National Health Program, “Our Payments Their Profits,” October 4, 2023, https://pnhp.org/system/assets/uploads/2023/09/MAOverpaymentReport_Final.pdf.

⁵⁴ MedPAC, “Commission Recommendations,” https://www.medpac.gov/recommendation/?topic_filter=part-c.

⁵⁵ Wall Street Journal, “Insurers Pocketed \$50 Billion From Medicare for Diseases No Doctor Treated,” Christopher Weaver, Tom McGinty, Anna Wilde Mathews, and Mark Maremont, July 8, 2024, <https://www.wsj.com/health/healthcare/medicare-health-insurance-diagnosis-payments-b4d99a5d>.

ending the MA program, there are numerous regulatory actions that CMS could take to curb taxpayer abuse in MA.⁵⁶

Engage in additional Medicare price negotiations to lower the cost of the most expensive and common drugs in the Medicare program. In 2022, U.S. prescription drug prices were nearly three times higher than those in other advanced economies. The Medicare and Medicaid programs spent \$405.9 billion on prescription drugs in 2022 alone. The Inflation Reduction Act, for the first time, allowed the Medicare program to negotiate for lower prices on Part D drugs, and the Biden-Harris Administration used this authority to negotiate lower prices on 10 of the most expensive and common drugs in the Medicare program, reducing list prices by up to 79 percent.⁵⁷ Notably, proposals to expand the Medicare price negotiations program would save taxpayers an additional *\$200 billion over the next decade*.⁵⁸ In his 2016 presidential campaign, President-Elect Trump voiced support for these types of price negotiations and DOGE and the Trump Administration should work with Congress to expand them.⁵⁹

Support efforts to crack down on Pharmacy Benefit Managers (PBMs). In addition to supporting Medicare negotiations, President Trump has branded Pharmacy Benefit Managers (PBMs) as “famous middlemen” that “rip[] off Medicare patients with high prescription prices.”⁶⁰ Indeed, multiple federal, state, and local investigations have revealed widespread abuse by the largest PBMs, all of which have overcharged federal and state health programs for prescription drugs.⁶¹

Bipartisan PBM bills that were voted out of committees last Congress could save roughly *\$3 billion over the next decade*,⁶² although more aggressive action is needed. For example, last month, after reviewing overwhelming evidence that PBMs steer patients and send inflated payments to their affiliated pharmacies, Senator Hawley and I introduced the *Patients Before*

⁵⁶ Letter from Senator Warren to Administrator Chiquita Brooks-LaSure, January 25, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2024.01.25%20Letter%20to%20CMS%20on%20Medicare%20Advantage%20overpayments.pdf>.

⁵⁷ Biden-Harris White House, “FACT SHEET: Biden-Harris Administration Announces New, Lower Prices for First Ten Drugs Selected for Medicare Price Negotiation to Lower Costs for Millions of Americans,” August 15, 2024, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/08/15/fact-sheet-biden-harris-administration-announces-new-lower-prices-for-first-ten-drugs-selected-for-medicare-price-negotiation-to-lower-costs-for-millions-of-americans/>.

⁵⁸ Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, “Health Care Proposals in the President’s Fiscal Year 2025 Budget,” March 15, 2024, <https://www.crfb.org/blogs/health-care-proposals-presidents-fiscal-year-2025-budget>.

⁵⁹ Politico, “Trump backs Medicare negotiating drug prices,” Politico Pro Staff, January 25, 2016, <https://www.politico.com/story/2016/01/trump-backs-medicare-negotiating-drug-prices-218215>.

⁶⁰ Trump White House, “Remarks by President Trump on Delivering Lower Prescription Drug Prices for All Americans,” November 20, 2020 <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-delivering-lower-prescription-drug-prices-americans/>.

⁶¹ Committee On Oversight and Accountability, “Hearing Wrap Up: Oversight Committee Exposes How PBMs Undermine Patient Health and Increase Drug Costs,” press release, July 23, 2024, <https://oversight.house.gov/release/hearing-wrap-up-oversight-committee-exposes-how-pbms-undermine-patient-health-and-increase-drug-costs/>.

⁶² Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, “PBM Reform on the Horizon,” October 22, 2024, [https://www.crfb.org/blogs/pbm-reform-horizon-pharmacy-benefit-manager#:~:text=In%20total%2C%20the%20Congressional%20Budget,Accountability%20Act%20\(MEPA%2C%20S.](https://www.crfb.org/blogs/pbm-reform-horizon-pharmacy-benefit-manager#:~:text=In%20total%2C%20the%20Congressional%20Budget,Accountability%20Act%20(MEPA%2C%20S.)

Monopolies (PBM) Act, legislation that would prohibit a parent company of an insurer or PBM from owning a pharmacy business.⁶³ In addition, in September, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) targeted the PBM business model by suing the three largest PBMs for “engaging in anticompetitive and unfair rebating practices that have artificially inflated the list price of insulin drugs, impaired patients’ access to lower list price products, and shifted the cost of high insulin list prices to vulnerable patients.”⁶⁴ DOGE should support Congressional efforts to crack down on PBMs and see that the FTC follows through with this lawsuit to save the federal government and taxpayers *billions of dollars*.

Crack down on patent abuses by the pharmaceutical industry. Pharmaceutical companies are gaming the patent system to block competition from lower-cost generics, often in violation of federal law.⁶⁵ For example, pharma companies use sham patent listings in the FDA’s Orange Book to unlawfully delay generic competition for years and disincentivize generic manufacturers from trying to come to market with lower cost alternatives.⁶⁶ The American Economic Liberties Project (AELP) found that abusive and anticompetitive tactics by the pharmaceutical industry to block the entrance of generic drugs resulted in *over \$40 billion* in extra payments from patients and payers in 2019 alone.⁶⁷ With robust competition, including from generic drugs, most drug prices “eventually fall[] to 80-85 percent below the original brand-name cost.”⁶⁸ Accordingly, DOGE should recommend that regulators challenge sham patent listings and work with the FTC to continue to bring action against pharmaceutical companies that illegally block generic competition.⁶⁹ The FDA and USPTO should also take action using their existing authority,⁷⁰ including by removing barriers to entry for generic drug manufacturers and issuing clarifying guidance to prohibit pharmaceutical companies from submitting sham patents that thwart competition.

⁶³ Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, “Warren, Hawley, Harshbarger, Auchincloss Introduce Bipartisan Bill to Cut Drug Costs, Rein in Pharmacy Benefit Managers (PBMs),” press release, December 11, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/warren-hawley-harshbarger-auchincloss-introduce-bipartisan-bill-to-cut-drug-costs-rein-in-pharmacy-benefit-managers-pbms>.

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ STAT News, “More drugmakers are filing continuation patents that sideline generic competition,” Ed Silverman, August 8, 2023, https://www.statnews.com/pharmalot/2023/08/08/patents-generic-fda-monopoly-medicine/?utm_campaign=pharmalot&utm_medium=email&_hsmi=269531613&_hsenc=p2ANqtz-cliT8TCIPMR-URWvut0aOMF9Bxs3rLvL-BCv6EOb2Znn1T37LLu2Tq3OA5KI8div2poRuZVnJTRVfkE0fa_MKh9YNKFhhTm16thlZsP2m_sBcsns&utm_content=269531613&utm_source=hs_email.

⁶⁶ Letter from Senator Warren to Jack Zhang, June 6, 2024,

<https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/20240606letterstopharmaceuticalcompaniesreshampatentlistings.pdf>.

⁶⁷ American Economic Liberties Project, “The Costs of Pharma Cheating,” May 16, 2023,

<https://www.economicliberties.us/our-work/the-costs-of-pharma-cheating/>.

⁶⁸ *Teva Branded Pharmaceutical Products v. Amneal Pharmaceuticals of New York*, Amicus Curiae Brief, March 22, 2024, P. 26, https://www.ftc.gov/system/files/ftc_gov/pdf/ftc_brief_as_amicus_curiae_teva_amneal.pdf.

⁶⁹ Federal Trade Commission, “FTC Challenges More Than 100 Patents as Improperly Listed in the FDA’s Orange Book,” November 7, 2023, <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/news/press-releases/2023/11/ftc-challenges-more-100-patents-improperly-listed-fdas-orange-book>.

⁷⁰ Letter from Senator Warren to FDA Commissioner Robert M. Califf, August 28, 2023,

<https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2023.08.28%20Letter%20to%20FDA%20re%20drug%20patents.pdf>

Exercise Bayh-Dole march-in rights and government patent use power codified in Section 1498 to lower drug prices. Taxpayers invest over \$54 billion annually on biomedical research, yet all the profits trickle up to pharmaceutical firms that bring taxpayer-funded drugs to market.⁷¹ Utilizing march-in rights and other tools to take over patents or distribution of drugs if pharmaceutical companies are not making drugs available at a reasonable price would save the federal government and taxpayers *billions of dollars*. The Bayh-Dole Act, codified at 35 U.S.C. § 203, gives the federal government the right to grant licenses to “responsible applicant[s]” for patented inventions developed with federal funds if those inventions are not “available to the public on reasonable terms,” which includes price. Accordingly, DOGE should recommend that federal agencies exercise March-in rights when applicable. DOGE should also urge the Commerce Department and HHS to strengthen and finalize the *Draft Interagency Guidance Framework for Considering the Exercise of March-In Rights* to protect consumers from high drug prices.⁷²

Additionally, under 28 U.S.C. § 1498, the Administration has the clear authority to license generic competition on any patented invention “used or manufactured by or for the United States.” President Trump should use this power to lower drug prices, as it has been used before.⁷³ For example, HHS could use Section 1498 to bring down prices on semaglutide, a prescription drug sold under the brand names of Ozempic and Wegovy and commonly used to treat diabetes and obesity.⁷⁴ The prices for these drugs are egregiously high—in the US, they cost fifteen times more compared to other countries with advanced economies,⁷⁵ and covering these drugs for just 10 percent of Medicare beneficiaries with obesity would cost taxpayers \$27 billion a year. As Mr. Musk put it in a post on X in December, “Nothing would do more to improve the health, lifespan and quality of life for Americans than making GLP inhibitors super low cost to the public.”⁷⁶

⁷¹ Letter from Senator Warren to Secretaries Gina Raimondo and Xavier Becerra and Under Secretary Laurie E. Locasio, February 6, 2024, P. 4, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Bayh-Dole%20Interagency%20Guidance%20Comment%20Letter%20FINAL%202.6.24.pdf>.

⁷² Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, “Senators Warren, King, and Representative Doggett Urge Commerce, HHS to Strengthen and Finalize Guidance on “March-In” Rights to Protect Consumers From High Drug Prices,” press release, August 9, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/senators-warren-king-and-representative-doggett-urge-commerce-hhs-to-strengthen-and-finalize-guidance-on-march-in-rights-to-protect-consumers-from-high-drug-prices>.

⁷³ Yale Journal of Law and Technology, “A Prescription for Excessive Drug Pricing: Leveraging Government Patent Use for Health,” Hannah Brennan, Amy Kapczynski, Christine Monahan, & Zain Rizvi, 2016, https://yjolt.org/sites/default/files/kapczynski_18yjolt275_gk_0_0.pdf; Letter from Academics to Senator Elizabeth Warren, April 20, 2022, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2022.4.20%20Letter%20to%20Warren%20on%20Drug%20Pricing%20Executive%20Authorities.pdf>.

⁷⁴ Letter from Senator Warren to Secretary Becerra, September 23, 2024, https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/warren_doggett_letter_to_hhs_on_weight_loss_drugs.pdf.

⁷⁵ U.S. Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, “Breaking Point: How Weight Loss Drugs Could Bankrupt American Health Care,” majority staff report, May 15, 2024, <https://www.sanders.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/Wegovy-report-FINAL.pdf>.

⁷⁶ ABC News, “Elon Musk shows support for weight loss drugs despite RFK Jr.'s criticism,” Youri Benadjaoud and Will McDuffie, December 12, 2024, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/elon-musk-shows-support-weight-loss-drugs-despite/story?id=116706006>.

Break up healthcare conglomerates and keep private equity out of the health care industry.

In addition to pharmaceutical companies, vertically integrated insurers, hospital systems, and health care providers are driving health care consolidation at the expense of patients and taxpayers. The largest insurers in the country, for example, also own their own pharmacies, PBMs, physician groups, home health providers, and more. As a result, these conglomerates can shift profits between various provider groups, which allows them to raise costs for physician services⁷⁷ and prescription drugs,⁷⁸ skirt federal regulations,⁷⁹ disadvantage competitors,⁸⁰ and overcharge the government.⁸¹ Meanwhile, private equity firms have made aggressive inroads into health care, raising costs and harming quality of care.⁸² One study, for example, found that charges per patient were 50 percent higher after private equity invested in a practice.⁸³

Over the past four years, antitrust regulators have made significant strides to promote competition in the health care industry, including by suing the three largest PBMs;⁸⁴ launching an antitrust investigation⁸⁵ into UnitedHealth Group, the nation's largest insurer and employer of physicians; and finalizing a rule banning noncompete provisions in contracts.⁸⁶ Several Republican leaders, including Vice President Vance and Senator Hawley, have voiced support for antitrust enforcement.⁸⁷ DOGE should encourage antitrust agencies to promote competition in the health care industry, including by continuing the Department of Justice's case against UnitedHealth Group, to lower health care costs for the federal government.

⁷⁷ Health Care's Colossus, "UnitedHealth pays its own physician groups considerably more than others, driving up consumer costs and its profits," Bob Herman, Casey Ross, Lizzy Lawrence, and Tara Bannow, November 25, 2024, <https://www.statnews.com/2024/11/25/unitedhealth-higher-payments-optum-providers-converts-expenses-to-profits/>.

⁷⁸ Letter from Senator Warren to HHS IG Christi Grimm, November 21, 2023, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2023.11.21%20Letter%20to%20HHS%20OIG%20regarding%20MLR%20evasion.pdf>.

⁷⁹ *Id.*

⁸⁰ Health Care's Colossus, "UnitedHealth pays its own physician groups considerably more than others, driving up consumer costs and its profits," Bob Herman, Casey Ross, Lizzy Lawrence, and Tara Bannow, November 25, 2024, <https://www.statnews.com/2024/11/25/unitedhealth-higher-payments-optum-providers-converts-expenses-to-profits/>.

⁸¹ Health Care's Colossus, "How UnitedHealth harnesses its physician empire to squeeze profits out of patients," Bob Herman, Tara Bannow, Casey Ross, and Lizzy Lawrence, July 25, 2024, <https://www.statnews.com/2024/07/25/united-health-group-medicare-advantage-strategy-doctor-clinic-acquisitions/>.

⁸² National Institutes of Health, "Infections and falls increased in private equity-owned hospitals," January 23, 2024, <https://www.nih.gov/news-events/nih-research-matters/infections-falls-increased-private-equity-owned-hospitals#:~:text=After%20hospitals%20were%20purchased%20by,to%20increased%20costs%20for%20society>.

⁸³ The Hill, "OPINION: Private equity is buying up health care, but the real problem is why doctors are selling," Yashaswini Singh and Christopher Whaley, December 12, 2023, <https://thehill.com/opinion/healthcare/4365741-private-equity-is-buying-up-health-care-but-the-real-problem-is-why-doctors-are-selling/>.

⁸⁴ Federal Trade Commission, "FTC Sues Prescription Drug Middlemen for Artificially Inflating Insulin Drug Prices," press release, September 20, 2024, <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/news/press-releases/2024/09/ftc-sues-prescription-drug-middlemen-artificially-inflating-insulin-drug-prices>.

⁸⁵ Healthcare Dive, "UnitedHealth under antitrust investigation by DOJ: reports," Rebecca Pifer, February 28, 2024, <https://www.healthcaredive.com/news/unitedhealth-antitrust-investigation-doj-unitedhealthcare-optum/708727/>.

⁸⁶ Federal Trade Commission, "FTC Announces Rule Banning Noncompetes," April 23, 2024, <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/news/press-releases/2024/04/ftc-announces-rule-banning-noncompetes>.

⁸⁷ Steptoe, "Lina Khan: Khantroversy and Khanservatives," Michael L. Weiner, November 4, 2024, <https://www.steptoelaw.com/en/news-publications/antitrust-and-competition-blog/lina-khan-khantroversy-and-khanservatives.html>.

Savings on Education Programs

You have proposed eliminating the Department of Education (ED)⁸⁸—a policy that would have catastrophic impacts on funding for schools in disadvantaged districts; students with disabilities; and families that rely on federal student loans, Pell Grants, and other forms of financial aid to access higher education. Instead, you could leave important ED programs intact – but save billions of dollars by eliminating waste, fraud, and abuse in federal charter school programs and federal support for for-profit schools.

Eliminate or reduce funding for the federal Charter Schools Program. The federal Charter Schools Program (CSP) provides grants to support the creation and expansion of charter schools.⁸⁹ Yet, much of this funding has been mismanaged and wasted. An October 2022 GAO report determined that between 2006 and 2020, 14 percent of charter schools funded by the CSP closed or never opened.⁹⁰ Those schools received a combined \$152 million of federal funding.⁹¹ In addition, an August 2023 ED Office of the Inspector General report found that 42 percent of monitoring reports pertaining to CSP grantees “identified significant compliance issues” with the grants and that the CSP largely did not “ensure that grantees implemented corrective actions to address” those compliance issues.⁹²

Another 2019 report from the Network for Public Education suggested that even more waste has not been properly reported.⁹³ This report also described a “pattern” of charter school operators – before their schools even opened—funneling grant money to their own personal accounts, towards purchases of expensive equipment, and to “for-profit consulting and education management organizations.”⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Fox News, “Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy approve the 'very reasonable proposal' to abolish Department of Education,” Joshua Q. Nelson, November 19, 2024, <https://www.foxnews.com/media/elon-musk-vivek-ramaswamy-approve-very-reasonable-proposal-abolish-department-education>.

⁸⁹ National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, “Charter Schools Program,” <https://publiccharters.org/news/charter-schools-program-2024-impact-report/>.

⁹⁰ U.S. Government Accountability Office, “K-12 Education: Charter Schools That Received Federal Funding to Open or Expand Were Generally Less Likely to Close Than Other Similar Charter Schools”, October 2022, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-23-105616.pdf>.

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² U.S. Department of Education Office of Inspector General, “The U.S. Department of Education’s Processes for Overseeing Charter Schools Program Grants to Charter Management Organizations for the Replication and Expansion of High-Quality Charter Schools,” August 3, 2023, <https://oig.ed.gov/sites/default/files/reports/2024-11/FY23A18IL0009012924SECUREDv100.pdf>.

⁹³ The Progressive, “A New Report Finds Massive Waste and Abuse in Federally Funded Charter Schools”, Jeff Bryant, December 12, 2019, <https://progressive.org/public-schools-advocate/new-report-waste-abuse-charter-bryants-191212/>.

⁹⁴ *Id.*

Cutting this program would save *over \$400 million taxpayer dollars per year* from being wasted on frivolous spending, big paychecks for charter operator CEOs, and funding school buildings that never even open.⁹⁵

Make for-profit colleges ineligible for federal grant aid. Federal funding for for-profit colleges is also highly wasteful. Even though these colleges’ business model often prioritizes their own bottom line over educating students, for-profit institutions can receive up to 90 percent of their revenue from federal financial aid programs, including Pell Grants, federal loans, and GI Bill benefits.⁹⁶ Students at for-profit colleges are much less likely to graduate than students at public and private non-profit schools; yet, these students incur significantly higher student loan debt and default on their loans at much higher rates.⁹⁷ If these colleges were made ineligible to receive federal grant aid, as proposed by the *Students Not Profits Act*,⁹⁸ the federal government would save approximately *\$25 billion over the course of ten years*.⁹⁹ DOGE should call upon Congress to amend Title IV of the Health and Education Act (HEA) and make for-profit colleges ineligible for federal grant aid.¹⁰⁰

Cutting Waste and Abuse in the Federal Tax Code

Claw back tax expenditures and close loopholes for the wealthy. Tax expenditures are a departure from the “normal” tax code that lower tax burdens through an exemption, deduction, or credit.¹⁰¹ The total value of these tax expenditures—and the money that is lost by the government by reducing taxpayers’ owed amounts—is huge, comparable in size to federal discretionary spending.¹⁰² And these tax expenditures tend to largely skew toward the wealthy.¹⁰³ Indeed, about half of the total benefits from income tax expenditures go to households in the highest quintile of the income distribution, whereas 9 percent of such benefits go to households in the lowest quintile.¹⁰⁴ As of 2019, the top one percent of Americans in the income distribution get a greater share of combined major tax expenditures than any other income percentile.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵ The Washington Post, “Report: Federal government wasted millions of dollars on charter schools that never opened,” Valerie Strauss, December 9, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2019/12/09/report-federal-government-wasted-millions-dollars-charter-schools-that-never-opened/>.

⁹⁶ Higher Ed Dive, “Education Department finalizes 90/10 rule, college ownership regulations,” Jeremy Bauer-Wolf, October 28, 2022, <https://www.highereddive.com/news/education-department-finalizes-9010-rule-college-ownership-regulations/635183/>.

⁹⁷ The Leadership Conference Education Fund, “Gainful Employment: A Civil Rights Perspective,” <https://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/education/Gainful-Employment-Brief-Final.pdf>.

⁹⁸ Office of Senator Sherrod Brown, “Brown, Warren Introduce Bicameral Legislation to Protect Students from Predatory For-Profit Colleges,” press release, October 23, 2019, <https://www.brown.senate.gov/newsroom/press/release/brown-warren-introduce-bicameral-legislation-to-protect-students-from-predatory-for-profit-colleges->.

⁹⁹ Information on file with the Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren.

¹⁰⁰ “For-Profit Colleges in the United States: Insights from Two Decades of Research,” Stephanie Riegg Cellini, May 2021, <https://edworkingpapers.com/ai21-398>.

¹⁰¹ Tax Foundation, “Tax Expenditure,” <https://taxfoundation.org/taxedu/glossary/tax-expenditure/>.

¹⁰² U.S. Government Accountability Office, “Tax Expenditures,” <https://www.gao.gov/tax-expenditures>.

¹⁰³ Congressional Budget Office, “The Distribution of Major Tax Expenditures in 2019 ,” October 2021, https://www.cbo.gov/publication/57585#_idTextAnchor047.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

¹⁰⁵ *Id.*

For example, Republicans have increased the estate tax exemption, and it is now only paid by the very wealthiest Americans—those with estates worth more than \$13.61 million.¹⁰⁶ Without increases to the estate tax exemption under Presidents George W. Bush and Trump, government revenue from the federal estate tax could have been up to 9 times higher in 2019.¹⁰⁷ On top of the estate tax exemption, “increases in the value of an asset beyond its original purchase value (or cost basis) are exempt from the tax on capital gains” when the asset is transferred to heirs upon the death of its owner.¹⁰⁸ The tax expenditures arising from the exclusion of capital gains on assets transferred at death totaled about \$39 billion in 2019.¹⁰⁹ DOGE should end this stepped-up basis for assets transferred at death, saving *over \$60 billion per year* going forward.¹¹⁰

Separately, the carried interest loophole allows executives in the financial industry—some of the richest people in the world—take even further advantage of the preferential rate for capital gains by declaring parts of their compensation as investment gains. Closing this loophole could raise *between \$1.4 billion and \$18 billion each year*.¹¹¹ Most hedge funds and private equity firms are also organized as pass-through entities, meaning they pay no corporate taxes and the tax liability “passes through” to shareholders, who since the passage of TCJA in 2017 have been able to deduct 20 percent of their earnings from pass-through entities from their taxable income.¹¹² While Republicans have disingenuously labeled this the “small business deduction,” more than half of passthrough deductions are claimed by taxpayers in the top 1.5 percent of income.¹¹³

Fully fund the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). Fully funding the IRS would meet DOGE’s goals of making government more efficient and protecting taxpayers: it would allow the government to catch wealthy tax cheats that avoid paying their fair share and provide better service for millions of taxpayers that are owed refunds or need help with their taxes. Fully funding the IRS would lead to a 12:1 return on investment.¹¹⁴ The Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) invested \$80 billion in the IRS to crack down on wealthy tax cheats, but in order to cooperate in raising the debt ceiling in 2023, Republicans demanded a \$20.2 billion cut to that funding, and

¹⁰⁶ Internal Revenue Service, “Estate tax,” <https://www.irs.gov/businesses/small-businesses-self-employed/estate-tax>.

¹⁰⁷ University of Pennsylvania Wharton, “DECOMPOSING THE DECLINE IN ESTATE TAX LIABILITY SINCE 2000,” July 28, 2022, <https://budgetmodel.wharton.upenn.edu/issues/2022/7/28/decomposing-the-decline-in-estate-tax-liability-since-2000>.

¹⁰⁸ Congressional Budget Office, “The Distribution of Major Tax Expenditures in 2019,” October 2021, <https://www.cbo.gov/publication/57585>.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*

¹¹⁰ Joint Committee on Taxation, “Estimates Of Federal Tax Expenditures For Fiscal Years 2024-2028,” JCX-48-24, December 11, 2024, <https://www.jct.gov/publications/2024/jcx-48-24/>.

¹¹¹ Americans for Financial Reform, “Fact Sheet: Close the carried interest loophole that is a tax dodge for super-rich private equity executives,” October 14, 2021, <https://ourfinancialsecurity.org/2021/10/close-the-carried-interest-loophole-that-is-a-tax-dodge-for-super-rich-private-equity-executives/>.

¹¹² Center for American Progress, “The 2017 Tax Bill’s Pass-Through Deduction Largely Favors the Wealthy and Encourages Gaming of the Tax Code,” report, Jean Ross, June 27, 2024, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-2017-tax-bills-pass-through-deduction-largely-favors-the-wealthy-and-encourages-gaming-of-the-tax-code/>.

¹¹³ *Id.*

¹¹⁴ National Bureau of Economic Research, “A Welfare Analysis of Tax Audits Across the Income Distribution,” William C. Boning, Nathaniel Hendren, Ben Sprung-Keyser and Ellen Stuart, June 2023, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w31376>.

are continuing to push for further cuts.¹¹⁵ Restoring the IRS' IRA funding levels and making them permanent would save the government *\$486 billion over the next ten years*.¹¹⁶

Other Recommendations to Eliminate Waste, Fraud, and Abuse

Keep the Federal government's cloud and other IT markets competitive. Big Tech companies often use tricks and traps to lock the federal government into IT contracts and avoid competition. The U.S. government is the single largest buyer of IT products in the world.¹¹⁷ A huge amount of government waste occurs when Big Tech companies make it difficult or expensive for the government to switch to competitors, because the companies can then extract higher prices for less efficient service.¹¹⁸ This "vendor lock-in" costs taxpayers *hundreds of millions each year*. As one example, one U.S. government agency was willing to spend \$112 million more for Microsoft Office instead of switching to Google Workspace, because the switching costs were even more expensive.¹¹⁹ If "the government used meaningful competition to mitigate vendor-lock and improve price performance by only 5 percent, it could generate savings of *between \$500 and \$750 million annually*."¹²⁰ DOGE should provide recommendations to increase competition among government contractors and make sure they cannot use licensing restrictions and unnecessary fees to lock the government in and waste taxpayer money. For example, I have partnered with Senator Eric Schmitt (R-MO) on the *Protecting AI and Cloud Competition in Defense Act* to protect competition in the AI and cloud computing markets and encourage the Department of Defense to consider cloud computing services from multiple providers so the agency is not locked in by a single tech company.¹²¹

Reduce waste in unnecessary federal arrests and detention programs. The United States could save *hundreds of millions of dollars each year* by reducing wasteful spending on unnecessary federal enforcement actions and detention. For example, almost half of states have legalized recreational marijuana,¹²² yet federal arrests for marijuana possession account for roughly a quarter of all drug possession arrests,¹²³ even though federal sentences for marijuana

¹¹⁵ The American Prospect, "Democrats Allow More IRS Funding to Fade Away," Dylan Gyauch-Lewis, December 18, 2024, <https://prospect.org/politics/2024-12-18-democrats-allow-more-IRS-funding-fade-away/>.

¹¹⁶ The Budget Lab, "Clausing-Sarin: Conventional Revenue Score," April 12, 2024, <https://budgetlab.yale.edu/research/clausing-sarin-conventional-revenue-score#:~:text=Increase%20IRS%20funding,119>.

¹¹⁷ Technology Modernization Fund, "Meet the Technology Modernization Fund," <https://tmf.cio.gov/about/>.

¹¹⁸ Garland Management Consulting, "Vendor-lock and Lack of Competition in the Government's Software Estate," report, Michael Garland, January 2023, https://netchoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/NetChoice_Garland_The-Pernicious-Consequences-of-Vendor-Lock.pdf.

¹¹⁹ *Id.*

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, "Warren, Schmitt Introduce Bipartisan Bill to Encourage Resiliency, Competition in DoD Procurement of AI, Cloud Computing Tools," press release, December 5, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/warren-schmitt-introduce-bipartisan-bill-to-encourage-resiliency-competition-in-dod-procurement-of-ai-cloud-computing-tools>.

¹²² CBS News, "Maps show states where weed is legal for recreational, medical use in 2024," Kerry Breen and Taylor Johnston, May 17, 2024, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/legal-weed-map-states/#:~:text=As%20of%20April%202024%2C%20recreational,to%20the%20Pew%20Research%20Center>.

¹²³ FBI Crime Data Explorer, "Arrests Reported in the United States," <https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/arrest>; NORML, "FBI: Nearly One Quarter of All

possession are rare.¹²⁴ Additionally, the Drug Enforcement Administration and Customs and Border Patrol continue to raid marijuana businesses and seize marijuana plants, including in states where marijuana is legal.¹²⁵ These arrests and seizures unnecessarily drain federal resources. DOGE should recommend that DOJ and DHS conserve resources by deprioritizing costly arrests and other enforcement actions targeting marijuana activity, at least where the activity is legal in the jurisdiction where it occurred.

DOGE should also work with the Bureau of Prisons (BOP) to more proactively seek compassionate release for elderly and terminally ill individuals in federal prisons — who are particularly costly to imprison. These individuals pose minimal risk to public safety; for example, 93 percent of incarcerated individuals over age 65 are classified as presenting a minimum or low risk of recidivism,¹²⁶ and those eligible for compassionate release must be found to not be a danger to the safety of any person or the community.¹²⁷ Meanwhile, their continued incarceration imposes significant costs on taxpayers.¹²⁸ For example, in 2013, the federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) spent 19 percent of its total budget — or *\$881 million* — to incarcerate older adults,¹²⁹ and some studies estimate that older individuals with chronic or terminal health issues cost 2-3 times more to incarcerate than the average.¹³⁰ The DOJ’s Office of the Inspector General identified the aging prison population as a key driver of BOP’s high medical expenditures.¹³¹ Republicans and Democrats alike have highlighted the cost-saving

Drug-Related Arrests Are for Marijuana Possession,” September 25, 2024, <https://norml.org/blog/2024/09/25/fbi-nearly-one-quarter-of-all-drug-related-arrests-are-for-marijuana-possession/>.

¹²⁴ United States Sentencing Commission, Interactive Data Analyzer,

<https://ida.usc.gov/analytics/saw.dll?Dashboard>; United States Sentencing Commission, “Weighing the Impact of Simple Possession of Marijuana,” Vera M. Kachnowski, Christine Kitchens, and Cassandra Syckes, January 10, 2023, <https://www.usc.gov/research/research-reports/weighing-impact-simple-possession-marijuana>.

¹²⁵ The Washington Post, “D.C. legalized weed. A marijuana delivery service was indicted anyway,” Salvador Rizzo, May 23, 2023, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2023/05/23/dc-marijuana-delivery-service-federal-prosecution/>; Drug Enforcement Agency, “Domestic Cannabis Suppression / Eradication Program,” <https://www.dea.gov/operations/eradication-program>; Marijuana Moment, “DEA Destroyed 5.7 Million Marijuana Plants Last Year, But Arrests Continue To Decline, Report Shows,” Kyle Jaeger, March 26, 2023, <https://www.marijuanamoment.net/dea-destroyed-5-7-million-marijuana-plants-last-year-but-arrests-continue-to-decline-report-shows/>; Politico, “‘Seize all cannabis’: Inside the surprising federal crackdown on New Mexico weed farmers,” Natalie Fertig, May 1, 2024, <https://www.politico.com/news/2024/05/01/federal-crackdown-new-mexico-weed-farmers-00155624>.

¹²⁶ Bureau of Justice Statistics, “Federal Prisoner Statistics Collected Under the First Step Act, 2023,” report, November 2023, p. 2, <https://bjs.ojp.gov/document/fpscufsa23.pdf>; American Bar Association, “Broken and Underutilized: Understanding Compassionate Release Programs for Older Adult Prisoners,” Megan Horner, January 19, 2023, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/law_aging/publications/bifocal/vol44/bifocal-vol-44-issue3/broken-and-underutilized-understanding-compassionate-release/.

¹²⁷ United States Sentencing Commission Guideline § 1B1.13(a)(2).

¹²⁸ Federal Register, “Annual Determination of Average Cost of Incarceration Fee (COIF),” notice, September 1, 2021, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2021/09/01/2021-18800/annual-determination-of-average-cost-of-incarceration-fee-coif>.

¹²⁹ U.S. Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General, “Impact of an Aging Inmate Population on the Federal Bureau of Prisons,” report, May 2015, p. 1, <https://oig.justice.gov/reports/2015/e1505.pdf>.

¹³⁰ Pew Charitable Trusts, “Aging Prison Populations Drive Up Costs,” Matt McKillop and Alex Boucher, February 20, 2018, <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/articles/2018/02/20/aging-prison-populations-drive-up-costs>.

¹³¹ United States Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, “Statement of Michael E. Horowitz Inspector General, U.S. Department of Justice before the United States Sentencing Commission hearing on

potential of compassionate release and called for BOP to exercise its compassionate release authority.¹³² While the First Step Act and updated U.S. Sentencing Commission guidelines have resulted in more people in custody bringing motions for release, the BOP rarely uses its own authority to bring these motions. In the past year, only 1.7 percent of compassionate release motions were brought by the BOP.¹³³ Yet BOP is uniquely positioned to identify the costly aging, ill, and dying individuals in its care and seek reductions in sentence for them. Doing so — and eliminating inefficiencies that delay the compassionate release process — would save federal dollars while ensuring humane treatments for vulnerable populations.¹³⁴

Likewise, DOGE should recommend steps to phase out the costly practice of incarcerating people for technical violations of probation and parole. Approximately 27 percent of admissions to state and federal prisons stem from technical violations of probation or parole—minor breaches of supervisory conditions, such as missing a curfew, lack of employment, not paying fees or fines, or missing a required meeting with a probation officer.¹³⁵ Reincarcerating individuals for these minor violations poses an unnecessary burden on taxpayers. For example, a 2019 report found that states spent a whopping *\$2.8 billion* to incarcerate individuals for technical violations of their terms of supervision.¹³⁶ Incarceration costs the federal government significantly more than community-based supervision.¹³⁷ In the federal system, DOGE can help eliminate such costs by recommending alternatives to incarceration for those with technical supervision violations.

Finally, the cost of detaining Guantánamo’s “forever prisoners” is famously high. The federal government spends around \$13 million per prisoner per year to detain people at Guantánamo Bay, making it the world’s most expensive detention program.¹³⁸ Just this month, the Pentagon

“Compassionate Release and the Conditions of Supervision,” February 17, 2016,

<https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/amendment-process/public-hearings-and-meetings/20160217/IG.pdf>.

¹³² Letter from Senator Brian Schatz, et al., to BOP Acting Director Thomas R. Kane and Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, August 3, 2017, <https://famm.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/2017.08.03-Letter-to-BOP-and-DAG-re.-Compassionate-Release.pdf>.

¹³³ United States Sentencing Commission, “U.S. Sentencing Commission Compassionate Release Data Report,” October 2024, p. 11 (Table 5), <https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/research-and-publications/federal-sentencing-statistics/compassionate-release/FY24Q4-Compassionate-Release.pdf>.

¹³⁴ United States Department of Justice, Office of the Inspector General, “Statement of Michael E. Horowitz Inspector General, U.S. Department of Justice before the United States Sentencing Commission hearing on ‘Compassionate Release and the Conditions of Supervision,’” February 17, 2016, <https://www.ussc.gov/sites/default/files/pdf/amendment-process/public-hearings-and-meetings/20160217/IG.pdf>.

¹³⁵ PRISON Policy Initiative, “Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2024,” press release, Wendy Sawyer and Peter Wagner, March 14, 2024, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2024.html#:~:text=At%20last%20count%2C%20at%20least%20128%2C00%20people.all%20admissions%20to%20state%20and%20federal%20prisons.>

¹³⁶ NCSL, “Legislative Primer Series on Community Supervision: Limiting Incarceration in Response to Technical Violations,” brief, June 29, 2022, <https://www.ncsl.org/civil-and-criminal-justice/community-supervision-limiting-incarceration-in-response-to-technical-violations>; <https://csgjusticecenter.org/publications/confined-costly/>.

¹³⁷ United States Courts, “Incarceration Costs Significantly More than Supervision,” August 17, 2017, <https://www.uscourts.gov/data-news/judiciary-news/2017/08/17/incarceration-costs-significantly-more-supervision>.

¹³⁸ The New York Times, “At Millions Per Detainee, Guantánamo Prison Stuck in a Cycle of Costly Delays,” Carol Rosenberg, September 16, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/09/16/us/politics/guantanamo-bay-prison-cost.html>; Center for Victims of Torture, “Guantánamo Bay Detention Facility: An Overview,” January 7, 2025,

released 11 prisoners from Guantánamo Bay, leaving just 15 men in the prison in a push at the end of the Biden Administration to lower the prison’s population.¹³⁹ DOGE should urge the Trump Administration and the Pentagon to continue the Biden Administration’s work by ramping up agreements to transfer prisoners to other countries and pursuing fair plea agreements with the goal of finally closing Guantánamo, resulting in *hundreds of millions of dollars of savings* per year.¹⁴⁰

Work with the GAO, OIGs, and other government watchdogs to detect and combat fraud, waste and abuse. To help meet its goals, DOGE could rely on independent, non-partisan offices and organizations to conduct oversight of government programs and spending. For example, DOGE should meet regularly with GAO, which is responsible for auditing and investigating the operations of federal agencies, providing critical oversight and recommendations for improvement. Additionally, DOGE should work with OIGs to investigate cases of waste, fraud, and misconduct at federal agencies. Finally, DOGE could collaborate with government watchdogs and advocacy groups like the Project on Government Oversight (POGO) and Citizens Against Government Waste (CAGW) to monitor spending at government agencies and hold them accountable.

Other Approaches to Cut Costs for American Taxpayers and the Federal Government

DOGE’s agenda has focused on limiting the size of the federal government to increase efficiency and save taxpayer dollars.¹⁴¹ As the list above indicates, there are many opportunities for identifying savings that would not hurt the middle class, and that would eliminate wasteful special interest spending.

But focusing solely on cutting federal budgets is myopic and counterproductive, and misses keys ways in which the government can cut costs for ordinary Americans, saving them billions of dollars. For example, the federal government should continue its efforts to target abusive surprise fees charged by businesses across the economy. Airlines increasingly slam flyers with unexpected seat, baggage, and change fees, with five of the top airlines in the U.S. raking in over \$12 billion from seating fees alone from 2018 to 2023.¹⁴² The Department of Transportation is now requiring airlines and ticket agents to tell consumers upfront what fees they will be charged

<https://www.cvt.org/what-we-do/advocating-for-change/legacy-of-us-torture/guantanamo-bay-detention-facility-an-overview/>.

¹³⁹ The New York Times, “U.S. Sends 11 Guantánamo Prisoners to Oman to Start New Lives,” Carol Rosenberg, January 6, 2025, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/01/06/us/politics/guantanamo-prisoners-oman.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share&referringSource=articleShare>.

¹⁴⁰ Senate Judiciary Committee, “Durbin Leads 17 Senators in Urging President Biden to Act Swiftly to Close the Guantánamo Bay Detention Facility,” press release, February 8, 2024, <https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/press/releases/durbin-leads-17-senators-in-urging-president-biden-to-act-swiftly-to-close-the-guantanamo-bay-detention-facility>.

¹⁴¹ Wall Street Journal, “OPINION: Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy: The DOGE Plan to Reform Government,” Elon Musk and Vivek Ramaswamy, November 20, 2024, <https://www.wsj.com/opinion/musk-and-ramaswamy-the-doge-plan-to-reform-government-supreme-court-guidance-end-executive-power-grab-fa51c020>.

¹⁴² CNBC, “Senate report slams airlines for raking in billions in seat fees,” Leslie Josephs, November 26, 2024, <https://www.cnbc.com/2024/11/26/senate-report-slams-airlines-for-raking-in-billions-in-seat-fees.html>.

for bags and for changing or cancelling a reservation.¹⁴³ This move is expected to save consumers over \$500 million each year.¹⁴⁴

American families also pay billions each year in credit card late fees.¹⁴⁵ To address this, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) finalized a rule in March 2024 to cap unreasonable credit card late fees.¹⁴⁶ The rule closes a loophole exploited by large credit card issuers to make a profit far beyond the cost of processing late payments.¹⁴⁷ The CFPB estimates that American families will save more than \$10 billion in late fees annually once the final rule goes into effect by reducing the typical fee from \$32 to \$8.¹⁴⁸

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) recently finalized a bipartisan rule banning junk fees for live events and hotel bookings, which will save consumers more than \$11 billion over the next decade.¹⁴⁹ DOGE could go even further by recommending bans on junk fees across the economy. For example, the Council of Economic Advisors estimates that each year Americans pay \$5 billion in food delivery service fees, \$10.8 billion in restaurant service fees, and \$276 million in apartment application fees.¹⁵⁰ DOGE could help lower bills for American taxpayers with recommendations to follow through on efforts to tackle these unexpected add-on fees.

Similarly, empowering the DOJ and the FTC to break up monopolies and ensure competition would have extraordinary benefits for families. Anticompetitive behavior and mergers stifle innovation and increase prices. DOGE could recommend allowing the DOJ's Antitrust Division to have access to the fees collected during its merger review process¹⁵¹ to help reignite competition in the American economy and squash anticompetitive behavior that makes everyday life and services more costly for Americans.

Along those lines, DOGE should ensure that federal agency contracts do not create monopolies that can hike prices for small businesses and consumers indefinitely. One recent example is an

¹⁴³ U.S. Department of Transportation, "Biden-Harris Administration Announces Final Rule to Protect Consumers from Surprise Airline Junk Fees," April 24, 2024, <https://www.transportation.gov/briefing-room/biden-harris-administration-announces-final-rule-protect-consumers-surprise-airline>.

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, "CFPB Bans Excessive Credit Card Late Fees, Lowers Typical Fee from \$32 to \$8," press release, March 5, 2024, <https://www.consumerfinance.gov/about-us/newsroom/cfpb-bans-excessive-credit-card-late-fees-lowers-typical-fee-from-32-to-8/>.

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.*

¹⁴⁸ Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, "CFPB Bans Excessive Credit Card Late Fees, Lowers Typical Fee from \$32 to \$8," March 5, 2024, <https://www.consumerfinance.gov/about-us/newsroom/cfpb-bans-excessive-credit-card-late-fees-lowers-typical-fee-from-32-to-8/>.

¹⁴⁹ Federal Trade Commission, "Federal Trade Commission Announces Bipartisan Rule Banning Junk Ticket and Hotel Fees," December 17, 2024, <https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/news/press-releases/2024/12/federal-trade-commission-announces-bipartisan-rule-banning-junk-ticket-hotel-fees>.

¹⁵⁰ Biden-Harris White House, Council of Economic Advisors, "The Price Isn't Right: How Junk Fees Cost Consumers and Undermine Competition," March 5, 2024, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/cea/written-materials/2024/03/05/the-price-isnt-right-how-junk-fees-cost-consumers-and-undermine-competition/>.

¹⁵¹ Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, "Warren, Klobuchar, Colleagues Raise Alarm on Funding Restrictions For Department of Justice's Antitrust Funding," press release, March 6, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/warren-klobuchar-colleagues-raise-alarm-on-funding-restrictions-for-department-of-justices-antitrust-funding>.

agreement between Verisign, the company that operates the “.com” domain name and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA). Verisign holds a government-ensured monopoly over registration of websites ending in “.com.”¹⁵² Verisign’s current agreement with NTIA has allowed the company to raise prices 31 percent in the past four years, a cost borne by millions of users, including small businesses.¹⁵³ In the meanwhile, Verisign has chosen to enrich its investors rather than invest in its business: in 2023, it authorized \$1.4 billion in stock buybacks, 76 percent of its total revenue for 2023.¹⁵⁴ DOGE should stamp out this government-facilitated waste by ensuring that federal agencies’ contracts are awarded through competitive processes and do not give monopolies power to excessively increase prices.

Finally, by making the tax code fairer, DOGE recommendations could provide a roadmap for additional government revenues that could be used for important investments or to cut the deficit. Ending tax breaks and loopholes for offshoring jobs and profits could raise \$1 trillion per decade;¹⁵⁵ raising the corporate tax rate to 28 percent and the corporate alternative minimum tax rate to 21 percent would raise \$1.5 trillion.¹⁵⁶ Finally, my “Ultra-Millionaire Tax” on fortunes over \$50 million would bring in at least \$3 trillion in revenue over 10 years by requiring that the top 0.05 percent of American households chip in 2 cents for every dollar of wealth over \$50 million.¹⁵⁷ None of these reform proposals would raise taxes on middle class families.

Conclusion

If you are serious about finding ways to make the federal government more efficient and save money for American taxpayers—without cutting key programs like Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, or raising taxes on middle class families—there are ample opportunities for you to do so. This letter provides you with 30 recommendations that would save at least \$2 trillion—allowing you to meet your goal of cutting “at least” \$2 trillion in federal spending.¹⁵⁸ In the

¹⁵² American Economic Liberties Project, “A Call for .Com-petition: Reining in Verisign’s Monopoly Over the Internet’s Most Popular Top-Level Domain,” July 24, 2024, <http://www.economicliberties.us/wp-content/uploads/2024/07/2024-7-25-Verisign-Policy-Brief-Final.pdf>.

¹⁵³ The Verge, “.com prices could rise for the first time in eight years,” Jacob Kastrenakes, February 12, 2020, <https://www.theverge.com/2020/2/12/21134632/domain-name-com-dot-price-increases-icann>; Domain Name Wire, “Verisign announces .com price hike to \$10.26,” Andrew Allemann, February 8, 2024, <https://domainnamewire.com/2024/02/08/verisign-announces-com-price-hike-to-10-26>.

¹⁵⁴ U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, “Annual Report Pursuant to Section 13 or 15(d) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934,” February 15, 2024, p. 22, <https://investor.verisign.com/static-files/05a7fafc-9df8-4203-9e73-70f078538213>; Verisign, “Verisign Reports Fourth Quarter and Full Year 2023 Results,” press release, February 8, 2024, <https://investor.verisign.com/news-releases/news-release-details/verisign-reports-fourth-quarter-and-full-year-2023-results>.

¹⁵⁵ Letter from the Joint Committee on Taxation to Senator Bernie Sanders, March 2, 2021, <https://www.sanders.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/Corporate-Tax-Dodging-Prevention-Act-Score-of-offshore-portion.pdf>.

¹⁵⁶ Treasury Department, “Revenue Estimates of the Administration’s Fiscal Year 2025 Revenue Proposals,” p. 247, <https://home.treasury.gov/system/files/131/General-Explanations-FY2025.pdf#page=247>.

¹⁵⁷ Office of Senator Elizabeth Warren, “Warren, Jayapal, Boyle Reintroduce Ultra-Millionaire Tax on Fortunes Over \$50 million,” press release, March 19, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/warren-jayapal-boyle-reintroduce-ultra-millionaire-tax-on-fortunes-over-50-million>.

¹⁵⁸ The Hill, “Musk draws skepticism with call for \$2 trillion in spending cuts,” Aris Folley, November 3, 2024, <https://thehill.com/business/4966789-elon-musk-skepticism-2-trillion-spending-cuts/>.

interest of taking aggressive, bipartisan action to ensure sustainable spending, protect taxpayer dollars, curb abusive practices by giant corporations, and improve middle-class Americans' quality of life, I would be happy to work with you on these matters.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Elizabeth Warren", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Elizabeth Warren
United States Senator