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House of Representatives

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker.

MORNING-HOUR DEBATE

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 3, 2017, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning-hour debate.

The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties. All time shall be equally allocated between the parties, and in no event shall debate continue beyond 9:50 a.m. Each Member, other than the majority and minority leaders and the minority whip, shall be limited to 5 minutes.

TAX CUT NIGHTMARE

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER) for 5 minutes.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, it has come to this: Republicans are poised to pass the largest transfer of wealth in our Nation's history, financed by mortgaging our children's future with a mountain of increased debt.

What is wrong with this picture?

Well, first of all, nobody really knows everything that is in this bill. It has been written over the last few days to satisfy donors and win the final few votes necessary for Senate passage. It is not tax reform. It is not even a policy, but a collection of special interest provisions being sold on a false set of promises.

It is, decidedly, not middle class tax relief. It is permanent, massive tax reductions for the largest corporations and wealthy individuals. Every independent expert agrees and the American public understand that the benefits of this bill flow not primarily to the middle class, but to people like Donald Trump.

The vast majority of Americans get little and temporary tax reduction, only to see the bottom 80 percent of our taxpayers, on average, actually facing a tax increase when the bill is fully phased in.

The permanent, massive tax reduction for the privileged few comes at a very high cost for the rest of America. Despite false promises, it will not remotely pay for itself through economic growth.

We start with a massive increase in national debt; increased interest costs; a total increase of \$2.3 trillion, and likely very higher as the accountants and lawyers discover how to fully exploit the many new loopholes created by lobbyists.

This bill is not tax simplification. It greatly complicates the Tax Code. Look at trying to understand just the passthrough provisions.

Also, we have an IRS that is struggling right now because my Republican friends have cut its budget 17 percent since 2010. They have 23,000 fewer employees, an outmoded data processing system, and more taxpayers—10 million more returns. It is not clear the IRS can even administer this bill.

Middle America will pay with increased economic insecurity, as it will increase insurance premiums an average of 10 percent a year. It will destabilize the health insurance market and increase the ranks of the uninsured by 13 million people over the next 10 years.

Most Americans will pay the price with the massive increase in debt, making it harder for everyone who wants to borrow money to start a business, finance a college education, or buy a home. It increases the likelihood of sending even more American money overseas to pay for the foreign holders of American debt that has increased.

It does not address the problem of offshoring our economic activities and the resulting revenue loss. It provides

more incentives for this to continue and even get worse. The increased debt will make it even harder to rebuild and renew America and to meet the needs of our aging and growing population.

After the wreckage of the Amtrak train in the Pacific Northwest, Trump pointed out the need for infrastructure investment to rebuild and renew the country. That is not going to happen.

It is already triggering an automatic \$25 billion cut in Medicare. Republicans are scrambling to figure out how to avoid that. We are hearing from Republican leadership that this increased debt illustrates the need to cut back on programs that meet the needs of average Americans and low-income citizens while we are showering increased tax benefits on the wealthy.

It has been a bonanza for all the attorneys, accountants, and lobbyists finding ways to further enrich the most privileged. In the weeks to come, we will find out more special gifts used to nail down the last few votes. I don't know whether the Corker kickback is true or not, but it leaves the public wondering why the immediate about-face from the Senator from Tennessee when nothing has changed except there have been a few provisions added.

No wonder the American public is opposed. They are right, and the Republicans are wrong.

MORNING AGAIN IN AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCLINTOCK) for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I opposed the House version of the tax reform bill because the loss of broad-based deductions like State and local taxes would have caused significant tax increases on many of my middle class constituents in the high-tax, high-cost State of California. It actually increased the marginal tax rate on high-

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.



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income earners and abolished lifeline deductions such as casualty loss, medical expenses, and student interest. I urge that we should leave no taxpayer behind.

I thank Chairman BRADY, the Republican leadership, and the conference committee for heeding these concerns. Their final product exceeds my expectations and, on behalf of California taxpayers, I can now offer my enthusiastic support.

The new version leaves the casualty loss, medical expense, and student interest deductions intact. No family needs to fear being ruined by taxes after a major disaster or illness, and graduates can continue to plan their lives knowing that interest on their student loans will not be taxed.

The new bill eases the proposed limit on mortgage interest deductions and allows up to \$10,000 of State and local taxes to be deducted, all important changes for California. But most importantly, the lower tax rates in this bill now more than compensate in almost every case for the remaining limits on State and local tax and mortgage interest deductions. Even taxpayers who lose tens of thousand of dollars of deductions will still end up paying lower taxes than they do today.

For example, a couple earning \$60,000 with a \$300,000 home and three adult dependents would have paid \$200 more in taxes under the old bill. But under this new version, they will save \$340.

A couple earning \$150,000 with a \$750,000 home—that is a high-end tract home in California—and one child would have paid \$1,200 more in taxes under the old House bill. But under the new bill, that same family will save \$720.

The business tax provisions are especially important because they will restore American workers to an internationally competitive position. According to economists ranging from Martin Feldstein to Arthur Laffer, these provisions alone will produce \$5 trillion of new economic activity over the next decade. That is \$40,000 per household, including \$2 trillion of new tax revenues to all levels of government.

Last Friday, I toured AMPAC, a local company making the active ingredient in several cancer and epilepsy drugs. Their product is then shipped to Ireland to make the actual medicine solely because the corporate tax in the United States is 35 percent, and in Ireland it is just 12.5 percent.

Their CEO, Aslam Malik, told me that, if they gave their product away for free, the final medicine could still not be competitively manufactured in the United States solely because of our taxes. He expects their local company will grow dramatically because of this tax reform, employing hundreds more families both directly and indirectly as they expand everything from payroll to infrastructure.

You see, that is what the Marxists just don't understand. Businesses don't

pay business taxes. Businesses collect them from just three sources: from consumers through higher prices, from employees through lower wages, and from investors through lower earnings, usually pension plans and IRAs.

We have the highest corporate tax rate in the industrialized world, and commerce and capital simply move around it, leaving our workers behind. That is one of the reasons we averaged just 1.5 percent economic growth under Obama—worse than any President since Herbert Hoover—and lost an entire decade of prosperity.

The Marxists tell us that this is just trickle-down economics and it has never worked. Well, in fact, it has always worked. It worked when Warren Harding did it in the 1920s, when John F. Kennedy did it in the 1960s, when Ronald Reagan did it in the 1980s, and, lest we forget, when Bill Clinton approved the biggest capital gains tax cut in American history.

Concerns over the deficit are legitimate and must be addressed by spending reforms in the coming year. We must always remember that taxes and debt are driven by just one thing: spending.

The proof of these policies will manifest itself over the coming year, and every American will be able to decide for themselves if this has made them better off. I think that is why the left has pulled out all the stops to defeat it. Their arguments are exactly the same economically illiterate attacks filled with class envy that they made against Reagan.

When the American people awakened one day to find it was morning again in America, the left was discredited for a generation. Let history repeat itself, beginning today, with this vote.

HOW THE GRINCH STOLE MIDDLE CLASS TAX CUTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE) for 5 minutes.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, with a little help from Dr. Seuss, I would like to share the story of how the Grinch stole middle class tax cuts:

Every middle class family wanted tax cuts a lot,

But the Grinch, who lived in a big white house, did not.

The Grinch hated middle class tax cuts, he wanted the whole Tax Code uneven,

Now, please, don't ask why, no one quite knows the reason.

It could be his head was screwed on a bit wrong,

It could be his ties were 2 inches too long, But I think that the most likely reason of all,

Was his heart, or his hands, were two sizes too small.

Whatever the reason, his heart or his ties, He stood on Christmas Eve, planning workers' demise,

Staring out from his office with a sour, Grinchy frown,

At the workers' warm, lighted windows below in their town.

"Tomorrow is Christmas, it is practically here,"

He said from his office with a terrible sneer. "Why, for 71 years I have put up with it now, I must stop these middle class tax cuts. But how?"

Then he got an idea, an awful idea, The Grinch got a terrible, awful idea.

"I know just what to do," the Grinch thought with a pause,

"With this coat and this hat, I look just like Santa Claus."

Then he loaded some empty bags on his plane,

And he took off to cause some mean Grinchy pain.

While working families dreamed of sweet tax cuts without care,

The Grinch came to the first little house on the square.

"This is stop number one," the old Grinch Claus hissed,

And he climbed to the roof, empty bags in his fist.

Then he slid down the chimney, Santa suit all in place,

And he stuck his head out of the small fireplace,

Where the tax deductions all hung in a row, "These deductions," he grinned, "are the first things to go."

Personal exemptions, home equity interest, State and local taxes, too,

"I'll take almost every deduction away from you."

Then he slunk to the tax brackets—the corporate tax cuts were huge,

Why, that Grinch even took the Arctic Wildlife Refuge.

"And now," grinned the Grinch, with his sacks in a net,

"I'll stack the deficit with \$1 trillion in debt."

Then he heard a small sound, a child's soft cry,

"Why are you taking our deductions, Grinch? Why?"

But, you know, that old Grinch was so smart and so slick,

That he thought up a fib, and he thought it up quick.

"Why, my sweet little tot," the Grinch said on the fly,

"I am here because corporate taxes are far too high.

"So I am taking most of your deductions away,

"To help corporations . . . and you get to pay.

"See, my dear child, there is no reason to frown,

"We will make them more wealthy, but it will all trickle down."

His fib fooled the child, then he patted her head,

And he got her a tax postcard, and he sent her to bed.

The Grinch took one last look at her sad little pup,

And he went to the chimney and shoved the deficit up.

Healthcare for 13 million was the last thing he took,

Then he slithered away without another look.

In their homes he left nothing but debt and despair,

While giving out handouts to corporations—the Grinch didn't care.

And the one deduction that he extolled, Was even too small for a single household.

He rode with his load of deductions for dumping,

"Pooh-pooh to the middle class," he said, gleefully jumping.

"They're just waking up, I know just what they'll do,

“Their mouths will hang open a minute or two, and they’ll all cry, ‘boo-hoo.’”

□ 0915

“That’s a noise,” grinned the Grinch, “that I simply must hear.”

So he paused. And the Grinch put his hand to his ear.

And he did hear a sound rising over the snow. It started to low. Then it started to grow.

He stared down aghast. The Grinch popped his eyes.

Then he shook. What he saw was a shocking surprise.

Every American, the tall and the small, loudly demanding tax cuts for all.

We want our deductions and a better deal, not tax cuts for corporations while you cut Meals on Wheels.

And the Grinch, with his small hands ice-cold in the snow, stood puzzling and puzzling:

“How could it be so?”

“Am I a fool?”

“Are my policies all wrong?”

“Without those deductions, can the Nation be strong?”

And he puzzled 3 hours until his puzzler was sore.

Then the Grinch thought of something he had not tweeted before:

“Maybe tax cuts should help more than just corporations.

“Maybe this Christmas I can help the whole Nation.

“America’s middle class is what made it thrive.

“They need these deductions if they’re to survive.”

We all know how the real story ends.

The Grinch finds his heart and he makes amends.

Now we know this tax bill won’t end with such glee, because the President and corporate lobbyists control the GOP.

This Christmas, families will get just coal in their stocking.

Thanks to President Trump, the final result will be shocking.

TAX REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky). The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Indiana (Mrs. BROOKS of Indiana) for 5 minutes.

Mrs. BROOKS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, over the past 31 years, our Tax Code has become broken. As our Tax Code is currently written, I have been told by many that it fails to support families across the country with the resources they need in order to properly plan for their futures. Our Tax Code has left those behind who are struggling to make ends meet, and that is unacceptable.

Today is a historic day because that is all about to change. We have heard you. Today we will vote on comprehensive tax reform.

During consideration of H.R. 1, Andrew from Indianapolis contacted me, asking that we craft a tax plan that helps the middle class. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act bill does just that. Thanks to the reduced personal tax rates this bill provides, the average family of four, earning \$73,000, will pay \$2,000 less in Federal taxes.

We heard you, Andrew.

A single mother earning \$40,000 will see \$1,300 more in her paycheck. Those

savings represent the ability for parents to save for opportunities, including future education costs for their kids, retirement savings; or for unexpected times when an emergency fund is needed to cover unplanned costs.

I heard loud and clear from a lot of people in the Fifth District—students and parents—about the importance of protecting graduate student tuition exemptions. To ensure we continue to support hardworking students pursuing their career goals, this bill continues those exemptions.

We heard you.

Deborah from Anderson called my office asking that we preserve the mortgage interest deduction. This bill does that. It makes no changes to deductions for current mortgages and it keeps the deduction in place for new mortgages of up to \$750,000.

I heard you, Deborah.

I was also contacted by a young married couple from Zionsville, in my district, who said, thanks to this bill, they have done the calculations and they think they are going to receive a \$5,000 tax cut. They will use that money to boost their savings so that they can buy their first home sooner than they expected.

I heard you.

Providing our friends, neighbors, colleagues, and loved ones the freedom to pursue their dreams—like buying a first home or saving for college—is what allows our society to improve and better itself.

I encourage my colleagues to also listen to the American people to show that we have heard them, and to support this bill. I believe it will help provide security for families across the Nation and it will help turn their dreams into their new reality.

OPPOSING THE GOP TAX SCAM CONFERENCE REPORT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ) for 5 minutes.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to this tax scam bill. Not only will it harm working families across the Nation, but it will visit another hurricane on Puerto Rico: an economic hurricane.

Today, Puerto Rico is in the grip of a humanitarian crisis. More than 235,000 of its people have already fled the island for the mainland.

After Maria, many of my colleagues—from Speaker RYAN to Leader MCCARTHY—went to Puerto Rico and promised they would assist the island and help them recover. Instead, what they are doing is finding a way to further drive Puerto Rico’s economy into the ground.

Even though it is part of the United States—remember, since 1898, when military forces invaded Puerto Rico—this bill treats Puerto Rico as a foreign jurisdiction, levying new taxes on corporations operating there, creating in-

centives for them to leave the island and take jobs with them.

Let’s be clear. Puerto Ricans are American citizens. They fight in our wars, many of them laying down their lives for our freedoms, yet this bill continues treating Puerto Rico differently than the rest of the United States.

For decades, decisions made right here in this body hollowed out, weakened, and undermined Puerto Rico’s economy. This tax bill continues that awful tradition, undercutting Puerto Rico’s economy once more.

All told, these tax provisions will cost Puerto Rico more than 200,000 jobs, at exactly the time when the island needs all the help it can get.

While this tax scam would hurt Puerto Rico, it also does nothing to help. While they had talked of it, there is nothing to expand the child tax credit for Puerto Rico. They eliminated the meager extensions of section 199 and rum cover-over provisions contained in the House version.

The Speaker of the House and the Republican leader went to Puerto Rico. They looked the people of Puerto Rico in the eye and made promises to help them.

That is how you help Puerto Rico?

What we are seeing is that their tax bill would serve simply to crush Puerto Rico’s economy.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is morally bankrupt. It harms American citizens everywhere. It kicks Puerto Rico when it is down. It must be rejected. Vote “no.”

CELEBRATING 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF JACKSON HEALTH SYSTEM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN) for 5 minutes.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to rise today to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Jackson Health System.

Jackson Memorial Hospital first opened its doors in south Florida a century ago as a 13-bed community hospital. In the years since, Jackson has grown to become one of the Nation’s largest and most renowned public hospital systems.

But, throughout the many periods of growth and expansion, Jackson has remained true to its core mission: to build and improve the health of our community by providing the best possible care for Miami’s residents.

Mr. Speaker, by caring for those most in need, Jackson Health System has created a solid foundation that has empowered our families to thrive.

Congratulations to their leader, Carlos Migoya, and all of the staff of Jackson Health System on a century of excellence and care to our community. I thank them for continuing to serve as stewards of Jackson’s legacy and for continuing to use healthcare to improve people’s lives and to help shape their bright futures.

RECOGNIZING DIANE WHITAKER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. THOMPSON) for 5 minutes.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Diane L. Whitaker as she retires from the Clinton County Library System this year after serving 31 years and 31 days as executive director of the Ross Library in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania.

In the library's 107 years of existence, Ms. Whitaker is just the seventh director, but she is the longest serving in its history.

The Ross Library Board of Trustees recently hosted a celebration for Ms. Whitaker. They also revealed the newly named "Diane L. Whitaker Genealogy Collection" on a plaque in her honor.

Over the years, Ms. Whitaker has overseen numerous projects and has also authored grant applications that have helped local libraries with much-needed funding.

Ms. Whitaker was raised in Clearfield County and holds a bachelor's degree in secondary education from Lock Haven University. She earned a master's degree in library science from Clarion University.

She has been a career librarian for more than four decades, working as a school librarian, bookmobile librarian, children's coordinator, branch librarian, and administrator.

Ms. Whitaker and her husband, Lester, live in Beech Creek. They have three daughters and six grandchildren, all of whom reside in Clinton and Centre Counties.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Ms. Whitaker for all her contributions to Ross Library and the entire Clinton County Library System. The community is a better place thanks to her efforts. She plans to visit State and national parks in her retirement, which I think is an outstanding plan.

RECOGNIZING MICHAEL COLBERT

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for nearly 20 years, Michael Colbert has given his leadership to Oil Creek Township as supervisor chairman. Last week, he oversaw his final meeting as supervisor, and he will retire at the end of the year.

Mr. Colbert first served as a supervisor in 1993 to fill a vacancy, but he stepped down the next year. He would run again in 1999, win the seat, and officially be sworn in in January 2000.

Over nearly 20 years at the helm, Mr. Colbert oversaw numerous projects, but he told the Titusville Herald that his proudest achievement was helping pave the way for Walmart to open a store in the township.

In his well-deserved retirement, Mr. Colbert said he plans to vacation in Florida for a few weeks.

Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. Colbert for his dedication and leadership to Oil Creek Township as supervisor chairman. He has given nearly 20 years of

his time and energy to his neighbors and his community. For that, we are grateful.

I wish him the best in retirement.

RECOGNIZING PEARL S. BUCK INTERNATIONAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FITZPATRICK) for 5 minutes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the important work that Pearl S. Buck International is doing in our community in Bucks County.

Pearl S. Buck was the first woman to receive both the Pulitzer and Nobel Prize for literature. Pearl Buck spent decades of her life in China, immersing herself in its culture and history, with her remaining time living in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

The foundation continues her work, providing opportunities to explore and appreciate other cultures and building better lives for children around the globe. Their work on projects—like the Backyard Gardening Project in the Philippines, Life Skills Education for Children Living in Vietnamese Orphanages, and Thailand Clean Drinking Water and Sanitation Project—has increased humanitarian aid for people across the world.

The organization's School Outreach Program and the High School Leadership Program, which equips students committed to making lifelong contributions within the community with effective leadership skills, have made positive and long-lasting impacts in our district. I am thankful for, and stand in full support of, the work that Pearl S. Buck International does in our community and around the globe.

RECOGNIZING BENJAMIN RUSH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, this December, over 50 students at Benjamin Rush Elementary School in Bucks County were recognized for their completion of the Drug Abuse Resistance Education Program. This training—more commonly known as D.A.R.E.—teaches young students basic skills for responsible decisionmaking.

I thank the officers of the Bensalem Township Police Department for their work with Benjamin Rush Elementary School and for their commitment to educating young citizens in our district.

□ 0930

In the face of a growing opioid crisis, it is vital that students learn about the consequences of drug abuse.

Mr. Speaker, as an EMT and vice chair of the Bipartisan Heroin Task Force, I applaud the efforts of educational programs like these and all those who seek to learn from them. Educating the young people in our communities about the potential dangers of drug abuse is absolutely crucial, and it is my hope that they will use the

tools they have learned to lead safer and healthier lives and to become leaders in the lower Bucks County community.

CREATION OF A NEW GOLD STAR FAMILIES MEMORIAL MONUMENT

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, this December, ground was broken at the Washington Crossing National Cemetery for the creation of a new Gold Star Families Memorial Monument. These monuments are erected across this country to recognize U.S. military members who have laid down their lives and their family members who have suffered alongside of them.

Among those present for the groundbreaking was Hershel "Woody" Williams. Mr. Williams, a former marine, is the last surviving Medal of Honor recipient for honorable service during the Battle of Iwo Jima. It was with the help of his foundation that this monument was made possible.

These memorials include stories about homeland, family, patriot, and sacrifice. In the center is a cutout that represents the loved one who has sacrificed their life in defense of our great country.

Mr. Speaker, we can never forget those who have paid the ultimate price to secure our freedoms, nor can we forget the families who supported them in their noble endeavors. We are so proud to have a Gold Star Families Memorial Monument in our district.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 10 a.m. today.

Accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 31 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1000

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. WOMACK) at 10 a.m.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, offered the following prayer: Loving God, we give You thanks for giving us another day.

In the waning days of the first session of the 115th Congress, help the Members of the House, and those of the Senate, to act wisely and carefully in the important work they do.

And as our Nation passes through this holy season for millions of Americans, may there be good will in our communities and peace and reconciliation where those virtues are so sorely needed.

May all that is done within the people's House be for Your greater honor and glory.

Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the

last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8, rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

The point of no quorum is considered withdrawn.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Will the gentlewoman from Illinois (Ms. KELLY) come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Ms. KELLY of Illinois led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

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

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will entertain up to 15 requests for 1-minute speeches on each side of the aisle.

SUPPORTING TAX REFORM

(Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the conference report to accompany H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

For the first time since 1986, there is a real opportunity to challenge the status quo and simplify the Tax Code. The final agreement lowers rates and significantly increases the standard deduction for both individuals and joint filers. American families will see the child tax credit expanded to help parents with the cost of raising children.

Importantly, the graduate tuition voucher exemption and student loan interest deduction have remained to ensure our commitment to opportunity through education. I, and many of my colleagues, urged the conference committee to keep these important provisions intact.

H.R. 1 also eliminates ObamaCare's individual mandate penalty tax to allow Americans the flexibility to buy

healthcare that is right for them. Job creators will see the corporate tax rate lowered to 21 percent on January 1, 2018, which is the largest reduction in our Nation's history.

Mr. Speaker, this is just some of what this once-in-a-generation proposal does to help America keep more of their hard-earned paychecks. I encourage my colleagues to join me in voting for H.R. 1.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT THE MAJORITY SAYS AND WHAT THE MAJORITY DOES

(Ms. KELLY of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KELLY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I rise today because the majority is working to pass a tax scam that will raise taxes on my constituents.

For nearly a year, Republicans have promised tax reform that benefits middle class families. Once again, there is a big difference between what the majority says and what the majority does.

Instead of being a tax break for middle class Americans, it is a tax scam that will force hardworking Illinois moms and dads to pay the bill for tax giveaways to the rich and well connected. That is just wrong.

Mr. Speaker, the American people know it is a scam. A new poll from Monmouth University found that half of all Americans believe this GOP tax scam will raise their taxes. These folks are right. It will raise their taxes, especially for families in Illinois and in the Second District.

Mr. Speaker, I will never vote to raise my constituents' taxes just to pay for massive tax giveaways to major corporations and a handful of super-wealthy families.

I urge my colleagues to vote "no" and stand with America's middle class and working families, the backbone of our Nation.

WATER IS LIFE

(Mr. POE of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. POE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, nearly 700 million people across the globe lack access to water. This is a disturbing world crisis. In many countries, women and children walk for miles and face countless risks just to find some water.

Mr. Speaker, water is not just about drinking; it is about sanitation; it is about hygiene. It prevents diseases and drastically improves the quality of life. That is why I worked with my friend, Representative EARL BLUMENAUER, for the Water for the World Act.

This bill has made it U.S. policy to improve international access to safe water, sanitation, and hygiene. I applaud the administration on issuing the Global Water Strategy required by that law, and I look forward to seeing its implementation.

The road ahead is long. Eighty percent of the countries receiving U.S. aid still suffer from water issues. With our God-given resources, we have an obligation to make sure people receive the basic element of life—clean water—because water is life.

And that is just the way it is.

PROTECT OUR DREAMERS

(Mr. COSTA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COSTA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to stand with the DREAMers, both in the San Joaquin Valley and throughout our country. Protecting our DREAMers is the responsible, moral, and just thing to do.

The majority of Americans want legal protection for our DREAMers, and Congress must listen. I have been listening to those who have visited my offices, university presidents, religious organizations, my constituents, who simply want us to provide legalization for these individuals who have come to this country at an average age of 6 years of age. This is the only country they have ever known.

Passing the Dream Act is a priority for Democrats and has strong support for many Republicans. We just need to vote on the bill.

I am a cosponsor of the Dream Act, and I have joined nearly 200 of my colleagues signing a discharge petition to bring this legislation to the floor. I now call on my Republican colleagues to do the right thing and allow a vote on the Dream Act.

I will continue to advocate for policies that protect our DREAMers. I urge our DREAMers to continue to make their voices heard, as they have across this country, and to urge people in Congress to do the right thing.

We must stay vigilant in our efforts to protect these individuals, and we as Americans understand what these individuals mean to our country.

Pass the Dream Act now.

ENSURING A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR FAMILIES

(Mr. WALBERG asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. WALBERG. Mr. Speaker, as I travel the Seventh District of Michigan, I have met with many hard-working families who are living paycheck to paycheck; moms and dads struggling to pay the mortgage, make ends meet; many businesses weighed down by a burdensome and outdated Tax Code. We developed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act with them in mind.

For families across my district, our plan means more jobs, more take-home pay, and more money in their pockets. At every income level, people will see meaningful tax relief.

On top of that, our plan will help small businesses thrive, boost job creation here at home, and make our

economy stronger and more competitive.

Mr. Speaker, the choice before us today is clear. We can prop up a broken Tax Code and maintain the status quo, or we can pass the most sweeping tax overhaul in three decades and deliver historic tax relief to those who need it most.

Let's pass the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act and ensure a brighter future for the families we represent.

THE REPUBLICAN TAX SCAM

(Ms. JAYAPAL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to urge my colleagues to say no to this outrageous tax bill and do what is right for the American people.

This bill gives more riches to the richest Republican donors, at the expense of middle class families and the poorest. This bill does what the American people already said no to, which is, it dismantles the Affordable Care Act. It throws 13 million Americans off of their healthcare and increases premiums for millions more.

This tax bill eliminates most of the State and local tax deduction and shortchanges so many communities across the Nation, slashing education funding by as much as \$152 billion over the next decade.

This tax heist runs up the deficit by \$1 trillion to \$1.5 trillion and triggers automatic spending cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, and services that children and seniors depend on.

This tax scam gives 80 percent of the benefits to the top 1 percent. That is a war on any idea of opportunity and income equality in this country. It is not tax reform, and I urge a "no" vote.

COPS AND KIDS

(Mr. BUDD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUDD. Mr. Speaker, our policemen and -women wake up every day and do a job that is dangerous and often thankless. They are truly servants of the public and protectors of those who cannot help themselves. If that weren't enough, I wanted to speak briefly today to highlight officers who have gone even further.

Mr. Speaker, the Iredell County Fraternal Order of Police recently held a Cops and Kids event in Mooresville, North Carolina. Through their generosity, more than two dozen families got around \$100 worth of toys, clothes, and gifts for their loved ones. The stories of struggle for these families, brightened by a moment of generosity, are the stories we see around the country this Christmas.

I am awed and humbled by the efforts of these officers. I want to especially congratulate Tommy Chipman, presi-

dent of the Iredell County Fraternal Order of Police; Duck Wyatt, the second vice president; and all those who participated to help make this Christmas a better one for families in the community.

WHITE ELEPHANT GIFT EXCHANGE

(Mr. DOGGETT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, for those with silk stockings, it is a very Merry Christmas indeed. The billionaires get stuffed, but we get coal. It is like a White Elephant gift exchange. The billionaires grab the good gifts, and the leftovers go to working families, though they get the bill for everything.

How many millions of dollars the Trump family will personally stuff in their pockets cannot be precisely determined, only because of continuing Republican collusion to cover up Trump's personal tax returns.

Excluding the public, refusing to even permit Democrats to offer an amendment, Republicans dumped this proposal out this weekend and now demand an immediate vote. The dangers lurking in this bill for economic opportunity, for tax fairness, are very real, but they are overshadowed by the dangers to our democracy from these Trump tactics to impose his rule on America.

Republicans decided the only way to pass their program was to hide it. Let's reject it today.

HONORING THE SERVICE OF THOMAS PERSEO

(Mr. YOHO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOHO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize a lifelong public servant, Mr. Thomas Perseo, who will be retiring on January 10, 2018, after 43 years of faithful service to north-central Florida's community in law enforcement.

Mr. Perseo began his career in Green Cove Springs, Florida, in the police department in September 1974. He served his hometown community until 1982, and then moved to Gainesville, Florida.

Upon his move, Officer Perseo started working for the Alachua County Sheriff's Office. He is currently a warrant investigator, and, after 35 years of dedicated law enforcement service with an exemplary record, Tom will be starting the next chapter of his life.

Tom is a shining example of what it means to be an American. He has dedicated his life to serving our community, and I have no doubt he will continue to do so in retirement. I am proud to represent such a hardworking individual and also to have the honor of being his friend.

For myself, and all of Florida's Third District, I wish him the very best in his well-deserved retirement.

□ 1015

HONORING CALVIN IRVIN

(Ms. ADAMS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the life of Calvin Irvin, a native of New Jersey and a resident of Greensboro, North Carolina, who passed away November 25, 2017.

Cal, as he was fondly called, was an honorable man, dedicated to his community and to mentoring young student athletes. Over his career, he served as coach of Johnson C. Smith University's basketball team, and later as professor and head coach of North Carolina A&T's basketball team for 18 years.

Cal always emphasized the importance of education, ensuring the dedication and perseverance that his athletes learned on the court was also exhibited in the classroom.

A devoted citizen of the Greensboro community, he served in countless civic roles, including treasurer of the Convention and Tourism Bureau and a lifelong member of the NAACP.

He brought his generous spirit and his heart home with him, too. He was a loving husband to his beloved wife, Kathryn, and to his nephew who was like a brother.

As my longtime dear friend and supporter, Cal's golden heart shined a bright spot in my life, too. He will be sorely missed. His loss will be felt throughout our entire State and beyond.

My thoughts and prayers continue to be with his wife, Kathryn, his family, his friends, and his community.

PROCLAMATION RECOGNIZING GEORGE C. SHEPPARD

(Mr. NORMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. NORMAN. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, January 2, 2018, is a great day for the mayor of Tega Cay, South Carolina.

Let me read the proclamation:

"Whereas, serving as an elected official in local government requires sacrifice, passion, and dedication; and

"Whereas, as George C. Sheppard was elected as the mayor of the city of Tega Cay on November 10, 2009, after serving 2 years as the city's mayor pro tempore; and

"Whereas, Mayor Sheppard faithfully and dutifully served as the city's mayor for 8 years; and

"Whereas, during his two terms as mayor, the city of Tega Cay prospered and solidified its place in the region."

Mayor Sheppard, Godspeed in your retirement, and thank you for your service to the great city of Tega Cay, South Carolina.

EVIDENCE WHY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE REJECT THE TAX BILL

(Mr. YARMUTH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. YARMUTH. Mr. Speaker, this morning I saw a dramatic bit of evidence as to why the American people overwhelmingly reject the Republican donor relief bill known as the tax reform bill.

Chairman BRADY of the Ways and Means Committee, the author of this bill, was asked why he didn't do anything in the bill to change the carried interest deduction, that provision which allows billionaire hedge fund managers to pay a lower income tax rate than tens of millions of regular Americans.

He said the middle class Americans don't care about that, working families don't. I understand why he didn't want to try to defend the protection of carried interest. There is no defense for it.

But here is why every American ought to care: Because every dollar of lost revenue that goes back to those billionaire hedge fund managers will result in cut services for the vast majority of Americans, for Medicare, for Medicaid, for Social Security, and for many others. It will add to the debt that their children and grandchildren will have to pay for.

Mr. Speaker, that is a good reason why everyone should care about this bill, why it is a scam on middle class Americans, and why it ought to be rejected.

SALUTING THE NAVY'S NEWEST SHIP

(Mr. HILL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to salute the U.S. Navy's newest vessel, the USS *Little Rock*, and her brave crew.

Commissioned this past Saturday, the new USS *Little Rock* was built in Wisconsin and is a littoral combat ship that will operate in waters close to shore.

The vessel carries with it the name-sake of Arkansas' State capital and the proud history of the former USS *Little Rock*.

Today, it is also fitting to honor the former USS *Little Rock*. Completed in World War II, she was one of six vessels to be converted to a guided missile cruiser. She was the first U.S. Navy ship to be named for Little Rock, Arkansas.

The only World War II cruiser on display in the United States, the former USS *Little Rock* is the sole survivor of the *Cleveland* class.

The USS *Little Rock* served with distinction as a flagship for both the second and the sixth fleets.

I thank all of those who served on the former USS *Little Rock*. I wish the new USS *Little Rock* the best as she carries out our Nation's critical maritime strategy and protects our interests across the globe.

WORK WITH US TO DELIVER A BETTER DEAL

(Mrs. BUSTOS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mrs. BUSTOS. Mr. Speaker, since Donald Trump became the leader of the Republican Party, they said they would start standing up for America's workers. There were promises to stop outsourcing and bring millions of manufacturing jobs back home.

But the two big items on PAUL RYAN's agenda have been cutting healthcare and is a tax scam that is a direct attack on America's middle class. It raises taxes on 86 million middle class households. It hands 83 percent of its benefits to the wealthiest 1 percent. Perhaps worst of all, it is a job killer that will help big corporations move jobs overseas.

They claim it does just the opposite, but why are they trying to ram this thing through so fast?

Because they know that in the fine print are new loopholes that make it easier for companies to shift our work out of America and pay less taxes.

Sure, this bill will create jobs. It will create them over in China and Mexico and Malaysia.

Mr. Speaker, this tax scam is a huge broken promise. We can do better.

RECOGNIZING JUDGE JIM HENDERSON

(Mr. COMER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. COMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize my good friend, Simpson County Judge Executive Jim Henderson from the First Congressional District of Kentucky.

Judge Henderson has served his community since 1998, when he was elected as the youngest county judge executive in Kentucky, and has continually devoted himself to organizations which advance the development and prosperity of Simpson County.

Judge Henderson has decided to transition into a new role as deputy director of the Kentucky Association of Counties, where he will be overseeing their day-to-day operations and working with local government officials in all 120 counties throughout the Commonwealth to advocate for legislative solutions that best meet the needs of their constituencies.

His previous leadership within KACo, combined with his personal and professional networks, and his impeccable record of achievement have prepared him to serve Kentucky's local officials in a direct and expanded capacity.

Although he will be missed in his current role, I am grateful for his steadfast leadership and tireless contributions to Simpson County, as well as his friendship and guidance.

Mr. Speaker, I join his family, friends, and all those who have benefited from his efforts throughout the

years in wishing him great success in his new role as deputy director of KACo.

THE REPUBLICAN TAX BILL IS BAD

(Mr. ELLISON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ELLISON. Mr. Speaker, in a few hours from now, the Republican Conference is going to bring forth a tax bill. This bill will redistribute wealth from working Americans up to the very richest people in our country. It will result in massive deficits. It will result in a starvation of the government to stop it from doing critical things that it needs to do to afford the expenses of our country and to help Americans lead better lives.

But after it is all said and done, after that is done, Mr. Speaker, it is going to do at least three more things that are very, very bad.

One of them is that the corporations that get all this money and the wealthy individuals will, one, do stock buybacks and promote their personal wealth. They will give each other bonuses to give each other greater personal wealth.

They will have more money to do more mergers to concentrate markets even more so that we have more monopoly and oligopoly around, and they will buy political influence to further corrupt our democratic government.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bad thing, and I am looking forward to a big, strong "no."

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1, TAX CUTS AND JOBS ACT; PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 3312, SYSTEMIC RISK DESIGNATION IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 2017; AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 667 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 667

Resolved, That upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 1) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to titles II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018. All points of order against the conference report and against its consideration are waived. The conference report shall be considered as read. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the conference report to its adoption without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate; and (2) one motion to recommit if applicable. Clause 5(b) of rule XXI shall not apply to the conference report.

Sec. 2. Upon adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to consider in the House the bill (H.R. 3312) to amend the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act to specify when bank holding companies may be subject to certain enhanced

supervision, and for other purposes. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. In lieu of the amendment recommended by the Committee on Financial Services now printed in the bill, an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 115-49, modified by the amendment printed in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, shall be considered as adopted. The bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. All points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended, are waived. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill, as amended, and on any further amendment thereto, to final passage without intervening motion except: (1) one hour of debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Financial Services; and (2) one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

SEC. 3. The requirement of clause 6(a) of rule XIII for a two-thirds vote to consider a report from the Committee on Rules on the same day it is presented to the House is waived with respect to any resolution reported through the remainder of the first session of the One Hundred Fifteenth Congress.

SEC. 4. It shall be in order at any time through the remainder of the first session of the One Hundred Fifteenth Congress for the Speaker to entertain motions that the House suspend the rules as though under clause 1 of rule XV. The Speaker or his designee shall consult with the Minority Leader or her designee on the designation of any matter for consideration pursuant to this section.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, for the purpose of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. SLAUGHTER), my dear friend, who is the ranking member of the Rules Committee, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this rule and the underlying legislation.

This rule provides for consideration of H.R. 3312, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017; and the conference report accompanying H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and JOBS Act.

Mr. Speaker, this rule, and specifically the underlying conference report, is the reflection of a bicameral agreement between the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate, whereby we took some of the best ideas from across not only our conference, but this country, and from our respective ideas to make a tax bill that would combine them for the best interests of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, the bottom line is that what we are doing here today is that the Republican Party is relying upon the greatest system ever invented: the free enterprise system.

The free enterprise system has brought the United States of America not only the greatest economic opportunities in the world, but it is a system of rule of law. It is a system of a Tax Code. It is a system of ideas that has made America the envy of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I also get politically what is happening. We are taking what the Democratic Party and President Obama did to raise taxes by \$1 trillion, the largest tax increase in the history of the United States, and we are trashing that today.

We are saying that the production that it made of 1.2 percent over 8 years is unacceptable to the United States of America. It was unacceptable then, and we will not allow that to be the gauge that we will measure our success in the future.

Secondly, we are also going to deal properly and fairly with the Affordable Care Act, a law that placed extensive burdens not only on people who did not want the healthcare bill that was placed forward, but placed a tremendous cost on the middle class of this country and the American people.

□ 1030

What we are doing today is bold. We are going to make the big deal the big deal the American people want and need: a stronger, brighter economic future.

It is a progrowth bill that will overhaul our Tax Code and unleash our free enterprise system. It lowers tax rates on businesses of every size so job creators can focus on hiring workers, increasing paychecks and growth.

Growth and competition are the keys to an expanding economy. More jobs and increased wages in my home of Dallas, Texas, have allowed Texas to lead the Nation not only in job creation, but to make us the envy of the world. We are now going to do that for the entire United States and help make back home for every Member of Congress competitive in the world market.

With the highest corporate tax rate in the industrialized world, the United States today has a broken Tax Code that has forced businesses to not only move their jobs and research overseas; it has forced us to be able to strand billions of dollars of economic advantage that should be in the United States.

That changes today. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act will stop and reverse that trend. It will encourage American companies to bring their jobs and their operations back to the United States by lowering corporate tax rates to be competitive anywhere in the world at 21 percent and encourages U.S. businesses to bring their foreign earnings home, unleashing trillions of dollars in our economy. That is the future that the Republican Party wants for the United States of America and the free enterprise system.

The conference report also simplifies tax filing. It eliminates costly special interest tax breaks. It protects the abilities of small businesses to write off interest on loans and offers a first-ever 20 percent tax deduction to businesses organized as S corps, partnerships, LLCs, and sole proprietorships. This will be a boom not only for the stock market, which we have seen since the day after the election, but we have seen a boom on Main Street as job creators and new small businesses are seeking to reinvest not only in their business and in their community, but for the opportunity to benefit workers in the United States of America.

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act is a direct and immediate boost for middle-income Americans who have been struggling—struggling for 8, now, 9 years—to get a handle on not only their ability to work with a broken tax system, but the ability to work with their own local businesses to make sure that their city succeeds, also.

It reduces the tax rate for low-income and middle-income Americans. It increases and extends the child tax credit to more families and, roughly, doubles the standard deduction. With this piece of legislation today, legislation for middle-income families will allow them to be a part of an economic growth model for years to come.

We are proud of what we are doing and delighted that we offer this not only to the United States House of Representatives today, but to the American people to see the Republican answer for economic growth and development vitality for the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the customary 30 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I think America is pretty apprehensive this morning, certainly those who know that two American Presidents and one Governor of Kansas have tried trickle-down fairly recently and found it did not work at all and, indeed, caused great economic harm. But we are walking into trickle-down once again.

I think there is a word that describes when you do the same thing over and over again expecting a different result—I won't use that word, but I suspect most of us know exactly what I am talking about—particularly at this time when this economy was really booming, really doing well.

I appreciate that there were pockets where people were not getting jobs, and this was pointed out by RICHARD NEAL frequently last evening. We have such a skills gap that jobs are going unfilled in America, and that is what we really should be working on today.

The fact is that corporations are awash with money. The stock market is booming, and we have the lowest unemployment rate in 17 years. Why in

the world would we trifle with that to try a failed trickle-down policy again?

Now, emergency procedures were used to bring the bill up before us today. Now, what is this urgent attention that nobody could have any amendments or anything, that it was an emergency?

We are not reauthorizing the Children's Health Insurance Program, which a lot of people think is an emergency because it provides healthcare to more than 9 million children. We are not reauthorizing community health centers, which serve more than 25 million people; and, after killing Planned Parenthood—the money—that means a lot more people will need a community health center. We are not renewing the Perkins Loan Program, which many low-income students rely on for their education.

Those three programs expired on September 30, but we are not considering them today. Instead, despite a record of 86 months of job growth—every single month for 86 months we have grown jobs—and an unemployment rate that remains steady, the majority is prioritizing tax cuts—not tax cuts for the middle class.

Don't let anybody tell you that this is tax reform. It isn't. It is a moving around of rates, but very specifically geared toward helping the rich with nothing much for the middle class who work hard to make ends meet, but tax cuts for the wealthy. The middle class will see their money go directly to the rich.

That is what the bill was designed to do. You can tell by who wrote it. There is not a single Democratic fingerprint or breath anywhere to be found. Instead, it was crafted by the lobbyists who virtually run Washington under the majority's leadership. Some swamp clearing.

Consider this: there are 11,000 registered lobbyists in Washington, D.C. More than half of them—more than half of 11,000—reported working on the issues involving taxes during the first three quarters of this year. Each of the 20 organizations that hired the most lobbyists to work on tax issues have reported lobbying specifically on tax reform, covering the matters included in this bill.

Now, this is the quote of all time. One lobbyist admitted to *The New York Times* that few Members actually had any influence on the final product. He said, "You are dealing with 14 people instead of 535 people," saying specifically, as much as possibly could be said, that the 535 people in the Congress representing the people of the United States didn't do a thing on this. They wrote it.

The *New York Times* has reported that the travel industry lobbyists directly emailed those writing the bill to kill an amendment on tourism because a competitor who favored it has been critical of President Trump.

Business lobbyists, after already securing a lower corporate tax rate in an

early version of the bill, called the members of the majority and made it even more favorable to them. They secured the removal of the corporate alternative minimum tax, a provision designed for the very rich to get away with paying no taxes at all, and we know some people who have done that.

The majority has been very clear about whom the bill is written for. One of the members of the majority, Congressman CHRIS COLLINS, said: "My donors are basically saying, 'Get it done or don't ever call me again.'"

But, Mr. Speaker, what about the average American? What about workers and members of the middle class who can't write big campaign checks or who don't have an army of lawyers to scour the Tax Code on their behalf? Those are the people who are going to be forced to pay the price for providing the wealthy with these tax cuts.

Former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg is certainly a man who prefers business and knows a thing or two about running a business. He recently wrote this:

"Corporations are sitting on a record amount of cash reserves: nearly \$2.3 trillion. That figure has been climbing steadily since the recession ended in 2009, and it is now double what it was in 2001. The reason CEOs"—this is an important point. "The reason CEOs aren't investing more of their liquid assets has little to do with the tax rate. CEOs aren't waiting on a tax cut to 'jump-start the economy'—a phrase of politicians who have never run a company—or to hand out raises. It is pure fantasy to think that the tax bill will lead to significantly higher wages and growth, as Republicans have promised."

Now, that is not somebody who is an enemy of business, and he has called this bill a trillion-dollar blunder.

This is really a remarkable time in the United States, knowing that we are on the brink of passing a bill that will adversely impact virtually every American except the rich. The majority has the votes, and there is not much Democrats can do to stop it.

Let me say again, I am glad the Democrats are not involved in writing it, but it is an insult to the word "reform" to associate it with this bill.

The American people know they are not getting what they were promised by the majority. We know the President campaigned mightily on doing away with carried interest, but it is still in the bill.

The bill hurts the middle class, children, veterans, and the elderly by limiting or outright eliminating many of the deductions that they rely on.

Under this bill, the personal exemption is eliminated, the mortgage interest deduction is limited, the State and local tax deduction is limited mightily, and the moving expense deduction for individuals has been eliminated. Even the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate is eliminated. That will cause premiums to go up by 10 percent for

those in the individual market, and 13 million people will lose their insurance—13 million.

I want to pause on that because countless times I have stood here at this very spot when there were almost 60 bills to repeal and replace ObamaCare, so we have been able to insert this now in the tax bill, which will really hurt it. I have always wondered why there was such a rush to take healthcare away from persons, and I guess somehow that money—obviously, that Medicaid money—will pay for a lot of these tax cuts for the rich.

All the tax cuts made for individuals will expire in 2025, but the tax cuts for corporations are permanent. That is not what we call reform. That keeps our Tax Code complicated by design. Wealthy families and big corporations can continue taking advantage of a system that they helped create.

Broken promises are embedded throughout the legislation. For years, I have heard members of the majority come to the floor talking about the need to address the national debt. Apparently, that was little more than a talking point, because this bill explodes the deficit by \$1.5 trillion and it is completely unpaid for. Because of that, Federal law requires cuts to programs Americans depend on, including a \$25 billion cut to Medicare.

This isn't fear-mongering; this is fact. Speaker RYAN said just last week: "We're going to have to get back next year." Next year we are going to say: Oh, my, we are going to have to do something about this spending and this debt, and so we will have to cut spending.

What is he going to cut? The things he has always wanted to cut. He says: "We're going to have to get back next year at entitlement reform, which is how you tackle the debt and the deficit."

We have known he has wanted to do that for a long time.

So let me say this to the public watching today: When this majority speaks of reform, you should be very worried about your future. They pushed this scam under the guise of so-called reform, but it is simply a corporate giveaway. Soon they will be back here talking about reforming Social Security and Medicare to pay for what is going to happen here today.

Let's call it what it really is: a systematic dismantling of the social contract. It will impact everyone from children to veterans to the disabled. It begins today with this bill to help the wealthy who haven't even asked for it.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. LUETKEMEYER), who serves on the Financial Services Committee. Congressman LUETKEMEYER, from St. Elizabeth, will talk about a piece of this bill that is from the Financial Services Committee.

Mr. LUETKEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for his steadfast support on so many important financial services issues.

Mr. Speaker, first, I want to quickly lend my support to the tax package slated to be considered by the House today. This legislation will bring simplicity and fairness to the Tax Code. It will lower tax rates so individuals and job creators can invest in our communities and hire more workers. I also want to commend Chairman BRADY and the House leadership for their incredible work on this issue.

Secondly, Mr. Speaker, believe it or not, there is another bill slated to be considered today by this body, H.R. 3312, my Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act. It will remove the ill-conceived approach taken in Dodd-Frank to designate bank holding companies as systemically important financial institutions, or SIFIs.

Under the current regulatory framework, the designation of SIFIs is based solely on size. Any bank holding company with more than \$50 billion in assets is subject to enhanced regulatory supervision and a variety of special assessments.

This approach fails to take into account differences in business models or risks posed to the financial system. As a former bank regulator, I can tell you this isn't a responsible basis for supervision, a fact that has been recognized by Federal Reserve Chair Yellen, Secretary of the Treasury Mnuchin, former Treasury Secretary Lew, and many Members of Congress. Even Barney Frank, the former Democratic chairman of the Financial Services Committee and author of Dodd-Frank, has said the \$50 billion threshold is completely arbitrary and has negative implications on our economy.

□ 1045

This legislation closely ties the safeguards intended in the designation of a bank holding company with real risk to the system.

My legislation would require the Federal Reserve to examine not just size, but also interconnectedness, the extent of readily available substitutes, global cross-jurisdictional activity, and complexity, criteria they already use in their own risk calculation analysis.

An inefficient regulatory structure that does not reflect the reality of the U.S. banking system can have real economic consequences. We should no longer let the SIFI process lead to marketplace disruption or penalize companies based on size alone.

It is time to take a more pragmatic approach to the SIFI designation process and, more generally, the punitive regulatory regime hitting financial institutions and their customers. It is time to actually manage risk and limit real threats to our financial system.

This legislation received broad bipartisan support when it was reported by the Financial Services Committee with a vote of 47–12. That means nearly 80

percent of our committee members voted in favor of this legislation. I hope our House colleagues will join us in supporting H.R. 3312 later today. I thank the chairman for his leadership and help with this initiative.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT).

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the world's biggest corporate tax dodgers get the most out of this bill: a 40 percent reduction in the corporate tax rate and the right to bring back those profits they have hidden in Caribbean hideaways for pennies on the dollar.

Another loophole will encourage jobs in America to be exported abroad, a long commute to work if the job is in Europe or in Asia.

Of course, they have camouflaged this corporate tax giveaway with some changes for individuals.

Who gets those?

Well, it is a Who's Who of not you: the Trump family, real estate moguls, and their millionaire buddies.

Disguised as a middle-class tax relief, this wretched bill targets the middle class with a dime of every dollar that is in the bill. What most Americans will really get is more debt and the coming cuts that these Republicans will insist on making to Medicare, Medicaid, and educational opportunity.

Tax fraud is criminal, but passing this fraudulent tax bill apparently is not.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. MITCHELL).

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to set the record straight on tax reform.

Opponents to this plan would have Members believe that tax reform is only a benefit for the wealthy or, hearing them today, a plot by the Trump family. That is simply partisan rhetoric.

I have long said I would only vote for tax reform that helps families living paycheck to paycheck—families like the one I grew up in. My dad worked on the line at General Motors, and my mom worked for the Salvation Army. More money in their pockets from their paycheck every week would have made a huge difference. They worked hard to support their family and raise seven children. That little bit of money would have made a difference. Undoubtedly, now, it will make a difference for the American people.

That is exactly what this plan does. It puts meaningful money back in the pockets of working families. A typical family is projected to save over \$2,000 a year. That may not sound like much to some on the other side of the aisle, but, where I grew up, that is huge.

For 57 percent of Americans who don't have enough money to cover a \$500 emergency, that money matters. For businesses, it means investments, hiring, and better wages. I have talked to business owners across my district, and they have had the same message:

cuts taxes so they can increase wages and hiring.

Vic, a restaurant owner in my district, talked to me about tax cuts that would help his business. Vic said: We pay our taxes first, we pay our people second, we pay our bills third, and then if there's anything left over, we get paid.

Our Tax Code shouldn't be a challenge or impediment for business owners like Vic.

Currently, Americans pay more in taxes than they pay for food and clothing. It is time to fix this. This tax plan does that. This tax plan will help families and businesses across my district and across America, which is why I proudly support it, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. CASTOR), a conferee, I believe.

Ms. CASTOR of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Here we are about 1 week before Christmas, and the GOP has proposed a tax bill that Ebenezer Scrooge would love. It is a big "bah humbug" for America and the families and communities we represent back home.

Their bill will raise taxes on millions of American middle class families while showering tax breaks and new loopholes on the superrich and big corporations. It is fundamentally unfair. It does this with a massive increase to our national debt of about \$2.3 trillion, in essence, mortgaging the future for our kids and grandkids and squeezing out our ability to invest in medical research and modern infrastructure.

They admit they are going to look to cut and raise costs on families who depend on Medicaid and Medicare. It is not fair. In this bill, they even go so far as to rip health coverage away from 13 million Americans in another attack on the ACA. In Florida, 1.7 million of my neighbors rely on the healthcare.gov insurance pool for affordable coverage. They are, in essence, giving them a lump of coal for Christmas.

We have got to defeat this bill. Vote "no" on this Scrooge tax bill.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, by the way, the gentlewoman would want to state that we are not taking this away. There will be a 1-year transition. So, I am sorry, but it will not be Ebenezer Scrooge at Christmas. It will be the bright lights of a big future that lies ahead for us.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLY).

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

When we are in this House, the people's House, I know sometimes the message goes back and forth. Unfortunately, this idea of identity politics is what we have to play all the time. Instead of talking to the American people, we talk past the American people,

and we try to make it so divisive that they can't see the facts.

I would just tell my friends on the other side, as a child growing up, I think all of us were the same. We would sit down about this time of year, and we would write a letter to Santa. We would ask Santa Claus for everything we wanted. Then we would mail it off to the North Pole.

Then we would come down on Christmas morning, and we would see that Christmas tree and all those gifts laid out. We never got everything we wanted, but we were sure thankful for everything we got.

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act is so critical. When we talk about debt, if I were to tell an investor: For every \$1 that you invest, I can return \$1.90 on it, they would be excited.

Let me just explain something when we talk about American families. It is not Republican families, by the way, not Democrat families, or Libertarian families. I am talking about American families. A typical family of four earning \$73,000 a year will see a cut in their taxes of \$2,059. A single parent with one child earning \$41,000 a year will see a tax reduction of \$1,304.

I would ask my friends, please do not be on the wrong side of history. You will have an opportunity today to do something that is great for America, to make America great again. We look at everything that is going on, and we decide that somehow, in this House, we must be divisive and not united. When we think that somehow giving people more of their own money back is the wrong policy, when we think that somehow giving tax relief to every single American is the wrong policy, when we think that the tone and tint of somebody's skin, the shape of their eye, where they worship, where they live, what they earn is the main issue, and we can divide them as a people, that is absolutely wrong. It is totally un-American.

What is truly pro-American is making sure that every single American gets to keep more of her or his money that they earn in a day, and they don't have to give it to the government. Nothing could be more simple. Nothing could be more easy.

I would ask all my friends to please, let's act in the best interest of America. Forget the identity politics. Look at what is good for those neighbors of yours, those friends of yours, and that family of yours, and let's decide where America is going to go.

We have seen a dramatic rise in our economy since the last election. This tax cuts bill, this jobs bill, will allow this economy to take off where all boats will rise. Not just red boats or blue boats, but red, white, and blue boats. It will happen at the best time of the year, a time when people look to this House to do the right thing for the right reason. Good things happen when we do that.

This is an incredible opportunity in the history of the country. The is an

incredible opportunity to show the American people that we are not divided as a House. We are united. We are united in doing the right thing for them because it is the right thing, and good things will happen.

I would like to wish all my friends on both sides of the aisle and all those folks at home a very Merry Christmas and happy holidays. On Christmas morning, I guarantee you, you may not get everything that you wish for, but you are going to be so thankful for everything you got.

Let's pass this tax cut and jobs bill and make sure America moves forward. We have labored for too long behind the rest of the world. Individuals have more take-home pay, corporations will stay home. They will make investments in land, bricks, mortar, equipment, education, and in making our workers the best workers in the world and able to compete anywhere on any stage and win.

We will not only just participate, we will dominate, and that will trickle down to every single American, not just red, white, and blue; as I said earlier, not just Republicans or Democrats, but every single American. What a wonderful gift for Christmas.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. YARMUTH), the distinguished ranking member of the Budget Committee.

Mr. YARMUTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my fellow Kentucky native for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, today, my Republican colleagues will vote to approve a historically unpopular bill.

The American people don't buy Republican claims that the bill will help middle class families. In fact, in several years, more than 83 million middle class families will see a tax hike.

The people see that Republicans have sold their souls and principles to give tax cuts to wealthy corporations and to pay back their billionaire donors. They know the Republicans have abandoned any claim to fiscal responsibility. After all, nonpartisan analyses conclude this bill will add more than \$1 trillion to the debt.

But the Republican leadership has a plan to make up the difference, and it is something else. They are already working on legislation to make massive cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, and other programs families need.

This isn't tax reform. This isn't help for the middle class. It is a scam, it is fraud, and it will have dangerous, long-lasting consequences for the American people.

I urge my colleagues to defeat the rule and to reject this scandalous Republican donor payback legislation.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BYRNE), a distinguished member of the Rules Committee.

Mr. BYRNE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding and his continued leadership.

We are on the cusp of something truly historic that will make life better for millions of people across the United States. By reforming the Tax Code, we will be able to put more money in people's pockets and create a fair and simpler tax system.

Under the current Tax Code, well-off individuals and big businesses can higher lobbyists and lawyers to help them find loopholes and special interest giveaways, all at the expense of working Americans.

With our plan, the Tax Code will be simplified, loopholes will be closed, and the playing field will be leveled.

I want to make one thing clear: if you are looking for a tax plan that benefits the elite, the well connected, and the 1 percent, then you need to look at the current Tax Code.

Mr. Speaker, my colleagues on the other side of the aisle are going to great lengths to defend the current Tax Code that truly benefits the top 1 percent. For example, the Democratic leader has called the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act "the end of the world." So, apparently, giving the hardworking people in this country a tax cut is, to her, "Armageddon."

Let's stop with all the doomsday political rhetoric, cut to the chase, and say what this bill really does:

It cuts taxes on hardworking Americans and allows them to keep more money in their pockets;

It supports American families by increasing the child tax credit and doubling the standard deduction;

It grows the American economy by making the corporate Tax Code actually competitive with other industrialized countries;

It benefits Main Street businesses in Alabama and across the country with a new 20 percent tax deduction for pass-through income;

It will lead to greater economic growth, higher wages, and more jobs, which is exactly what the American people sent President Trump and the Republican Congress to Washington to do.

□ 1100

So let's save the political hyperbole for another day. Let's pass the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, and let's give the American people a real Christmas present and put more money in their pockets.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. ELLISON).

Mr. ELLISON. Mr. Speaker, I ask the American people to ask themselves: Have they ever seen a Republican big-time tax cut for the wealthy and big companies ever trickle down to them?

If you look over the course of these things that they do every few years, all they do is concentrate wealth at the very top and take money out of the hands of working people. They starve government and make it more difficult for your government—which is of, by, and for the people—to help you with

disaster, with Social Security, with Medicaid, with Medicare, or with any kind of program that you need. It just starves the government of its ability to make your life better.

But, do you know what, Mr. Speaker? There is another thing about this particular tax bill. They have been studying it, and there is going to be one tremendous beneficiary of this tax bill. It is going to be Wells Fargo. Wells Fargo, which will see its corporate tax rate drop down to 21 percent from the 35 percent it is now is going to make, on average, a 13 percent increase in earnings per share.

Do you remember that big company that opened up a bunch of accounts people didn't need and sold people insurance they didn't need?

They will be doing better. American families will be doing worse.

Vote "no" on this rule and vote "no" on this tax bill.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. RODNEY DAVIS).

Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman SESSIONS for his leadership and for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, we are about to make history this week by delivering a tax cut to families at every income level.

The math clearly shows that the average family of four, making the country's median income of \$73,000, will receive a \$2,000 tax cut.

Yet many of my friends on the other side of the aisle continue to say this bill is going to raise taxes on millions of middle class families. That is just not true, unless you are referring to 2025, when these tax cuts expire and we go back to the status quo.

Why is there an expiration date?

Because many of the very same people, using this as a talking point against this bill, are the reason they sunset. If we could get 60 votes in the Senate, requiring just a few of my friends on the other side of the aisle to work with us, we could make this tax cut for middle class families permanent right now. They have chosen not to work with us.

I will be giving my friends on the other side of the aisle another chance to support tax cuts for hardworking families in their district. I will be introducing a bill to make the individual tax cuts permanent.

I am not sure there is anyone who truly believes that a future Congress would let them expire, given the fact that we have extended the Bush tax cuts in the past.

Nonetheless, I am introducing this bill to ensure these tax cuts will be in place for middle class families this year, and to make sure they are here to stay.

Mr. Speaker, I hope each and every one of my colleagues will sign on as a cosponsor.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. LEE).

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding and for her tremendous leadership.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to this rule and the underlying bill, which really is the greatest tax scam in America's history. It is cruel and it is coldhearted.

It steals from the hard-earned paychecks of low- and middle-income families; lines the pockets of millionaires, billionaires, and wealthy corporations; and, yes, it makes it easier for corporations to ship jobs overseas.

Now, for weeks, Republicans have been selling the pipe dream that tax cuts for the rich will somehow trickle down and benefit the majority of Americans. That is so far from the truth.

Just yesterday, the Tax Policy Center revealed that 83 percent of the tax breaks in this bill go to the top 1 percent.

What is worse, 86 million middle-income households will face tax hikes and 13 million Americans will lose healthcare coverage.

Mr. Speaker, constituents in my congressional district are afraid of their futures because this tax scam is going to severely devastate families in California. Nearly 2 million Californians stand to lose their State and local deductions if Republicans succeed.

This is truly a slap in the face to the American people. Republicans have already and have always, yes, made it clear that this tax scam is a Trojan horse for Republicans to take an axe to Medicare, Social Security, and programs that lift people out of poverty. But the public is not going to let them get away with this. They will remember who is shattering their lives.

This bill is ruthless. It makes clear that Republicans only value the lives of the wealthy and their donors. That is whose side they are on.

Well, Democrats are on the side of middle- and low-income families who are working hard just to make ends meet, to take care of their children, to make better wages, and who are fighting for a better future.

Mr. Speaker, we should oppose this bill and this rule. It is really a raw deal for the American people. The public knows whose side we are on, and the public knows whose side that the Republicans are on.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to, if I could, advise the gentlewoman that, to balance out the time, I am going to allow her to have the next couple of speakers so that we can equal the time.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. LANGEVIN).

Mr. LANGEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, today we are debating the final version of the Republican tax bill, which I cannot support.

This bill was flawed from the start. First of all, it was never deficit neutral and there was never a bipartisan negotiation. This is a Republican-only bill,

and it was developed without any input at all from Democrats because they never sought our input at all.

My Republican colleagues say they would like to jump-start the economy. Well, we can do just that by providing more tax cuts to working class families whose paychecks are already stretched far too thin and who would reinvest that money in the local economy.

Instead, this bill provides them with crumbs, and temporary crumbs at that.

Under this plan, corporate cuts, though, will be permanent. With this bill, we will see an entirely different, more expensive, individual Tax Code in 2025, when the middle class tax cuts expire.

This bill also balloons the national debt, make no mistake about it. It repeals a critical healthcare provision that will result in 13 million Americans becoming uninsured.

Now, these days, I hear a lot about accountability and encouraging competitiveness for the American worker, which I support. But this bill, with its novel loopholes and flawed trickle-down philosophy, does neither. It is a wasted opportunity.

I believe that it is not too late, but the way this bill is written, I cannot support it. This was written for corporations and the wealthy 1 percent in this country. It was not written for a strong middle class. We can do better.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, a bill that is done in the dark of night, in the midst of a crisis like the lack of Perkins funding for our students, the lack of funding for CHIP and for healthcare for millions of Americans—yet our friends on the other side go without shame in passing the GOP tax scam bill.

In the Houston Chronicle, they aptly put winners and losers, and they aptly put at the top of the winners The Trump Organization. This is a Christmas gift for the Trump family—no one else—with huge cuts to the uninsured, to commuters, and to homeowners in high-tax States. This is not a fair distribution of funds, and it certainly is going to impact those who are still suffering from hurricanes all over the Nation.

So I ask the question: Why the rush? Why the rush to give tax cuts to the top 1 percent, and increasing taxes on millions of middle class Americans, to pay for a permanent tax?

The American people have it right: a permanent tax cut for the rich. This is the worst catastrophic bill that has ever been passed by the Members of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives. It is a shame.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. WELCH).

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

We do need tax reform. We need tax reform that we all described in the beginning as something that would help the middle class, that would simplify taxes, and would be revenue neutral. This bill, sometimes described by its authors as doing those things, accomplishes none of those things.

Now, first of all, for the middle class, wages have been stagnant. The jobs people are getting aren't paying the bills. We know the biggest challenge we face is increasing investment, increasing wages, and increasing security.

There are some benefits in this bill for the middle class, but let's get real. Those benefits are tiny and they are temporary.

If you are a Vermont family, if you are lucky—we get hit with the SALT deduction loss—you might make a couple hundred bucks.

But at what price?

Once these benefits expire, 83 percent of the benefits of the individual tax rate goes to the top 1 percent.

At what price?

\$2 trillion added to the deficit.

Let me tell you this: Vermont families, hard-earning families, working families, they would like a tax cut, but not one that their children and grandchildren are going to have to pay. That is unconscionable.

What about these corporate tax cuts?

We want simplification, so we are competitive. There is a 40 percent reduction for multinational corporations.

But, in this bill, is there any corresponding requirement that they start reinvesting in America?

Exactly the opposite.

There is a lower tax rate for companies that invest abroad, send jobs abroad, rather than invest at home. That is outrageous.

And what happens because of this deficit?

Medicare is going to be cut directly as a result of this tax bill. The infrastructure plan we all want is evaporating.

Defeat this rule and defeat this bill.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BARTON).

(Mr. BARTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BARTON. Mr. Speaker, I am one of the few Members that was here back in 1986 when we had the last major tax cut before this body. The President was Ronald Reagan and the Speaker of the House was Tip O'Neill. They worked together on a bipartisan basis to cut taxes across the board. The result was the economic growth of the late 1980s and the early 1990s, up until the early 2000s, when we had 9/11. It is one of the best votes that I have ever taken as a Member of this body.

Well, now we are here on another major tax bill. The problem this time around is that there is no bipartisan ship.

Why is that, Mr. Speaker?

It is not because the Republicans don't want to be bipartisan. It is because the Democratic leadership this time around has just said no.

This tax bill is a good bill.

The distinguished gentleman from Vermont who just spoke is correct in that it is not revenue neutral. But, Mr. Speaker, revenues are at an all-time high. We are going to raise more money this year than we have ever raised before at the Federal level. Let me repeat that: raise more money than we have ever raised before at the Federal level.

Isn't it time to give hardworking Americans a little of that money back?

That is what this bill does. It cuts rates for every working American. Let me repeat that: it cuts rates for every working American.

No matter what your tax rate is today, under this bill, it is going to be lower if you are an individual. If you are a corporation, it is going to be lower. If you are one of these passthroughs, it is going to be lower.

Every American who is paying taxes today is going to pay less taxes starting January 1, 2018. That is a good deal. That is a good deal. We are cutting taxes across the board for every working American.

We repeal the individual mandate under ObamaCare.

□ 1115

Unfortunately, it doesn't kick in until 2019, but we still repeal that.

This is a good bill. It is a historic bill. It is a bill that everybody in this Chamber will benefit from, regardless of whether you vote for it or vote against it. So when the time comes this afternoon to vote "yes" or "no," I am voting "yes" for America. I am voting "yes" for America's future. I am voting "yes" for every working American who is paying taxes today. Let's put more money back in their pocket. Let's double the rate of growth for the economy. Let's put more Americans at work. Let's show some faith in the American people, vote "yes."

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO).

Ms. DELAURO. Mr. Speaker, the biggest economic challenge of our time is that too many people are in jobs that do not pay them enough to live on. Wages are not keeping up with rising costs. Too many families struggle today to make ends meet. Some have two or three jobs. They can't afford healthcare. They can't afford—some can't afford to put food on the table. They don't take vacations, and their retirement is in jeopardy.

But it is the big corporations, the millionaires and the billionaires, who are writing the rules to make government work for them, and it is the Re-

publicans who are their comrades in arms who are rigging the game against the middle class.

Senator ORRIN HATCH, who wrote this bill, said: "I have a rough time wanting to spend billions and billions and trillions of dollars to help people who won't help themselves, won't lift a finger, and expect the Federal Government to do everything."

This is the ugly truth of this Republican tax bill. And I say to Senator HATCH: "The Federal Government has taken good care of you. It is about the great people of this Nation that we are not taking care of."

That is what this vote is about. This is where their values are. They are on display. The final bill is even worse than we feared. It lowers the tax rate for the wealthiest people even more. It repeals a key element of the Affordable Care Act, kicking 13 million people off their insurance, raising premiums by 10 percent.

Don't let them fool you on the child tax credit. It is a shameful proposal. It shuts out military families, rural families, large families, minimum wage workers, those with the youngest children. If you make \$400,000 a year, you get a \$4,000 child tax credit. If you make \$14,500 a year, you get \$75. Who are they fooling with this bill?

And you know what, my colleague, just a minute ago, said: Yes, those in this Chamber will benefit. You bet.

We are eligible for the child tax credit, but low-income families are not. This bill fails the middle class. It benefits the richest 1 percent. Vote against it as I will.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Lawrenceville, Georgia (Mr. WOODALL), the Rules Committee designee to the Budget Committee and the gentleman who sits with esteem on the Rules Committee.

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me the time. We were in the Rules Committee last night, Mr. Speaker, and we were having this same kind of conversation. We were going through the list one by one by one of all the families and how folks were going to benefit, about the children and graduate students, folks facing medical challenges. We went through one by one by one and talked about all the folks who were going to benefit from this great tax cut, and it was powerful.

But I was reminded, Mr. Speaker, that when we started this conversation, it wasn't even a tax cut conversation. It was an economic growth conversation, Mr. Speaker. It was an economic growth conversation. Where we have ended up is there are going to be tax benefits for every single working family in the country, but where we started was how do we get those wages for working families up? How do we get job creation up? How do we get America growing, not at these stagnant rates of Obama years, but back at powerful rates as we saw in the Bush years,

as we saw in the Clinton years, as we saw in the Reagan years? That was the conversation.

Mr. Speaker, if we had historically normal economic growth—not fantastic economic growth—historically normal economic growth, we would have a balanced budget in this country today. There is an economic consequence of economic failure. What we have done in this bill, Mr. Speaker, by allowing businesses to expense their investment, allows them to make their employees more productive on day one. That is going to have a powerful impact, not just on employee wages, Mr. Speaker, but on economic growth across the entire country.

This bill is not about should we pay taxes. We must. This bill is about how we pay taxes. Can we do it better? Does America need to be the worst in the world? Or can we be first in the world?

We are answering that question today. We are answering that question today. And with every single vote a Member in this Chamber casts, it is not about is everything in this bill exactly the way you would have crafted it. I assure you, Mr. Speaker, for me, it is not. The question is: Does this bill move us in a direction of competitiveness across the globe? It does. The question is: Does this bill focus on wages and growing those wages? It does. The question is: In this opportunity that we have, did we take it or did we waste it?

We haven't answered that question yet, Mr. Speaker, but I believe that later on today we will. We are going to answer in the affirmative. Give us a chance. Should it have taken us 31 years to get to this place? It should not. Can we make a difference together today for the country? Yes, we can. It will be a lasting difference. It will be a powerful difference. It is going to be one of the proudest votes I have had an opportunity to take in this Chamber, and I appreciate the opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for his leadership on this.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this has been the most awful process. Mr. BARTON wanted to know why the Democrats weren't involved. We weren't involved in any of it, for heaven's sake. We almost didn't get to see a copy of what they had.

But I think the debate we have had here today must be very similar to the one we had in the Reagan administration. And David Stockman, who talked Ronald Reagan into trickle down, he says today it didn't work. It didn't work then. It didn't work for President Bush. It didn't work for the Governor from Kansas, whose name escapes me for the moment. Very recently, it didn't work, and it isn't going to work this time.

So I am really appalled that we are doing it. But I have to say that this was the worst process that any of us have ever been through. We operated on Thomas Jefferson's manual in the

Rules Committee. We didn't even come close.

Mr. Speaker, let me speak on the PQ. We must protect middle class families against the disastrous Republican tax plan, and if we defeat the previous question, I am going to offer an amendment that will prohibit any legislation from being considered on the floor that limits or repeals the State and local tax deduction or repeals the ACA's individual mandate.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert the text of my amendment in the RECORD, along with extraneous material, immediately prior to the vote on the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from New York?

There was no objection.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL), the ranking member on the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from New York. You know, I have been here a long time now, and I have to say: This is one of the worst pieces of legislation I have ever seen; one of the worst processes I have ever seen. You know, when you were a kid, and you went to high school and college, and you learned how a bill becomes a law, well, take that and throw it out because the Republican leadership here doesn't want to work with Democrats.

The reason no Democrats are working with you is you shut us out. You won't let us have any input. You won't do anything with us, and this is not the way to govern, absolutely not. You know, someone near and dear to me once said: The Republican Party is the party of the rich person, and the Democratic Party is the party of the working person.

If that was ever true, it certainly is true today. Rich people do really, really well. Middle class and the poor people don't do well at all. In fact, the corporate tax breaks last for years and years and years, and the other tax breaks for the middle class expire in 5 years. This helps the rich; it hurts the poor; it helps the middle class.

Even Ronald Reagan tried to be bipartisan and have Democrats work with him. And whatever happened to my friends on the Republican side, lectures about fiscal responsibility? This blows a hole in the budget. It is irresponsible. My State of New York, which is a donor State, is getting screwed. That is all I can say.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to advise the gentlewoman that we are through with our speakers, that I will be closing, so I ask that she go ahead and consume her time.

Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I have one more speaker.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE).

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding. I rise in strong hope that my colleagues on the other side of the aisle will come to their senses and defeat this job-killing bill that will explode the deficit and hurt working people.

It is important to note 83 percent of the benefits of the cuts in this bill go to the top 1 percent; 86 million hard-working middle class families will actually see a tax increase. Of course, we need to reform our Tax Code, but we need to do it in a way that raises wages, produces good-paying jobs, and makes sure the people have a brighter future.

This does just the opposite. It ransacks Medicare and Medicaid. It creates an unsustainable burden for the next generation, and it is very, very important to recognize it is not going to create jobs. This is trickle-down economics. Let everyone at the top hold on to all of their money, and it will trickle down to the rest of us.

It doesn't work. This is a failed economic policy. This does not support strengthening the middle class. We need to defeat this bill and reform our Tax Code in a way that will really promote job growth, that will raise wages, that will ensure working families can get ahead. There are millions of Americans tonight who will go to bed worrying about how they are going to take care of their family; how they are going to make ends meet. This bill will make that problem worse. I urge my colleagues to defeat it.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the Members of the majority have lined up today to tell the American people how great this bill is. If that is true, why were they afraid of holding a single hearing or listening to a single outside expert?

The 1986 tax bill had over 30 hearings and 430 witnesses and took well over a year; this one about three 3 months—written, apparently, by lobbyists. There wasn't a single hearing held on the text of this bill, not one. It was jammed through the Ways and Means Committee where our amendments, the Democrats', were blocked.

Democratic Members had under an hour to review the final text before voting. It was rushed to the Rules Committee a day earlier than announced with only 4 hours' notice, so nobody had any chance to read, and the majority there blocked 140 bipartisan amendments.

This has been a secretive process on both sides of the Capitol. Senators received the text of the final bill also within an hour of the vote. The nearly 500-page bill in the Senate was riddled with errors, last-minute edits, and illegible handwritten changes in the margins. There was a single meeting of a conference committee between the House and Senate. Members there were

prohibited from offering amendments or even seeing the negotiated text.

Imagine that, you couldn't even see what they were supposed to vote on. The Senators and Representatives sat around the table for show while the press reported that the deal, even before the meeting had started, had already been reached. The Democrats had no say at all.

House Ways and Means Chairman KEVIN BRADY says he is proud of this process, but it will take a separate bill just to correct some of the errors here. And there is no reason to believe he would include Democrats in that process either. It would be another partisan effort.

Let me remind everyone watching that we used emergency procedures to meet this onerous bill. In this Congress, disaster relief is not an emergency. Isn't that amazing? Funding CHIP and community health centers is not an emergency. Disaster funding is not an emergency. But rushing these tax cuts to the wealthiest among us is an emergency.

This bill, which has no deadline, is their top priority, while real emergencies are being ignored, and it is shameful. I urge a "no" vote on the previous question on the rule and the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York, the ranking member of the Rules Committee, and really each of the members of the Rules Committee for their diligence in working yesterday for a long period of time.

As the Rules Committee met last night, not only to consider this, but really to offer full and open debate, an opportunity was given for the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) to come and speak representing the Democratic Party; the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), to come and represent the Ways and Means Committee; and the distinguished gentleman from The Woodlands, Texas (Mr. BRADY), the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, to come and thoughtfully articulate not only the ideas behind this bill but what we are going to do.

□ 1130

Mr. Speaker, it is true that what we are doing is taking what was done by President Obama and a Democratic majority in the House and the Senate that raised taxes a trillion dollars, that, in 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011, really raided the American people by raising taxes on them, by causing an economic downturn, a GDP rate of 1.2 percent—an assault on not just the taxpayer, but on the free enterprise system.

It is true that we promised this last election, through the election of Donald Trump, to Make America Great Again. Part of making America great again means making Americans great

again also, making Americans not only proud of their country, but giving them an economic opportunity, and that is what the Republican Party is doing here.

We have heard not only from MIKE KELLY, Congressman KELLY, who spoke about making America better, making the free enterprise system better, we heard from Congressman WOODALL about being in 24th place, which is what America is, 24th in the world in doing business in a friendly environment.

We cannot survive in 24th place—24th place—by keeping the current Tax Code we have, where over and over and over we see not only companies moving to other locations within the United States of America, but moving offshore, stranding dollars, and jobs going with that.

What we are attempting to do in this bill is to make America number one, make America and the American worker number one again. We are going to make the big deal the big deal for people wherever you live in the United States. We are going to offer an opportunity for you to not only be taxed less, but that business that is in your city, your State that proudly they represent their hometown, they will have the opportunity to now be competitive.

Forget this, "Oh, Republicans want to move jobs offshore." That is what we are sick and tired of hearing. We are sick and tired of hearing that jobs and investments go overseas.

They are coming back to America because this places America, instead of being the bottom wrung in terms of taxes, as the highest in the world. We are going to go to where we are the most competitive, where the American worker will stand a chance to stamp "Made in America" on those items that they want, made from my hometown, the pride of authorship of the middle class of this country, pride of authorship of knowing not just is my country going to get better, but my community and I will be better.

It is about financial responsibility, but it is also about the integrity of the free enterprise system. The free enterprise system is the greatest economic system in the history of the world. It will continue to produce great and better things for so many people.

But, Mr. Speaker, the Democratic Party tried to kill the free enterprise system when they came after the free enterprise system. We knew it and we saw it, and the world saw it, too. 1.2 percent GDP growth as opposed to, now, with a new viewpoint about making America great, we have not only doubled GDP, but we have added, net, 1 million jobs. If the summer had not produced the storms it had, no telling what our job growth would be.

This is what lies ahead, and this is what this Republican bill does. For that reason, I urge my colleagues to support this rule and the underlying bill on this conference report.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Budget Committee, I rise in

strong and unyielding opposition to the rule and the Conference Report to H.R. 1, the so-called "Tax Cut and Jobs Act," which more accurately should be called the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

There are four reasons why I oppose this cruel and immoral \$1.7 trillion tax giveaway to wealthy corporations:

1. The GOP tax scam raises taxes on tens of millions of middle class households and distributes the largest tax cuts to those in the top 1 percent causing \$1.7 trillion to be added to the debt;

2. It eliminates or reduces tax benefits that directly benefit the middle class at every stage of life;

3. It results in 13 million fewer Americans with health insurance coverage; and

4. And it adds over \$2 trillion dollars to deficit spending, which triggers statutory PAYGO's automatic spending cuts to mandatory programs such as Medicare, which along would see a \$25 billion cut.

Instead of doing tax reform the Republicans have found new ways for the wealthy who use tax accountants and lawyers to further game the tax payer system by adding new loop holes that are only for the corporations and the wealthy.

Corporations receive a 14 percentage point reduction in their statutory tax rate, from 35 percent to 21 percent, the largest one-time rate reduction in U.S. history.

Republicans designed this tax scam to benefit the wealthiest in our country and now they are working as hard as possible to make sure Americans are too busy looking the other way to notice.

I have to tell them that it is too late, the American public sees what you are doing and they are not going to have any of it.

The Republican Tax Scam doubles the dollar amount at which the estate tax, currently affecting only the wealthiest 2 in 100 families.

It lifts the level at which the alternative minimum tax (AMT) would kick in, while dropping the top tax rate from the current 39.6 percent to 37 percent.

Mr. Speaker, where are the promises made to working Americans to give them a break.

Americans are not fooled; they know trickle-down economics has never worked, and they see right through this phony tax plan and recognize it for the scam that it is.

What people may not understand is they will not have to wait until 2027 to see the pain and misery that this tax cut will cause.

Congress has established mechanisms in rules that require pay-fors when budget deficit spending reaching astronomical levels, like what we have in this bill's wholesale giveaway of taxpayer money to Corporations and the wealth—it is called PAYGO.

The PAYGO compels new spending or tax changes not to add to the federal debt.

PAYGO requires that new spending must either be "budget neutral" or offset with cuts to existing programs.

So the Tax cut that corporations will be getting today, will cost the American workers dearly in next year when the Budget Committee must draft a budget that will have to slash domestic programs to pay for these cuts.

Mr. Speaker, as you may know, my constituents and others in Texas are still struggling to recover from the devastation caused by Hurricane Harvey, the worst storm ever to make landfall in the continental United States.

Two weeks ago, nearly 8,000 of them took time out of their busy schedules to join me in a tele-town hall to discuss the tax scheme that has been rushed to the floor for a vote by the Republican leadership in the hope of passing it before the American people learn its insidious details.

My constituents understand and let me know that they believe it is important that the United States has a tax system that is fair, balanced, smart, and provides the resources and opportunities to allow all Americans to reach their potential.

And by margins exceeding 90 percent, they reject:

1. Any cuts to Medicare or Medicaid to finance tax cuts for wealthy corporations and the top 1 percent;
2. Eliminating the mortgage interest deduction;
3. Eliminating the deductibility of state and local taxes;
4. Eliminating existing deductions for student loan interest or making taxable college endowment funds or college fellowships expenses.

Mr. Speaker, my constituents, and Americans across the country, oppose this unfair Republican tax giveaway because nearly half of the \$1.7 trillion tax cut goes to just the top one percent.

In fact, the average annual tax cut for the top one-tenth of one percent is \$320,000; for the top one percent it is \$62,000, and for those earning \$1 million a year it is \$68,000.

Nearly 25 percent of the tax cut goes to households in just the top one-tenth of one percent, who make at least \$5 million a year (2027).

While super-wealthy corporations and individuals are reaping windfalls, millions of middle-class and working families will see their taxes go up:

1. 13 million households face a tax increase next year.
2. 45 million households face a tax increase in 2027.
3. 29 million households (21 percent) earning less than \$100,000 a year see a tax increase.

On average, families earning up to \$86,000 annually would see a \$794 increase in their tax liability, a significant burden on families struggling to afford child care and balance their checkbook.

It is shocking, but not surprising, that under this Republican tax scam, the total value of tax cuts for just the top one percent is more than the entire tax cut for the lower 95 percent of earners.

Put another way, those earning more than \$912,000 a year will get more in tax cuts than 180 million households combined.

The core of this Republican tax scheme is a massive tax cut from 35 percent 20 percent corporations, but that is not the only way that the wealthy are rewarded.

The massive tax cuts for corporations are permanent but temporary for working and middle-class families.

Another immoral aspect of this terrible tax scam is that it abandons families that face natural disasters or high medical costs by repealing deductions for casualty losses and medical expenses.

Mr. Speaker, in what universe does it make any sense to eliminate, as this bill would, a deduction for:

1. teachers who purchase supplies for their classroom;

2. moving expenses to take a new job and taxes employer-provided moving expenses; or

3. Dependent care assistance, making it harder for families to afford day care, nursery school, or care for aging parents?

This Republican tax scam jeopardizes American innovation and competitiveness by eliminating the deduction for student loan interest, which affects 12 million borrowers, and cuts total education assistance by more than \$64 billion.

Under the extraordinary leadership of President Obama and the determined efforts of ordinary Americans, we pulled our way out from under the worst of the foreclosure crisis when the housing bubble burst in 2007.

Inexplicably, Republicans are now championing a tax scheme that will make the homes of average Americans less valuable because deductions for mortgage interest and property taxes are much less valuable than under current law.

A tax plan that reduces home values, as this one does, puts pressure on states and towns to collect revenues they depend on to fund schools, roads, and vital public resources.

Mr. Speaker, an estimated 2.8 million Texas households deduct state and local taxes with an average deduction of \$7,823 in 2015.

But this is not the end of the bad news that will be delivered were this tax scam to become law, not by a long shot.

The proposed elimination of the personal exemption will harm millions of Texans by taking away the \$4,050 deduction for each taxpayer and claimed dependent; in 2015, roughly 9.3 million dependent exemptions were claimed in the Lone Star State.

Equally terrible is that this Republican tax scam drastically reduces the Earned Income Tax Credit, which encourages work for 2.7 million low-income individuals in Texas, helping them make ends meet with an average credit of \$2,689.

The EITC and the Child Tax Credit lift about 1.2 million Texans, including 663,000 children, out of poverty each year.

So to achieve their goal of giving more and more to the haves and the "have mores," our Republican friends are willing to betray seniors, children, the most vulnerable and needy, and working and middle-class families.

The \$5.4 trillion cuts in program investments that will be required to pay for this tax giveaway to wealthy corporations and individuals will fall most heavily on low-income families, students struggling to afford college, seniors, and persons with disabilities.

America will not be made great by financing a \$1.7 trillion tax cut for the rich by stealing \$1.8 trillion from Medicare and Medicaid, abandoning seniors and families in need, depriving students of realizing a dream to attend college without drowning in debt, or disinvesting in the working families.

America will not be positioned to compete and win in the global, interconnected, and digital economy by slashing funding for scientific research, the arts and humanities, job retraining, and clean energy just to pay for a tax cut to corporations and individuals who do not even need it.

Mr. Speaker, the tax scheme presented here by Republicans is not a plan but a scam that represents a betrayal of our values as a nation.

This tax scam is not a revenue policy adapted for the real world that real Americans live in but a fantasy resting on the monstrous belief that the wealthy have too little money and that poor, working, and middle-class families have too much.

Our Republican friends continue to cling to the fantasy belief that their tax cuts for the rich will pay for themselves despite all precedent to the contrary and evidence that their tax scheme is projected by experts to lose between \$3 trillion and \$7 trillion.

Mr. Speaker, in evaluating the merits of a taxing system, it is not enough to subject it only to the test of fiscal responsibility.

To keep faith with the nation's past, to be fair to the nation's present, and to safeguard the nation's future, the plan must also pass a "moral test."

The Republican tax bill fails both of these standards.

I strongly oppose the Conference Report to H.R. 1, the "Republican Tax Scam Act," and urge all Members to join me in voting against this reckless, cruel, and heartless proposal that will do nothing to improve the lives or well-being of middle and working class families, and the poor and vulnerable 'caught in the tentacles of circumstance.'

The material previously referred to by Ms. SLAUGHTER is as follows:

AN AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 667 OFFERED BY
MS. SLAUGHTER

At the end of the resolution, add the following new sections:

"SEC. 5. POINT OF ORDER AGAINST ANY TAX BILL THAT RAISES TAXES ON MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES BY ELIMINATING OR LIMITING THE STATE AND LOCAL TAX DEDUCTION.

(a) POINT OF ORDER.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives to consider any bill, joint resolution, motion, amendment, amendment between the Houses, or conference report that repeals or limits the State and Local Tax Deduction (26 U.S.C. §164).

(b) WAIVER IN THE HOUSE.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives to consider a rule or order that waives the application of subsection (a). As disposition of a point of order under this subsection, the Chair shall put the question of consideration with respect to the rule or order, as applicable. The question of consideration shall be debatable for 10 minutes by the Member initiating the point of order and for 10 minutes by an opponent, but shall otherwise be decided without intervening motion except one that the House adjourn."

"SEC. 6. POINT OF ORDER AGAINST ANY TAX BILL THAT REPEALS THE INDIVIDUAL MANDATE UNDER THE PATIENT PROTECTION AND AFFORDABLE CARE ACT.

(a) POINT OF ORDER.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives to consider any bill, joint resolution, motion, amendment, amendment between the Houses, or conference report that repeals or limits the individual mandate under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (26 U.S.C. §500A). (b) WAIVER IN THE HOUSE.—It shall not be in order in the House of Representatives to consider a rule or order that waives the application of subsection (a). As disposition of a point of order under this subsection, the Chair shall put the question of consideration with respect to the rule or order, as applicable. The question of consideration shall be debatable for 10 minutes by the Member initiating the point of order and for 10 minutes by an opponent, but shall otherwise be decided without intervening motion except one that the House adjourn."

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the Democratic minority to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives (VI, 308-311), describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

The Republican majority may say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives, (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual: "Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

In Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: "Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

Clearly, the vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda and allows those with alternative views the opportunity to offer an alternative plan.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 and clause 9 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on ordering the previous question will be followed by 5-minute votes on:

Adopting the resolution, if ordered, and

Suspending the rules and passing H.R. 4254.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 233, nays 187, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 688]
YEAS—233

Abraham	Foxx	McCarthy
Aderholt	Frelinghuysen	McCauley
Allen	Gaetz	McClintock
Amash	Gallagher	McHenry
Amodei	Garrett	McKinley
Arrington	Gianforte	McMorris
Babin	Gibbs	Rodgers
Bacon	Gohmert	McSally
Banks (IN)	Goodlatte	Meadows
Barletta	Gosar	Meehan
Barr	Gowdy	Messer
Barton	Granger	Mitchell
Bergman	Graves (GA)	Moolenaar
Biggs	Graves (LA)	Mooney (WV)
Bilirakis	Graves (MO)	Mullin
Bishop (MI)	Griffith	Newhouse
Bishop (UT)	Grothman	Noem
Black	Guthrie	Norman
Blackburn	Handel	Nunes
Blum	Harper	Olson
Bost	Harris	Palazzo
Brady (TX)	Hartzler	Palmer
Brat	Hensarling	Paulsen
Brooks (AL)	Herrera Beutler	Pearce
Brooks (IN)	Hice, Jody B.	Perry
Buck	Higgins (LA)	Pittenger
Bucshon	Hill	Poe (TX)
Budd	Holding	Poliquin
Burgess	Hollingsworth	Posey
Byrne	Huizenga	Ratcliffe
Calvert	Hultgren	Reed
Carter (GA)	Hunter	Reichert
Carter (TX)	Hurd	Renacci
Chabot	Issa	Rice (SC)
Cheney	Jenkins (KS)	Roby
Coffman	Jenkins (WV)	Roe (TN)
Cole	Johnson (LA)	Rogers (AL)
Collins (GA)	Johnson (OH)	Rogers (KY)
Collins (NY)	Johnson, Sam	Rohrabacher
Comer	Jones	Rokita
Comstock	Jordan	Roskam
Conaway	Joyce (OH)	Ross
Cook	Katko	Rothfus
Costello (PA)	Kelly (MS)	Rouzer
Cramer	Kelly (PA)	Royce (CA)
Crawford	King (IA)	Russell
Culberson	King (NY)	Rutherford
Curbelo (FL)	Kinzinger	Sanford
Curtis	Knight	Scalise
Davis, Rodney	Kustoff (TN)	Schweikert
Denham	Labrador	Scott, Austin
Dent	LaHood	Sensenbrenner
DeSantis	LaMalfa	Sessions
DesJarlais	Lamborn	Shimkus
Diaz-Balart	Lance	Shuster
Donovan	Latta	Simpson
Duffy	Lewis (MN)	Smith (MO)
Duncan (SC)	LoBiondo	Smith (NE)
Duncan (TN)	Long	Smith (NJ)
Dunn	Loudermill	Smucker
Emmer	Love	Stefanik
Estes (KS)	Lucas	Stewart
Farenthold	Luetkemeyer	Stivers
Faso	MacArthur	Taylor
Ferguson	Marchant	Tenney
Fitzpatrick	Marino	
Fleischmann	Marshall	
Flores	Massie	
Fortenberry	Mast	

Thompson (PA)
Thornberry
Tiberi
Tipton
Trott
Turner
Upton
Valadao
Wagner
Walberg

Walden
Walker
Walorski
Walters, Mimi
Weber (TX)
Webster (FL)
Wenstrup
Westerman
Williams
Wilson (SC)

Wittman
Womack
Woodall
Yoder
Yoho
Young (AK)
Young (IA)
Zeldin

NAYS—187

Adams	Gallego	Neal
Aguilar	Garamendi	Nolan
Barragan	Gomez	Norcross
Bass	Gonzalez (TX)	O'Halleran
Beatty	Gottheimer	O'Rourke
Bera	Green, Al	Pallone
Beyer	Green, Gene	Panetta
Bishop (GA)	Grijalva	Pascarella
Blumenauer	Gutiérrez	Payne
Blunt Rochester	Hanabusa	Pelosi
Bonamici	Hastings	Perlmutter
Boyle, Brendan	Heck	Peters
F.	Higgins (NY)	Peterson
Brady (PA)	Himes	Pingree
Brown (MD)	Hoyer	Polis
Brownley (CA)	Huffman	Price (NC)
Bustos	Jackson Lee	Quigley
Butterfield	Jayapal	Raskin
Capuano	Jeffries	Rice (NY)
Carbajal	Johnson (GA)	Rosen
Cárdenas	Johnson, E. B.	Roybal-Allard
Carson (IN)	Ruiz	Ruiz
Cartwright	Keating	Ruppersberger
Castor (FL)	Kelly (IL)	Rush
Castro (TX)	Khanna	Ryan (OH)
Chu, Judy	Kihuen	Sánchez
Ciциlline	Kildee	Sarbanes
Clark (MA)	Kilmer	Schakowsky
Clay	Kind	Schiff
Cleaver	Krishnamoorthi	Schneider
Clyburn	Kuster (NH)	Schrader
Cohen	Langevin	Scott, David
Connolly	Larsen (WA)	Serrano
Cooper	Larson (CT)	Sewell (AL)
Correa	Lawrence	Shea-Porter
Costa	Lawson (FL)	Sherman
Courtney	Lee	Sinema
Crist	Levin	Sires
Crowley	Lewis (GA)	Slaughter
Cuellar	Lieu, Ted	Smith (WA)
Cummings	Lipinski	Soto
Davis (CA)	Loeb sack	Speier
DeFazio	Lofgren	Suozi
DeGette	Lowenthal	Swalwell (CA)
Delaney	Lowe y	Takano
DeLauro	Lujan Grisham,	Thompson (CA)
DelBene	M.	Thompson (MS)
Demings	Lujan, Ben Ray	Titus
DeSaulnier	Lynch	Tonko
Deutch	Maloney,	Torres
Dingell	Carolyn B.	Tsongas
Doggett	Maloney, Sean	Vargas
Doyle, Michael	Matsui	Veasey
F.	McCollum	Vela
Ellison	McEachin	Velázquez
Engel	McGovern	Visclosky
Eshoo	McNerney	Walz
Espallat	Meeks	Wasserman
Esty (CT)	Meng	Schultz
Evans	Moore	Waters, Maxine
Foster	Moulton	Watson Coleman
Frankel (FL)	Murphy (FL)	Welch
Fudge	Nadler	Wilson (FL)
Gabbard	Napolitano	Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—11

Bridenstine	Davis, Danny	Richmond
Buchanan	Hudson	Scott (VA)
Clarke (NY)	Kennedy	Smith (TX)
Davidson	Pocan	

□ 1156

Mr. GOTTHEIMER and Ms. MCCOLLUM changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. SHUSTER changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 233, noes 193, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 689]

AYES—233

Abraham	Gosar	Palmer
Aderholt	Gowdy	Paulsen
Allen	Granger	Pearce
Amodei	Graves (GA)	Perry
Arrington	Graves (LA)	Pittenger
Babin	Graves (MO)	Poe (TX)
Bacon	Griffith	Poliquin
Banks (IN)	Grothman	Posey
Barletta	Guthrie	Ratcliffe
Barr	Handel	Reed
Barton	Harper	Reichert
Bergman	Harris	Renacci
Biggs	Hartzler	Rice (SC)
Bilirakis	Hensarling	Roby
Bishop (MI)	Herrera Beutler	Roe (TN)
Bishop (UT)	Hice, Jody B.	Rogers (AL)
Black	Higgins (LA)	Rogers (KY)
Blackburn	Hill	Rohrabacher
Blum	Holding	Rokita
Bost	Hollingsworth	Rooney, Francis
Brady (TX)	Huizenga	Rooney, Thomas J.
Brat	Hultgren	Ros-Lehtinen
Brooks (AL)	Hunter	Roskam
Brooks (IN)	Hurd	Ross
Buchanan	Issa	Rothfus
Buck	Jenkins (KS)	Rouzer
Bucshon	Jenkins (WV)	Royce (CA)
Budd	Johnson (LA)	Russell
Burgess	Johnson (OH)	Rutherford
Byrne	Johnson, Sam	Sanford
Calvert	Jordan	Scalise
Carter (GA)	Joyce (OH)	Schweikert
Carter (TX)	Katko	Scott, Austin
Chabot	Kelly (MS)	Sensenbrenner
Cheney	Kelly (PA)	Sessions
Coffman	King (IA)	Shimkus
Cole	King (NY)	Shuster
Collins (GA)	Kinzinger	Simpson
Collins (NY)	Knight	Smith (MO)
Comer	Kustoff (TN)	Smith (NE)
Comstock	Labrador	Smith (NJ)
Conaway	LaHood	Smith (TX)
Cook	LaMalfa	Smucker
Costello (PA)	Lamborn	Stefanik
Cramer	Lance	Stewart
Crawford	Latta	Stivers
Culberson	Lewis (MN)	Taylor
Curbelo (FL)	LoBiondo	Tenney
Curtis	Long	Thompson (PA)
Davidson	Loudermilk	Thornberry
Davis, Rodney	Love	Tiberi
Denham	Lucas	Tipton
Dent	Luetkemeyer	Trott
DeSantis	MacArthur	Turner
DesJarlais	Marchant	Upton
Diaz-Balart	Marino	Valadao
Donovan	Marshall	Wagner
Duffy	Mast	Walberg
Duncan (SC)	McCarthy	Walden
Duncan (TN)	McCaul	Walker
Dunn	McClintock	Walorski
Emmer	McHenry	Walters, Mimi
Estes (KS)	McKinley	Weber (TX)
Farenthold	McMorris	Webster (FL)
Faso	Rodgers	Wenstrup
Ferguson	McSally	Westerman
Fitzpatrick	Meadows	Williams
Fleischmann	Meehan	Wilson (SC)
Flores	Messer	Wittman
Fortenberry	Mitchell	Womack
Fox	Moolenaar	Woodall
Frelinghuysen	Mooney (WV)	Yoder
Gaetz	Mullin	Yoho
Gallagher	Newhouse	Young (AK)
Garrett	Noem	Young (IA)
Gianforte	Norman	Zeldin
Gibbs	Nunes	
Gohmert	Olson	
Goodlatte	Palazzo	

NOES—193

Adams	Gallego	Neal
Aguilar	Garamendi	Nolan
Amash	Gomez	Norcross
Barragán	Gonzalez (TX)	O'Halleran
Bass	Gottheimer	O'Rourke
Beatty	Green, Al	Pallone
Bera	Green, Gene	Panetta
Beyer	Grijalva	Pascrell
Bishop (GA)	Gutiérrez	Payne
Blumenauer	Hanabusa	Pelosi
Blunt Rochester	Hastings	Perlmutter
Bonamici	Heck	Peters
Boyle, Brendan F.	Higgins (NY)	Peterson
Brady (PA)	Himes	Pingree
Brown (MD)	Hoyer	Polis
Brownley (CA)	Huffman	Price (NC)
Bustos	Jackson Lee	Quigley
Butterfield	Jayapal	Raskin
Capuano	Jeffries	Rice (NY)
Carbajal	Johnson (GA)	Richmond
Cardenas	Johnson, E. B.	Rosen
Carson (IN)	Jones	Roybal-Allard
Cartwright	Kaptur	Ruiz
Castor (FL)	Keating	Ruppersberger
Castro (TX)	Kelly (IL)	Rush
Chu, Judy	Khanna	Ryan (OH)
Chuh	Kihuen	Sánchez
Cicilline	Kildee	Sarbanes
Clark (MA)	Kilmer	Schakowsky
Clay	Kind	Schiff
Cleaver	Krishnamoorthi	Schneider
Clyburn	Kuster (NH)	Schrader
Cohen	Langevin	Scott (VA)
Connelly	Larsen (WA)	Scott, David
Cooper	Larson (CT)	Serrano
Correa	Lawrence	Sewell (AL)
Costa	Lawson (FL)	Shea-Porter
Courtney	Lee	Sherman
Crist	Levin	Sinema
Crowley	Lewis (GA)	Sires
Cuellar	Lieu, Ted	Slaughter
Cummings	Lipinski	Smith (WA)
Davis (CA)	Loeb sack	Soto
Davis, Danny	Lofgren	Speier
DeFazio	Lowenthal	Suozi
DeGette	Lowe y	Swalwell (CA)
Delaney	Lujan Grisham, M.	Takano
DeLauro	Lujan, Ben Ray	Thompson (CA)
DelBene	Lynch	Thompson (MS)
Demings	Maloney,	Titus
DeSaulnier	Carolyn B.	Tonko
Deutch	Maloney, Sean	Torres
Dingell	Massie	Tsongas
Doggett	Massie	Vargas
Doyle, Michael F.	Matsui	Veasey
Ellison	McCollum	Vela
Engel	McEachin	Velázquez
Eshoo	McGovern	Viscosky
Espallat	McNerney	Walz
Esty (CT)	Meeks	Wasserman
Evans	Meng	Schultz
Foster	Moore	Waters, Maxine
Frankel (FL)	Moulton	Watson Coleman
Fudge	Murphy (FL)	Welch
Gabbard	Nadler	Wilson (FL)
	Napolitano	Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—5

Bridenstine	Hudson	Pocan
Clarke (NY)	Kennedy	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1205

Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts changed her vote from “aye” to “no.” So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WOMEN IN AEROSPACE EDUCATION ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4254) to amend the National Science Foundation Authorization Act

of 2002 to strengthen the aerospace workforce pipeline by the promotion of Robert Noyce Teacher Scholarship Program and National Aeronautics and Space Administration internship and fellowship opportunities to women, and for other purposes, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. KNIGHT) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, as amended.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 409, nays 17, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 690]

YEAS—409

Abraham	Connolly	Graves (MO)
Adams	Cook	Green, Al
Aderholt	Cooper	Green, Gene
Aguilar	Correa	Griffith
Allen	Costa	Grijalva
Amodei	Costello (PA)	Guthrie
Arrington	Courtney	Gutiérrez
Babin	Cramer	Hanabusa
Bacon	Crawford	Handel
Banks (IN)	Crist	Harper
Barletta	Crowley	Hartzler
Barr	Cuellar	Hastings
Barragán	Culberson	Heck
Barton	Cummings	Hensarling
Bass	Curbelo (FL)	Herrera Beutler
Beatty	Curtis	Hice, Jody B.
Bera	Davis (CA)	Higgins (LA)
Bergman	Davis, Danny	Higgins (NY)
Beyer	Davis, Rodney	Hill
Biggs	DeFazio	Himes
Bilirakis	DeGette	Holding
Bishop (GA)	Delaney	Hollingsworth
Bishop (MI)	DeLauro	Hoyer
Bishop (UT)	DelBene	Huffman
Black	Demings	Huizenga
Blackburn	Denham	Hultgren
Blum	Dent	Hunter
Blumenauer	DeSantis	Hurd
Blunt Rochester	DeSaulnier	Issa
Bonamici	DesJarlais	Jackson Lee
Bost	Deutch	Jayapal
Boyle, Brendan F.	Diaz-Balart	Jeffries
Brady (PA)	Dingell	Jenkins (KS)
Brady (TX)	Doggett	Jenkins (WV)
Brat	Donovan	Johnson (GA)
Brooks (AL)	Doyle, Michael F.	Johnson (LA)
Brooks (IN)	Duffy	Johnson (OH)
Brown (MD)	Duncan (SC)	Johnson, E. B.
Brownley (CA)	Dunn	Johnson, Sam
Buchanan	Ellison	Jones
Buchson	Emmer	Jordan
Budd	Engel	Joyce (OH)
Burgess	Eshoo	Kaptur
Bustos	Espallat	Katko
Butterfield	Estes (KS)	Keating
Byrne	Esty (CT)	Kelly (IL)
Calvert	Evans	Kelly (MS)
Capuano	Farenthold	Kelly (PA)
Carbajal	Faso	Khanna
Cárdenas	Ferguson	Kihuen
Carson (IN)	Fitzpatrick	Kildee
Carter (GA)	Fleischmann	Kilmer
Carter (TX)	Flores	Kind
Cartwright	Fortenberry	King (NY)
Castor (FL)	Foster	Kinzinger
Castro (TX)	Fox	Knight
Chabot	Frankel (FL)	Krishnamoorthi
Cheney	Frelinghuysen	Kuster (NH)
Chu, Judy	Fudge	Kustoff (TN)
Cicilline	Gabbard	LaHood
Clark (MA)	Gallagher	LaMalfa
Clay	Gallego	Lamborn
Cleaver	Garamendi	Lance
Clyburn	Gianforte	Langevin
Coffman	Gibbs	Larsen (WA)
Cohen	Gomez	Larson (CT)
Cole	Goodlatte	Latta
Collins (GA)	Gottheimer	Lawrence
Collins (NY)	Gowdy	Lawson (FL)
Comer	Granger	Lee
Comstock	Graves (GA)	Levin
Conaway	Graves (LA)	Lewis (GA)
		Lewis (MN)

Lieu, Ted	Paulsen	Sinema
Lipinski	Payne	Sires
LoBiondo	Pearce	Slaughter
Loeback	Pelosi	Smith (MO)
Lofgren	Perlmutter	Smith (NE)
Long	Peters	Smith (NJ)
Loudermilk	Peterson	Smith (TX)
Love	Pingree	Smith (WA)
Lowenthal	Pittenger	Smucker
Lowey	Poe (TX)	Soto
Lucas	Poliquin	Speier
Luetkemeyer	Polis	Stefanik
Lujan Grisham,	Posey	Stewart
M.	Price (NC)	Stivers
Luján, Ben Ray	Quigley	Suozi
Lynch	Raskin	Swalwell (CA)
MacArthur	Ratcliffe	Takano
Maloney,	Reed	Taylor
Carolyn B.	Reichert	Tenney
Maloney, Sean	Renacci	Thompson (CA)
Marchant	Rice (NY)	Thompson (MS)
Marino	Rice (SC)	Thompson (PA)
Marshall	Richmond	Thornberry
Mast	Roby	Tiberi
Matsui	Roe (TN)	Tipton
McCarthy	Rogers (AL)	Titus
McCaul	Rogers (KY)	Tonko
McClintock	Rohrabacher	Torres
McCollum	Rokita	Trott
McEachin	Rooney, Francis	Tsongas
McGovern	Rooney, Thomas	Turner
McHenry	J.	Upton
McKinley	Ros-Lehtinen	Valadao
McMorris	Rosen	Vargas
Rodgers	Roskam	Veasey
McNerney	Ross	Vela
McSally	Rothfus	Velázquez
Meadows	Rouzer	Visclosky
Meehan	Roybal-Allard	Wagner
Meeks	Royce (CA)	Walberg
Meng	Ruiz	Walden
Messer	Ruppersberger	Walker
Mitchell	Rush	Walorski
Moolenaar	Russell	Walters, Mimi
Mooney (WV)	Rutherford	Walz
Moore	Ryan (OH)	Wasserman
Moulton	Sánchez	Schultz
Mullin	Sarbanes	Waters, Maxine
Murphy (FL)	Scalise	Watson Coleman
Nadler	Schakowsky	Weber (TX)
Napolitano	Schiff	Webster (FL)
Neal	Schneider	Welch
Newhouse	Schrader	Wenstrup
Noem	Schweikert	Westerman
Nolan	Scott (VA)	Williams
Norcross	Scott, Austin	Wilson (FL)
Norman	Scott, David	Wilson (SC)
Nunes	Sensenbrenner	Wittman
O'Halleran	Serrano	Womack
O'Rourke	Sessions	Woodall
Olson	Sewell (AL)	Yarmuth
Palazzo	Shea-Porter	Yoder
Pallone	Sherman	Young (AK)
Palmer	Shimkus	Young (IA)
Panetta	Shuster	Zeldin
Pascrell	Simpson	

NAYS—17

Amash	Gohmert	Labrador
Buck	Gonzalez (TX)	Massie
Davidson	Gosar	Perry
Duncan (TN)	Grothman	Sanford
Gaetz	Harris	Yoho
Garrett	King (IA)	

NOT VOTING—5

Bridenstine	Hudson	Pocan
Clarke (NY)	Kennedy	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1213

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee changed his vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE CLERK TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN ENGROSSMENT OF H.R. 4375, STEM RESEARCH AND EDUCATION EFFECTIVENESS AND TRANSPARENCY ACT

Mrs. COMSTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be directed to make the change in the engrossment of H.R. 4375 that I have placed at the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the modification.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to provide for a report on broadening participation in certain National Science Foundation research and education programs, to collect data on Federal research grants to science agencies, and for other purposes.”

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1, TAX CUTS AND JOBS ACT

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 667, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 1) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to titles II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 667, the conference report is considered read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of December 15, 2017, at page H9943.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill currently under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Today, we are delivering on our tax reform promise to the American people. For the first time in over three decades, we are delivering a new Tax Code that provides more jobs, fairer taxes, and bigger paychecks to Americans across the country.

With this bill, a middle-income family of four earning \$73,000 a year will see a tax cut of over \$2,000. Our local job creators will see the lowest tax rates in modern history so they can in-

vest more in their workers and in their futures. And our businesses will finally have a Tax Code that helps them compete and win anywhere in the world, especially here at home.

This is our moment to make history, to make good on our promise, and to make tax reform a reality for the first time in 31 years.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, what you are about to hear from our Republican friends for the next 30 minutes is the following: a mixture of theology and science fiction. And then they are going to take you to revisionist history.

This is the most regressive piece of tax legislation that has come from the Ways and Means Committee in the 25 years that I have been a member.

This is not about simplification. When you have a chance to look at the phase-ins and the phaseouts, you will be passed out by the time they get to the expiration dates.

They say it is about simplicity; it was going to be on a postcard. You are going to need to carry a billboard around with you to understand what is in this actual bill.

And here is the best part: when Secretary Mnuchin said, Mr. Speaker, that under no circumstances would people at the top get tax relief. Well, I guess if you are formerly in the 39.6 percent tax bracket, which is summarily lowered to 37 percent, that that is dressed up as no tax relief for people at the very top. But then again, to help out with their argument, then they double the exemption on the estate tax, which will go from \$11 million to \$22 million.

The people at the bottom in this, they are going to argue: Everybody gets a tax cut. Well, here is where we go to revised history.

In 2001, President Bush said everybody gets a tax cut. The Federal budget of \$1.3 trillion included a tax cut for everybody. The people at the bottom got a hundred bucks, and the people at the top got hundreds of thousands of dollars. This is a creative replay of exactly what happened.

And then in 2003, they came back and cut taxes again for people at the very top and blew a huge hole in the Federal deficit, which had been estimated at the time, after Clinton left on January 19, 2001, to project surpluses of \$5.6 trillion over the next 10 years. Instead, the Federal deficit mounted to \$6.1 trillion.

So here is the simplicity of their proposal today. They are borrowing \$2.3 trillion to give a tax cut to people at the very top of American society. That is not in dispute.

In addition to borrowing the money, recall that the Federal Reserve Board said they are projecting, already, three increases next year in interest rates. We don't know what this is going to look like by the time they get done, but this, today, is more about ideology than it is about public policy.

Think of it this way as well: This was done in 1 month. In 1 single month, the entire revenue system of the United States is being transformed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. I yield myself an additional 1 minute, Mr. Speaker.

Not one public hearing was held on this bill. And when they say today, "Oh, we had 5 years of public hearings," we did not have one hearing on this bill—not one. No witness testimony was sought. No committee was convened for the purpose of a hearing. And then when we went to conference, we were all granted an opening statement, and we got to question the non-partisan Director of the Joint Committee on Taxation.

Mr. Speaker, more than anything else today, this is a missed opportunity where both sides could have accomplished something great for the American people.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. NUNES).

Mr. NUNES. Mr. Speaker, I stood here several weeks ago to speak in support of the original House-passed tax reform bill. Since then, as a member of the conference committee, I have participated in the process of strengthening this bill and making it even more transformative. That is why I continue to stand in strong support of the bill and conference report we will be voting on today.

Washington's special interests have distorted business decisions for too long, and we cannot afford to wait any longer to reform our broken Tax Code.

Should we fail to act now, businesses will continue to leave the United States for tax purposes, taking thousands of good-paying jobs—American jobs—with them. Our small businesses will continue to suffer the damaging effects of a bewildering and punitive Tax Code that gives unfair advantages to their larger, well-connected competitors.

But all this will change if we pass this bill.

For years, I have advocated for full and immediate expensing, which will allow businesses of all sizes to write off costs immediately. This bill will provide full expensing, which is one of the many progrowth pieces to this legislation. I am confident my colleagues will soon see the tremendous effect of full expensing and make the important decision to extend it before it expires.

Mr. Speaker, I stand here with my colleagues on an historic day in support of one of the most dramatic reform bills to come before this body since I came to Congress. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act simplifies the Code, grows the economy, and allows for strong business investment.

I have said before that I will not accept the status quo of our broken Tax Code or a minimal reform that merely adjusts rates. Instead, we must trans-

form the Code into a system that is simpler and fairer and that encourages economic growth instead of suppressing it. That is what this bill does, and that is why I strongly support its passage.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), the longest serving member of the Ways and Means Committee, and a well-deserved 1 minute, I might add.

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, in all of my 35 years in Congress, this is one of the most deceitful bills I have ever seen.

It is deceitful when Republicans say the bill is focused on the middle class while it is really aimed at making the very wealthy even wealthier and forcing millions of middle class families to pay higher taxes.

It is deceitful when they say it makes the Tax Code simpler, even as the legislation creates complicated new loopholes while allowing existing ones, such as carried interest, to continue.

It is deceitful when the bill will increase the outsourcing of American jobs by providing a lower tax rate on foreign investment compared to investing here.

It is deceitful about the debt. Republicans say don't worry about the expiring tax provisions, but extending them would raise the bill's already devastating effect on the deficit to \$2.3 trillion.

Republicans are rushing this bill, but, even in their haste, they are already too late. The majority of the American people already say this bill is a deceitful sham.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), chairman of the Tax Policy Subcommittee.

Mr. ROSKAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me time.

We have heard some strong language for the past couple of minutes. This has been described as theology, science fiction, ideology, and now deceit.

Well, where is the deceit?

The deceit is in the assumption that we can live with the status quo, Mr. Speaker.

The deceit is a blindness to the recognition that we have a Tax Code that is literally dissolving underneath us. It is dissolving underneath us.

And this Congress has an opportunity to do something transformational, and I propose, along with my colleagues, to be transformational and opportunistic.

There is a lot of discussion in the subtext of this about class envy and opportunity and so forth. Here is what I know: It is the status quo that is serving the few. It is the status quo that is so off-putting and unsettling and keeps people at arm's length.

What we are proposing is something very different. Mr. Speaker, we are pro-

posing the economics of opportunity, not the economics of envy; the economics of buoyancy and the economics of participation.

Therein lies the foundation of this bill. It offers tax relief that my constituents are longing for, and it offers a business environment in a milieu that makes things happen, and happen for the good.

So I am pleased, I am honored to be a part of this. I urge my colleagues to vote "aye," and let us celebrate a job well done.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia, Congressman JOHN LEWIS, one of the great men of our times.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend and ranking member, Mr. NEAL, for yielding me time.

I rise to oppose this conference report with every bone in my body.

This bill is a \$2.3 trillion cowardly gift to Wall Street, the rich, and the wealthy. This bill was conceived in the darkness of the night and birthed with the help of their donors and funders.

This bill is not for the people; it is not of the people; and, Mr. Speaker, it is not tax reform. They reward their donors so that our children and grandchildren will suffer. This is not fair, it is not just, and it is below the dignity and the worth of this body.

Mr. Speaker, I have said on many occasions that you cannot get blood from a turnip; you cannot justify robbing poor Peter to pay billionaire Paul.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, when the bill comes due, the chickens will come home to roost.

I urge all of my colleagues to be on the right side of history and vote against this act.

I thank my good friend, the ranking member, Mr. NEAL, for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose this conference report with every bone in my body.

This bill is a \$2.3 trillion holiday gift for Wall Street, the rich, and the wealthy.

This bill was conceived in the darkness and birthed with the help of your donors and funders.

This bill is not for the people. It is not of the people, and, Mr. Speaker, it is not tax reform.

Working and middle class families, the sick, the elderly, and generations yet unborn will bear the burden of this reckless act.

To pay for this so-called tax cut, Republicans will destroy the hopes of those, who dream of affordable, quality health care.

To pay for this tax cut, Social Security, Medicare, and CHIP will be on the chopping block.

To pay for this tax cut, bipartisan repairs of transportation, affordable housing, and student debt will be out of reach.

To pay for this tax cut, every single federal program that matters to the American people will be dealt a crippling blow.

You reward your donors so that our children and grandchildren will suffer.

This is not fair. It is not just, and it is below the dignity and the worth of this body.

Mr. Speaker, I've said on many occasions that you cannot get blood from a turnip, and you cannot justify robbing poor Peter to pay billionaire Paul.

Mr. Speaker, when the bill comes due, the chickens will come home to roost.

I urge all of my colleagues to be on the right side of history and to vote against this bill.

□ 1230

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACK), the chairwoman of the Budget Committee and a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mrs. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, this is truly a monumental day for the American people.

During my 7 years here in the House serving on the Ways and Means Committee, we have studied, considered, and outlined the sorts of reform that could benefit the American people.

As a conferee for H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, I am proud that we kept our promise of providing tax relief for hardworking, middle class families and making the Tax Code simpler and fairer for all.

It has been more than three decades since our Nation's tax system has been modernized, and this is finally the day to change that.

I want to remind my colleagues that the process began long before this year. When passage of the budget provided the key, our ideas for conservative tax reform were finally unlocked and could be pursued for real tax reform.

Without question, this conference report reflects our shared conservative principles. The conference agreement addresses the heavy tax burden weighing down hardworking Americans and holding back job creators. It brings simplicity to the Tax Code. It helps low- and middle-income Americans see more of their hard-earned dollars in their paychecks. It empowers entrepreneurs and small businesses to continue opening, operating, and expanding on Main Street.

With every major legislative effort, there will be critics. But the critics have it wrong. The truth is that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act delivers relief at every income level and protects more hard-earned dollars from taxes. For the average family of four, this legislation means a tax cut next year of more than \$2,000.

The point of this exercise is that we are cutting your taxes, plain and simple. I urge my colleagues to stand on the right side of history and support this legislation because the benefits

will be felt by all Americans for generations to come.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the very capable legislator and Democratic whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I was here in 1981. They said the 1981 bill would pay for itself.

David Stockman, a former colleague from Michigan, was here. He was at OMB. A few years later, he wrote a book and he said: I said it would pay for itself, and I knew that was not true. The same can be said of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, history will indeed remember this vote. Future generations of Americans will remember who cast their votes to raise taxes on 86 million middle class households and heap another \$1.5 trillion in deficits onto our children and our grandchildren.

They will remember who cast their votes for a plan that gives 83 percent of its benefits to 1 percent of the American people.

They will remember that President Trump promised that the middle class would get a tax cut and wealthy individuals like him would not, before turning his back on that promise.

They will remember those who cast their vote to kick 13 million Americans off their health insurance coverage.

They will remember those who acted with the full knowledge that their votes would trigger a \$25 billion cut to Medicare. I know you said you are going to waive it, which would simply add \$25 billion more to the deficit.

Posterity will also remember those who stood up in the face of this dangerous and partisan bill and said "no." Those of us who vote against it are doing so not because we oppose tax reform. On the contrary. We recognize, as most Americans do, that this bill is not tax reform. It is a tax giveaway to those who don't need our help, paid for by those who need it the most. This is reckless and dangerous deficit spending at its worst.

In 1986, Democrats and Republicans worked together in good faith and over many months in an open, transparent, and regular order process to craft real, bipartisan tax reform that helped the middle class without adding a dime to the deficit. Not a single dime.

This has not been an open process. This has not been bipartisan. This has not been transparent or through regular order.

This raises taxes, as I said, on 86 million Americans, who will pay more taxes 10 years from now than they do today. It gives 83 percent of the tax cuts to the top 1 percent, not the \$59,000 family that PAUL RYAN talked about, but to those families making over \$900,000 a year.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. HOYER. This bill adds \$1.5 trillion to the deficit. This is not tax reform.

So Republicans may pat themselves on the back in the coming days for having finally passed something out of Congress. Unfortunately, it is a bad thing. I urge them to remember that this vote may be the most consequential of their careers, and not positively.

I say to my friends across the aisle: Stand up and say "no" with us and commit to start working on a product all Members of the Chamber can be proud of, as was the case in 1986. That is what Ronald Reagan did. In 1986, Reagan did not go down this reckless and irresponsible path.

Stand up for the principles you used to espouse but are now about to abandon. Stand up for fiscal responsibility. Stand up for the middle class. Stand up for what the American people hope we would do. This is not it.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from South Dakota (Mrs. NOEM).

Mrs. NOEM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today as a farmer, a rancher, a small-business person, but most importantly as a mom. I rise to support the conference report on H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

Mr. Speaker, in my home State of South Dakota, the average household income is \$54,000 per year. Out of that \$54,000, our families pay double the national average in energy costs just because of where they are located. These are hardworking families and they deserve a break. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act gives them that break.

By lowering tax rates, doubling the standard deduction, and doubling the child tax credit, that family in South Dakota making \$54,000 can go from an \$833 tax liability to a \$781 tax refund. That is a \$1,600 difference in after-tax income. That is \$1,600 that can go back to benefit their families and their communities, rather than into the greedy hands of those in Washington.

On top of that, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act is designed to build a healthier economy—an economy in which that family making \$54,000 can get a raise, an economy that actually grows jobs.

I am proud to have served on the conference committee that put this report together. I thank Chairman BRADY for his leadership throughout the process. We worked literally hundreds of hours putting this together and getting the child tax credit where it is today.

We had vigorous debates about the benefits to rural America. I am thrilled to be able to go home and tell South Dakota farmers and ranchers they will have new expensing tools, a new small business deduction, and significantly lower individual rates.

While I am disappointed that this bill doesn't completely repeal the death tax, it does provide more relief for producers and small-business owners.

While no plan is perfect in anyone's eyes, this legislation puts more money in the pockets of hardworking taxpayers. The bottom line is this: the American people deserve more control over their paychecks. They worked for

that money, and it is time folks in Washington respect that.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT), a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, between tweets, Trump apparently had time to take those calls from his rich friends that kept asking for more. Not even this lapdog Republican Congress initially did enough to satisfy the Trump family and their billionaire buddies.

Instead of adjusting the differences between the House and the Senate, Republican conferees, last week, secretly concocted even more benefits for them. Those real estate moguls, like Trump, who had already been granted preferential tax treatment, can now take advantage of an entirely new loophole that was not in either of the previous bills.

Just in case their endless loopholes left some donor behind, the Republicans have provided a new, across-the-board tax cut for billionaires. It is working families who will pay to put the platinum tinsel on this Christmas tree for the elite.

This is not tax reform. It is a reward for the privileged. It is a Christmas where working people get to keep the gift wrapping, but the wealthy and corporate tax dodgers get the gift.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TIBERI).

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, this is a historic day.

I am reminded that 17 years ago, I got elected to Congress, campaigning on tax reform and campaigning on the fact that it is not our money, it is our constituents' money.

Today we are giving the money back to our constituents. To Bob and Betty Buckeye in Ohio, it is more wages in their pockets.

The bill also includes an initiative that I worked on with Mr. KIND that is bipartisan, called the Investing in Opportunity Act, cosponsored by Mr. NEAL. This bill, authored by my friend in the Senate, TIM SCOTT, will help areas that haven't seen economic recovery to allow private investment in poor rural and urban areas. Thanks to Mr. SCOTT, the bill was in the Senate version and in the conference committee.

Mr. NEAL knows that incentives like that, the low-income housing tax credit, the new markets tax credit, and the historic tax credit will help those in communities that have been left behind with more money in working families' pockets.

I urge adoption of the conference report.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), a distinguished Vietnam veteran and a well-known and valued member of the committee.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, this tax bill is bait and switch.

Republicans said the tax bill would simplify the tax system and help working people, not the rich. Well, that is out the window. With this Republican bill, 86 million middle class households will see their taxes go up.

Remember when the Republicans said we would be filing our taxes on a postcard?

The postcard is now gone. Instead of making our Tax Code simpler, Republicans have made it more complicated. They have even added an additional bracket.

Their claim that this is not a tax bill that favors the rich and the corporations, some of which ship jobs overseas, is malarkey. While there are some tax cuts for the middle class, they are all temporary. But the breaks for corporations are permanent. That is leaving too many people behind.

Let's not forget about the State and local tax provision. Because of the changes the Republicans are making, some home values in some States are projected to drop by 10 percent.

The richest of the rich are getting a break. The top bracket is dropping from 39.6 percent to 37 percent. Those folks are not your working, middle class families. To add insult to injury, it raises our debt by \$2.3 trillion.

It is a bad bill. Please vote "no."

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Kansas (Ms. JENKINS).

Ms. JENKINS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his leadership on this very important issue.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to be a voice for Kansans who know our status quo Tax Code no longer works for them. They know it doesn't work when it favors special interests over individuals or when it causes Kansas factories to close, sending those jobs to other countries.

I rise today because Kansans know that without rejuvenated and sustained economic growth, we will never find the money to pay down our Nation's debt.

That is why I strongly support H.R. 1, which will close special interest loopholes and lower rates for everyone—not just the rich, not just the poor, but everyone.

Individuals in my district will see immediate tax relief with the doubling of the standard deduction and the child tax credit. We also lessen the financial burden of education by keeping important college tax provisions and expanding access to 529 savings plans.

On average, a family of four in my district will see a tax cut of just over \$2,300 because of this bill.

A fairer, simpler Tax Code means every hardworking family will see the tax relief and economic growth this country rightfully deserves.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON), the former president of the State Senate and a well-informed member of the Ways and Means Committee.

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Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the Congressional Budget Office's accounting of the \$25 billion that will be taken out of Medicare.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
U.S. CONGRESS

Washington, DC, November 13, 2017.

Hon. STENY H. HOYER,
Democratic Whip, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This letter responds to your request for information about the effects of legislation that would raise deficits by an estimated \$1.5 trillion over the 2018–2027 period, specifically with respect to a sequestration—or cancellation of budgetary resources—in accordance with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO; Public Law 111–139).

The PAYGO law requires that new legislation enacted during a term of Congress does not collectively increase estimated deficits. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is required to maintain two so-called PAYGO scorecards to report the cumulative changes generated by new legislation in estimated revenues and outlays over the next five years and ten years. If either scorecard indicates a net increase in the deficit, OMB is required to order a sequestration to eliminate the overage. The authority to determine whether a sequestration is required (and if so, exactly how to make the necessary cuts in budget authority) rests solely with OMB.

CBO has analyzed the implications of enacting a bill that would increase deficits by \$1.5 trillion over a 10-year window, without enacting any further legislation to offset that increase. In accordance with the PAYGO law, OMB would record the average annual deficit on its PAYGO scorecard, showing deficit increases of, in the example provided, \$150 billion per year. If the bill were enacted before the end of the calendar year, that amount would be added to the current balances on the PAYGO scorecard, which for 2018, show a positive balance of \$14 billion. (For years after 2018, the balances range from a \$14 billion credit to a \$1 billion debit.)

Without enacting subsequent legislation to either offset that deficit increase, waive the recordation of the bill's impact on the scorecard, or otherwise mitigate or eliminate the requirements of the PAYGO law, OMB would be required to issue a sequestration order within 15 days of the end of the session of Congress to reduce spending in fiscal year 2018 by the resultant total of \$136 billion. However, the PAYGO law limits reductions to Medicare to four percentage points (or roughly \$25 billion for that year), leaving about \$111 billion to be sequestered from the remaining mandatory accounts. Because the law entirely exempts many large accounts including low-income programs and social security, the annual resources available from which OMB must draw is, in CBO's estimation, only between \$85 billion to \$90 billion, significantly less than the amount that would be required to be sequestered. (For a full list of accounts subject to automatic reductions, see OMB Report to the Congress on the Joint Committee Reductions for Fiscal Year 2018, <https://go.usa.gov/xnZ3U>.)

Given that the required reduction in spending exceeds the estimated amount of available resources in each year over the next 10 years, in the absence of further legislation, OMB would be unable to implement the full extent of outlay reductions required by the PAYGO law.

If you wish further details on this estimate, we will be pleased to provide them.

Sincerely,

KEITH HALL,
Director.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to be here today, as we approach Christmas, and not look at this bill, knowing that we have honorable Members on the other side, who, this Christmas, will be sitting with their relatives, their family members, their mothers and fathers, their brothers and sisters, and knowing that this creates not just a \$2 trillion debt, but the pay-for—the pay-for—out of the Medicare program: an automatic cut of \$25 billion in a plan that was never debated. It fulfills a grand vision of Grover Norquist and the ideology that you took a pledge to. But what about the oath of office, and a pledge to the Constitution, and standing up for the people of this Nation, and the very elderly at this Christmas, and throughout the year, who will need our help?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PAULSEN).

Mr. PAULSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

One of my predecessors—a good friend and mentor—was Bill Frenzel. He was the last Minnesotan to serve on the Ways and Means Committee when tax reform was passed. It was 1986.

In the 31 years since then, our Tax Code has been one of the most complicated, unfair, and most uncompetitive in the world. It has led to a stagnant economy with sluggish growth, with America losing our manufacturing, our jobs, our innovation, and our headquarters overseas.

But today, that all changes. Today, we will pass and give Minnesota employers the confidence and the capital that they need to grow their businesses, to hire more workers, and to give their employees a raise.

This provides middle-income families with tax cuts they need to save for their future and improve their standard of living. This helps real people with real needs.

Mr. Speaker, tax reform for me is about one thing and one thing only: it is about restoring the hope for a prosperous future for ourselves, our parents, and, most importantly, our children.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the report.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), a very capable member of the committee, and a champion of renewable energy.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, this bill will be the largest transfer of wealth in our Nation's history, financed by mortgaging our children's future with a mountain of increased debt. It is not really even a policy. It is, rather, a collection of special inter-

est provisions being sold on a false set of promises.

It is not middle class tax relief. It is, instead, permanent and massive tax reduction for the largest corporations and wealthy individuals like Donald Trump. Eighty-three percent will flow to the top 1 percent.

Everybody else will receive only a small, and temporary, tax reduction. Ultimately, 86 million Americans, middle class Americans, will have their taxes increased.

This legislation fails utterly to invest in the American people for this \$2.3 trillion. But it is a bonanza for the attorneys, the accountants, and the lobbyists finding ways to further enrich the most privileged in America.

And, for weeks to come, we are going to learn more about the special gifts hidden within this bill to nail down the last few votes.

No wonder the American public is opposed. They are right, and the Republicans are wrong.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the tax reform conference report.

This is our great opportunity to reduce the tax burden on Americans across the economic spectrum, while modernizing our Tax Code for the 21st century.

I would like to take a few moments to discuss what this bill does for American agriculture.

First and foremost, this bill cuts taxes for most Americans, while simplifying compliance and transitioning us to a more competitive tax system internationally.

In addition to retaining the deduction for State and local taxes for individuals and families up to \$10,000, this bill leaves intact the full deduction for property taxes on ag land and property.

In addition, I am grateful this conference report includes a solution to concerns raised by agriculture co-ops and their members about the repeal of section 199.

With commodity prices low, it is important we ensure the Tax Code continues to work as intended, with co-ops passing along their profits to their producer owners.

Finally, while I would have preferred we repeal the death tax in full, doubling the exemption and keeping a stepped up basis will help provide certainty for more farmers, ranchers, and small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman and the conferees for their work on this strong product. I am anxious to pass this bill and get it to the President for his signature.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND), a very capable member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, if we are going to borrow \$2 trillion from China over the next 10 years, it better be for

a very good reason. And lavishing huge tax breaks to multinational corporations and to the most wealthy amongst us is not a good reason.

I am very concerned about many of my fiscally conservative friends across the aisle. So I offered an amendment that would have expanded the endangered species list to include fiscally conservative Republicans because they are about to go extinct under this bill.

And under this bill, they are creating a mess that is going to take years to clean up because of the potential for fraud and abuse.

Consider this: They are pitting a hastily written bill, drafted without one hearing, considered without feedback from people back home, without proper vetting, all over the course of a few short weeks against some of the smartest accountants and tax attorneys that money can buy.

Who do you think is going to win that battle?

This is a bill that was drafted of, for, and by the powerful special interests in Washington, and it should be rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Once again, the Chair reminds Members to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), the majority whip of the Republican Conference.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman BRADY for yielding time and for his leadership in the entire group of conferees on bringing this tax cuts and jobs bill to the floor.

I thank President Trump for working with us every step of the way to bring us to a historic moment where we are actually going to provide tax relief to hardworking families.

There are those on the other side who would say: Keep all the money in Washington, stunt economic growth, continue to let America be non-competitive where we see jobs go overseas over and over again—large companies, thousands of jobs at a time moving to foreign countries—because we have the highest corporate tax rate in the industrialized world.

Well, Mr. Speaker, it is time for that to end, and we do end that in this bill. We finally make our country competitive again so we can bring those jobs back.

Why deny opportunity for so many people who want a chance at the American Dream?

In our bill, Mr. Speaker, we cut every single tax rate and make it lower. That is more money in the pockets of hardworking families. On average, families are going to see over \$2,000 more back in their paychecks every year. That is real money, when you look at, right now, the average savings for families is \$400 in their checking account. This is real money to help people have better opportunities to go put more money in their kids' college tuition accounts.

When you look at what this means, it is not only good for economic growth, creating jobs, and rebuilding our middle class, but it is historic in the simplification where over 90 percent of

American families will actually be able to do their taxes on a postcard. Just think of how simplified that makes the Code.

The last time this was done was in 1986. And when Ronald Reagan was signing that bill, he talked about how hard it was and how many times people said it couldn't happen. In fact, Ronald Reagan read a quote from a headline, and he said: "The impossible became the inevitable."

Today, Mr. Speaker, we make that impossible the inevitable again and restore that hope and opportunity for so many families who just want a chance at the American Dream. We give them that.

Let's pass the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act today. Get it on President Trump's desk so we can finally see this economy going again. What a great Christmas present this is going to be to the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge everybody to vote "yes."

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL), the very quotable Congressman.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, all on a postcard, simple as that. I say it is a postage stamp mentality. Many of them need counseling in economics. If they want to keep it simple, let's keep it simple. Very simple.

How about that couple that wants to send their kids to college and put a second mortgage on their house. You can't do that anymore. You cannot do that. That is not a middle class legislation. That is the stick it to the middle class.

Mr. Speaker, this is serious business. I will tell you what is simple. If you are born in a family with an estate worth more than \$11 million, this Republican Congress is coming to your aid with a \$3 million average windfall.

And if this Congress actually still practiced oversight, we would know from his tax returns that Donald Trump and his family will see cuts worth millions of dollars per family.

This is not good policy, Mr. Speaker—not at all—and it is dangerous.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MARCHANT).

Mr. MARCHANT. Mr. Speaker, today, we are keeping our promise to the American people and sending comprehensive tax reform to the President's desk for the first time in 31 years.

Lowering the tax rates for middle-income families and providing a tax cut for every income level in 2018 is a very historic Christmas present delivered to my constituents in north Texas.

This year, our country has—after many long years of low growth—begun to experience the level of growth and economy that it needs. This tax cut bill will assure Americans years of sustained high growth and new jobs.

Mr. Speaker, job creators and investors know that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act will create lasting economic

growth and a booming economy for everyone.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this bill and deliver tax relief to the American people.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), the chairman of the Democratic Caucus, a good friend, and a former member of the committee.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Republican bill is unaffordable, with a \$2.3 trillion price tag.

It is inequitable, costing working families more, while cutting taxes by \$200,000 for the top 0.1 percent.

It is a scam, and the American people know it.

Is this bill about helping people who are living paycheck to paycheck?

Hell no.

Is this bill going to bring back jobs and lift up the middle class?

Hell no.

Is this bill going to make life better for cops, firefighters, nurses, truck drivers, students, veterans, teachers, and shift workers?

Hell no.

Do you know who this bill is going to help?

Corporate special interests, the wealthiest Americans, and, yes, the Trump family.

My colleagues, if it looks like a scam, quacks like a scam, it is a scam.

Can you vote for this bill with a clear conscience?

Hell no, you can't.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are advised to observe proper decorum in debate.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED).

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding to me.

And to the colleague from New York, to all of the people you referenced in the middle class, I say: Hell yes, they are going to be helped by this bill.

And do you know what it is going to do? It is going to let them keep the money in their pocket that they earned, the \$1,600, for the average resident in my district.

And what it is also going to do, Mr. Speaker, is it is going to create jobs.

And what does a job do for a person?

I will tell you what it does. It not only puts money in their pockets, Mr. Speaker, but we are going to have a new wave of optimism. We are going to have a new wave of opportunity, where people will be able to go to work, soil their hands, and earn their livelihood, which gives them dignity, which gives them pride, and gives them honor.

This is a new day in America. And with tax reform and tax cuts coming, I say to all of my colleagues: Join us to stand for those hardworking Americans, give them their money, and allow us to give hope and opportunity to all of them going forward.

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Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois

(Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS), a very knowledgeable Member from the city of Chicago and champion of all things Chicago.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, any way you cut it, with this bill, the rich will get richer, the poor will get poorer, and middle class families will get shafted. Thirteen million Americans will lose their health coverage, and people with preexisting conditions can forget it.

Then the writers of this bill will be coming after entitlement programs, after Medicaid, Medicare, Social Security, SSI. We are down to the wire, and no matter what is said, this bill raises the debt, raises taxes on middle-income families, and provides wealthy individuals and corporations with big tax cuts they don't need.

It is a sad day for my district; it is a sad day for the State of Illinois; it is a sad day for the United States of America; and I will vote "no."

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HOLDING).

Mr. HOLDING. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be here today to support this much-needed overhaul of our broken Tax Code. The status quo we have seen over the past decade is unacceptable, and this bill will finally provide much-needed relief to working families and put our economy back on the path to stable and sustained growth.

This bill restores the global competitiveness of American businesses by lowering the corporate rate and moving toward a territorial system. Further, H.R. 1 provides our small businesses the lowest tax rate in a generation, ensuring that these job creators are able to reinvest more of their hard-earned money in our future.

Instead of handing over more of their money to the government, small businesses can hire that extra employee, open that second location, or buy that new piece of machinery or lab equipment that they need to take them to the next level by putting in place a Tax Code that encourages growth and rewards investment. It is projected there will be over 10,000 new full-time jobs created in my State of North Carolina.

I am proud to support this transformational bill that will bolster growth and investment here at home, leveling the playing field for U.S. businesses.

Further, I look forward to continuing to work with my colleagues to ensure that Americans across the globe have a similar level playing field through a system of residence-based taxation.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HIGGINS), a capable member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Mr. Speaker, the rich and wealthy corporate winners of this Republican tax scam love company, and they just got the company of 14 United States Senators who will personally benefit from a new 20 percent deduction for wealthy

real estate investors with no employees to pass that benefit on to.

One Senator who voted against the bill, before he announced he was voting for it, stands to gain \$7 million annually and personally. The Senator said he was unaware of the provision and that he did not read the bill.

Mr. Speaker, the conference committee, the reconciliation process, was to narrow the differences between these two bad bills, not add new provisions that benefit rich Senators. This bad bill just took a dramatic and potentially illegal turn that should be fully investigated before a vote is taken today.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY), the majority leader of the House.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, before I begin, I want to thank the gentleman.

Today, we will take a vote that every Member on this floor will remember. The country will remember. Then next year, when people check their checks and realize they have more money, they are going to remember who voted for status quo and who voted to make America's comeback.

I want to thank the chairman, KEVIN BRADY, for that work.

Now, Mr. Speaker, a month ago, when the House passed an earlier version of this bill, I said that, for all the jobless, for everyone who hasn't gotten a raise in years, for the parents, for the small-business owners, and for anyone who ever dreamed of being that entrepreneur and a small-business owner, we heard you. This bill is the start of their comeback, and when they win, well, that is the start of America's comeback.

Our country has faced some tough times. I don't have to tell you about that. And for too long, year after year, more and more Americans gave up hope. They were out of work. Or maybe they had a job, but they could not see past the next month or even the next week. They watched factories and businesses close up shop and move out, even moving out of the country.

Nobody wants to see their communities hollow out. Nobody wants to feel like they live in a nation in decline. That is not who Americans are. Frankly, Mr. Speaker, we are not a country that gives up on hope. This legislation and the Republican Party's entire economic plan, they are giving people hope.

You can see it in the stock market. For every American who vests their retirement in a 401(k), 84 times it has set a new record since last year's election alone.

You can see it in companies like Broadcom. You know, Broadcom was a company created in America, but they are not domiciled here today. They moved to Singapore simply over our Tax Code.

So for those who want the status quo and want to keep Broadcom in another country, go ahead and vote "no." For

those who believe in the hope of this country, even greater, looking at this bill, Broadcom said they are coming back to America.

Mr. Speaker, you know what that means? \$20 billion in revenue in just a year. That means \$3 billion every year invested in R&D; \$6 billion every year invested in manufacturing. Those are jobs we all dream about, and the action of this bill is making it happen.

You can see it in the faces of families who learn that next year thousands of dollars that they earn won't go straight to Washington; it will actually stay right at home. And this is all in an environment of disinformation and fear-mongering. I mean, I have seen what has been said, and, to me, it is absurd.

Mr. Speaker, Leader PELOSI said that this bill was, and I quote, "Armageddon" and "the end of the world." Now, Mr. Speaker, I listened a great deal to what my counterpart on the other side, the minority leader, has said, and I have read when The Washington Post analyzed what she had said.

Now, when you say something that could be a little off and don't have all the information, they have this rating for you. She has had a rating on this. She did not get one Pinocchio. She did not even get two. She didn't even get the extreme of three. She got the most Pinocchios you can say when it is totally false, four, for her conversation about this bill.

Mr. Speaker, in such times when the other side will say anything to win their political game, I recommend that folks actually look at the bill: doubling the standard deduction; lowering rates; simplifying the Code so you don't spend weeks, you spend minutes; doubling the child tax credit; ending the individual mandate; lowering taxes on small businesses to the lowest it has been in 40 years; creating incentives for business to invest and hire. That is not a recipe for Armageddon. That is hope for a nation to come back.

The American people see through all this rhetoric, and they are going to feel it next year when they check their paychecks and they see they keep more money because of the vote today. They are going to feel it next year and the years after and when they get that raise they have been waiting for. They are going to feel it more and more as companies announce coming back home. They are bringing jobs right back to the USA. They are going to feel it when we start looking to the future not with fear, but with hope.

I won't accept the status quo. But there will be some in this body who will vote for the status quo. I won't accept failure.

Now, I do not believe anybody in this body was elected to preside over America's decline. I recently was overseas, and I was sitting at a dinner table with some elected leaders from other countries, some Americans who were working in other countries, and I asked them: What is the impression of what

is happening in America today? I thought the reports I would get would be a little different.

Do you know what they said to me? They said: America is back. You are now tackling big items again. Not only are you going to lead your own country, but you will help, again, lead the world. They were fearful of the competition of rising America one more time.

So don't vote for the status quo. Vote for a tax cut. Vote for reform. Don't vote because some leader whipped you and intimidated you. Vote for your constituents. Vote for your country, and vote to raise the paychecks of America.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the stock market has been going up since March of 2009, and we have had 88 straight months of economic growth.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL).

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority is ramming this tax bill through, calling it a Christmas gift to the American people. I have never seen such intellectual dishonesty in my life. It is more like the Grinch who stole Christmas.

In poll after poll and through elections in New Jersey, Virginia, and my home State of Alabama, the American people continue to send a message that they do not want this tax bill to move forward. But here we are watching the fiscal hawks of the Republican Party blow through every red light on the way off the cliff, adding \$1.5 trillion to the deficit.

What is the rush, I ask you. Last week, the American people in my home State of Alabama spoke up and spoke out. We deserve to have our duly elected Senator to vote on this bill.

What is the rush? Not one hearing, not one expert testifying, and no regular order. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, what is the rush?

I believe the rush is because they know this is not tax reform. It is a tax sham. The American people deserve better. My constituents from Alabama deserve better. We should vote "no" on this tax bill.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), the secretary of the Republican Conference.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent the folks of southeast Missouri. The district that I represent, the average median income is right at \$40,000. It is one of the lowest average median incomes in the country.

I have asked my folks back home, just last week, if they support this tax bill, and, in fact, 67 percent say they support the Trump tax bill. Mr. Speaker, \$40,000 back home is a salary. It is not a Christmas bonus that people get in New York City or California. \$40,000 is their salary.

Mr. Speaker, let me give you some facts: Mr. Speaker, the first \$24,000

that people earn in southeast Missouri will be at a zero percent tax rate. A family of four that makes \$55,000 will pay zero in income tax.

When you look at a median average income in southeast Missouri being \$40,000, we are winners. What you are hearing on the other side is complete, false, and absolute lies.

Mr. Speaker, I ask this body to support the conference committee.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. DELBENE), who is very successful.

Ms. DELBENE. Mr. Speaker, in this tax bill, Republicans have gifted the wealthiest corporations and individuals with massive new tax cuts and loopholes to take advantage of. But when I go home to my district, there isn't a mother working two jobs to put food on the table or a farmer struggling through a bad year or a senior trying to pay for a prescription who has ever told me that tax reform means corporate cuts on the backs of them and their families.

□ 1315

They know Republicans always promise that the benefits will trickle down to working people, but they never do and they never will. What is worse, Republicans have made it clear that cuts to Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid are next.

This bill takes care of corporate special interests, the wealthy, and the well connected, while putting middle class Americans' finances and healthcare on the chopping block.

We need tax reform that helps middle class families. This bill does the exact opposite. I urge my colleagues to oppose it.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Indiana (Mrs. WALORSKI).

Mrs. WALORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support today of H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

If you believe the rhetoric you hear, you may think this bill means the world is ending. I guarantee you, it is not.

The truth is this tax cut bill means a brighter future for the hardworking people and hardworking Americans who will have more money in their pockets and a better shot at the American Dream.

Here are the facts: we are cutting taxes for Americans at all income levels. We are doubling the standard deduction. We are doubling the child tax credit and preserving the adoption tax credit. We are keeping deductions for charitable giving, mortgage interest, medical expenses, and student loan interest. We are improving 529 education plans and leaving retirement savings alone. People will be able to keep more of their money they earn and spend less time filing their taxes.

Mr. Speaker, this isn't just a good bill, this is a great bill. This isn't the Apocalypse. It is a new day in America.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to make history and support this momentous bill.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. JUDY CHU), the former revenue commissioner of the State of California, who is going to tell us about the State and local tax deduction ending.

Ms. JUDY CHU of California. Mr. Speaker, we were promised a middle class tax cut. This is not it. What we have instead are tax cuts for the wealthiest paid for by the rest.

So what happened?

Maybe Trump thinks multimillionaires are the middle class or maybe this all is just a tax scam.

To see how working families will pay for corporate interest, all you have to do is read the bill, which is hard to do, because it was written overnight behind closed doors.

Tax cuts: they reduce the tax rate for the wealthiest from 39.6 percent to 37 percent.

State and local taxes: they cap the deduction to just \$10,000. But in my State of California, the average deduction is \$18,500, meaning families will be forced to pay taxes now on twice their income in order to give a staggering tax break to corporations.

So hear this: 83 percent of the benefits of this bill goes to the top 1 percent.

Who gets cut?

Seniors, families, children.

Is this the right thing to do?

The answer is a resounding no.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. BISHOP of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act today.

At its core, reforming our Nation's Tax Code is about how we, the policy-makers, view the role of government in our economy and society.

Over the past 10 years, the American people have seen a stagnant economy and a steady decline in labor force participation. Meanwhile, the government has grown to an unprecedented level, the economy has slowed, and our debt has nearly tripled. All the while, government has given away sweetheart deals to select companies, leaving Main Street job providers to hold the bag.

But all of that ends today. Today we reduce the burden on job creators and families. Today we create an environment that will generate real economic growth.

The conference committee report before us today is about our constituents, about allowing our constituents and neighbors to keep more of their hard-earned money. For starters, we double the standard deduction, which means for joint filers, the first \$24,000 of their income is free from Federal income tax liability. That is real money back in the pockets of working class families across America.

The plan expands the child tax credit to \$2,000 per child to help families with

the cost of raising children. For students struggling with debt, the bill preserves the student loan interest deduction and graduate students will continue to receive tuition tax waivers tax free.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ), who will tell us about the great harm that this does to New York and to the island of Puerto Rico.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, after Hurricane Maria, Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle, including the Republican leadership, went to Puerto Rico. They looked the Puerto Rican people in the eye and promised to help.

This bill betrays that promise. It treats Puerto Rico as a foreign jurisdiction, levying new taxes on companies operating there, creating incentives for them to leave the island. All told, these provisions will cost Puerto Rico more than 200,000 jobs.

That is how they help Puerto Rico?

This bill is morally bankrupt. It harms American citizens everywhere, especially the 3.5 American citizens in Puerto Rico. Vote "no."

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT).

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to give everyone a slightly different view.

There was an interesting editorial this weekend in The Wall Street Journal, and it basically said: Hey, those on the left look at income inequality. Those on the right, we look at economic expansion, economic growth.

They are both honorable, but if you actually look at the data of the last 10 years and our own CBO projections of the next 10 years, 1.8 percent GDP, we are in incredible trouble, because you actually look at what happens when you have this flatlined economic expansion and growth, and income inequality gets dramatically worse. You look at the charts when we have had times of economic growth, it closes and everyone gets a better chance.

If you actually do care about the promises we as a government have made to retirees, working people, veterans, young people, we will not have the resources if we continue for the next 30 years, as our own CBO says, of 1.8 percent growth. Status quo is devastating.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), the assistant Democratic leader.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the Ryan-McConnell tax scam bill. This bill should be named the "Republican Donor Class Relief Act" because that is what it is, and several of my Republican colleagues and many in the media have admitted as much.

This tax scam represents a grotesque set of priorities revealing deep depravity of American values. One of the first

principles of our Judeo-Christian value system is grounded in what we do “for the least of these.”

From the outset, this bill violates that principle by lowering the marginal tax rates on the wealthiest among us by 2.6 points, while raising those rates on the least among us by 2 points.

This tax scam bill adds insult to that injurious act by doubling the estate tax exemption from \$11 million to \$22 million.

The Republicans add further insult to injury by lowering the tax rates for corporations by 14 points while raising tax rates on 86 million middle-income families. It makes the tax cuts for corporations permanent and the miniscule individual cuts temporary, while also kicking 13 million people off their health insurance and increasing premiums for millions more.

The tax scam caps deductions for State and local taxes and home mortgages and adds over \$2 trillion to the deficit. Our children and grandchildren will be left with the bill.

Mr. Speaker, history will not treat kindly the crass cruelty of this so-called Christmas gift for hardworking Americans.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ROTHFUS).

Mr. ROTHFUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

Today we move away from a trickle-down government redistribution economy to one that is bottom up, organic, and growing. While the trickle-down government of the last 8 years was great for Washington and the 1 percent, it did little for the rest of the country.

Today we turn the tide and put money back in the pockets of hardworking taxpayers and Main Street businesses. This bill gives immediate relief to moderate income and middle class families.

A single mom earning \$41,000 with one kid will see a tax cut of \$1,300, while a family of four making \$73,000 will get more than \$2,000 back.

The questions are: Will we vote together and put this money back into the pockets of hardworking Americans? Or will we keep that money here in wealthy Washington, D.C.? Will we vote together to level the global playing field for America's businesses and end the unfair status quo that sends American companies and jobs overseas?

It is an easy choice, Mr. Speaker: vote “yes” on this bill and let's make America prosperous again.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the Democratic leader.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and I salute him for his extraordinary leadership and being a champion for America's working families. I commend him and the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee for putting forth the facts on what is in this bill.

Mr. Speaker, today we choose what kind of country America will be: one that champions the ladders of opportunity for all or one that reinforces the power of the wealthiest and well connected.

Outside the Congress, the American people have already made their decision. Polling shows that Americans oppose the GOP tax scam by a margin of 2 to 1. Hardworking families see right through the brazen con job Republicans are trying to sell them.

So why aren't our Republican colleagues standing with their constituents? Why aren't they joining us on insisting on A Better Deal for American families? Why aren't they joining us in demanding that we write real bipartisan tax reform that puts the middle class first?

Because helping the middle class has never been their goal.

From day one, the donors, lobbyists, and the wealthy and well connected came first. The Frankenstein monster of giveaways and special interest loopholes we are voting on today proves it, and this monster will come back to haunt them, as Frankenstein did.

Republicans claim that their bill is a middle class tax cut. The fact is, according to the Tax Policy Center, their bill raises taxes on 86 million middle class households.

When The Washington Post asked Edward Kleinbard, former chief of staff for the Joint Committee on Taxation, if the tax package in aggregate would mean a middle class tax cut, he said: “That is delusional or dishonest to say. It is factually untrue. The only group you can point to that wins year after year and wins in very large magnitude is the very highest incomes.”

That is from the Joint Committee on Taxation former chief of staff.

The only greater delusion in this bill is the ludicrous Republican insistence, their claim that these giveaways to the wealthiest will pay for themselves.

Bruce Bartlett is the architect of Jack Kemp's supply-side economics. As Bruce Bartlett has testified in our hearing and in public, when it comes to tax breaks for the wealthy paying for themselves, he said:

It is not true. It is nonsense. It is BS.

He said the whole words.

In a few minutes, Republicans will vote to explode catastrophically our national debt at minimum of \$1.5 trillion, likely \$2.2 trillion or more.

Where are the vaunted Republican deficit hawks? Are they endangered? Are they extinct? Do they care about the deficit when we pass giveaways for the rich and big corporations?

They don't care about deficits, then. Tax breaks for the rich, corporate tax breaks: they don't care about the deficit.

Do Republicans only care about the deficit when the issue is helping children, seniors, our veterans, who are a large part of hardworking Americans?

My colleagues, my fellow Americans, remember this vote. Remember the

vote, when they will cheer at the end of this vote, they will stand up and cheer, adding trillions to the national debt in order to give tax breaks to the wealthiest 1 percent and to big corporations. They will cheer that.

They will cheer when they say we can't afford to protect the health of our innocent children. They will cheer that.

Remember, they will cheer when they tell you we can't afford the next step, we can't afford Medicaid, Medicare, and a dignified retirement our seniors spent a lifetime earning. That is an applause line for them.

Remember this day when Republicans cheer for a bill that hands a \$4,000 child tax credit to families of four earning \$400,000 a year. If you earn \$400,000 a year, you get \$4,000 in a child tax credit.

□ 1330

But if you are poor, a single mom, a mother of two earning only \$14,500, guess how much you get?

Seventy-five dollars. Seventy-five dollars.

Today we gather on this floor in the midst of a holy season. In this season, we celebrate the miraculous blessings of God. We reflect on the wondrous joy of children and our responsibility to them.

We remember our duty to live justly. For those of us blessed to serve in this Congress, we must remember our special responsibility to govern fairly, to meet the needs of all of God's children.

In this holy time, the moral obscenity and unrepentant greed of the GOP tax scam stands out even more clearly.

As the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops said early on, “. . . this proposal appears to be the first Federal income tax modification in American history that will raise income taxes on the working poor while simultaneously providing a large tax cut to the wealthy. This is simply unconscionable.”

They will be cheering it. Unconscionable. Remember what the Bishops said.

Now, here, get back to the Republicans. This is in sharp contrast to the words of Senator HATCH. Now, he is the chairman of the Finance Committee in the United States Senate and an author of this bill. He said: “I have a rough time wanting to spend billions and billions and trillions of dollars to help people who won't help themselves, won't lift a finger, and expect the Federal Government to do everything.”

How about that?

Tell that to the moms we just saw speaking out with their children, children with disabilities, who wonder how this could be so cruel.

This is an act of misery, but not according to Senator HATCH. And that is in terms of getting back to our Bishops. In his encyclical, God is Love. And I have said this to my colleagues before, but with, obviously, no effect on the Republican side.

Pope Benedict quoted the urgent moral wisdom of St. Augustine 17 centuries ago, my colleagues. Seventeen

centuries ago, St. Augustine said: "A State which is not governed according to justice is just a bunch of thieves."

Pope Benedict went on to say: "The State must inevitably face the question of how justice can be achieved here and now."

In his words, he cautioned against "the danger of certain ethical blindness caused by the dazzling effect of power and special interests."

Mr. Speaker, is there justice in a bill that rewards corporations shipping jobs overseas? Jobs of hardworking American men and women and veterans, shipping those jobs overseas? Is there justice in that?

No, I don't think so.

Is there justice in a bill that spikes healthcare premiums and may add 13 million Americans to the ranks of the uninsured?

No justice there.

Is there justice in a bill that raises taxes on 86 million middle class families?

Here we are. Raises taxes on 86 million middle class families, and they try to present the delusion that it is a middle class tax cut.

Is there justice in a bill that hands a breathtaking 83 percent of its benefits to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans? Eighty-three percent of its benefits to the top 1 percent?

Is there justice in a bill that explodes the national debt to give the wealthy and the well connected a break and sticks the debt with our children? Is that justice?

I didn't think you thought so. I wish our Republican colleagues would join us.

This GOP tax scam is simply theft, monumental, brazen theft from the American middle class and from every person who aspires to reach it. The GOP tax scam is not a voice for an investment in growth or jobs. It is a vote to install a permanent plutocracy in our Nation. They will be cheering that later.

It does violence to the vision of our Founders. It disrespects the sacrifice of our men and women in uniform, who are a large part of our middle class, and to whom we owe a future worthy of their sacrifice. It betrays the future and betrays the aspirations of our children.

It morally demands a "no" vote from every Member of this House of the people.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. McCLINTOCK).

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I opposed the original House bill because it severely limited or abolished broad-based deductions, resulting in higher taxes for many families in high-tax, high-cost States like California.

Thanks to Chairman BRADY's leadership, this bill has largely addressed these objections and, in combination with much lower rates, it assures that nearly every California taxpayer will pay lower taxes. More important still

is the higher wages and better jobs it means for all Americans.

Last Friday, I toured a local company that makes the active ingredient for certain drugs, yet the actual medicine is not produced here. It is produced in Ireland.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has detected a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will identify the person or persons responsible and have them escorted from the House Chamber.

The gentleman from California (Mr. McCLINTOCK) is recognized for his remaining 20 seconds.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I was saying that the actual medicine, the ingredient is produced here, but the actual medicine is produced in Ireland, solely because of our uncompetitive corporate tax.

Because of this tax reform, the company plans to grow dramatically here at home, employing hundreds of new workers. That is what the Democrats mean by tax breaks for the wealthy.

The proof of these policies will come over the next year, and every American will be able to decide for themselves if they are better off because of it. I am now highly confident their answer is going to be a resounding "yes."

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire as to how much time is remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 4¾ minutes remaining.

Mr. NEAL. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, there is one fundamental question today: Who gets to decide? When Americans work hard for their money, who gets to decide what you do with it? Is it you? Or is it some nameless, faceless government worker here in Washington?

When a family with young children is working feverishly to fund their kids' future, who gets to decide how they spend their money: them or Washington?

The single mom fighting every day trying to get by and give a good life to her daughter, who decrees where her money goes?

When a Main Street businessowner works late into the night and through the weekend, risking every penny they own to reach their dream, who gets that meager profit each day? Does it go to you, who earned it, exhausted at the end of a long day? Or is it grabbed by a Federal Government who doesn't even know your name except on April 15?

Our communities have watched their companies, jobs, and futures move overseas for too long. Our local businesses have been fighting other countries with one hand tied behind their back from an old, outdated Tax Code.

They deserve a new Tax Code that allows them to compete and win anywhere in the world, especially here at home.

When they compete and win, who decides where that money goes?

Today, Washington says spend it overseas. Our new Tax Code says bring it home, spend it here in America to grow our jobs, our paychecks, our communities. That is why this moment is so important.

Opponents of this tax bill don't really worry about tax cuts for the rich. They worry about tax cuts for you because if you spend your money, they can't. If you have the first claim over your earnings, they no longer do. And if your dreams come before theirs, everything in Washington changes, everything.

Given a choice between the Federal Government and you, we choose you, the hardworking American taxpayers. We choose you, the only special interest that truly matters.

Americans deserve a Tax Code for a new era of American prosperity. We deliver on that promise because it is your money.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

So, in 1 month, we have taken the entire revenue system of the country without one public hearing, without any witness testimony, without the solicitation of one expert. "We," meaning the Republican majority. They have decided to go forward with this reckless plan.

Contrast this with Reagan and O'Neill and Rostenkowski and Packwood in 1986.

When Gephardt and Bradley first offered their bill in 1982 on tax reform, 4 years ensued before the measure came to the floor for passage, and, in that time, 450 witnesses offered testimony. Every expert from every nook and cranny in America was invited to offer their vision of what a better tax system might look like. And those individuals—and I knew them all because I went to the committee when Mr. Rostenkowski was the chairman—saw that as the fabled achievement of their time in a bipartisan manner.

Do you know what else?

Secretary Reagan and Chief of Staff Jim Baker sat through the markups on that tax reform measure.

Now, Secretary Mnuchin, instead, has said, nobody at the top will get a tax cut. And then they cut the rate from 39.6 at the top to 37. Well, nobody at the top will get a tax cut.

We are going to double the exemption on this estate tax so that you might now keep \$22 million rather than \$11 million, without any formalization of taxation.

My friend, Mr. BRADY—and he is my friend—he spoke before about the people's money.

Well, you know what the people's responsibility is?

A million new veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan. That is the people's responsibility.

When we talk about responsibility and the people's money, Medicare is the people's responsibility. Social Security is the people's responsibility.

As we celebrate the extension of life expectancy in America, Medicaid today now cares for people with dementia and Alzheimer's disease. That is the people's responsibility.

They have carefully taken theology and wed it to science fiction.

Remember what we heard around here all these years?

Don't worry, tax cuts pay for themselves. That was the offering in 2001, \$1.3 trillion worth of tax cuts.

Well, we get to 2003, another \$1 trillion worth of tax cuts. By the way, there was time in between for a repatriation holiday, at 5¼, all advertised on the basis of job creation, and layoffs ensued almost the next day.

□ 1345

This money is going to be used for stock buybacks and dividends. There will be little investment in this lost opportunity where we should have invested in community colleges and vocational education and apprenticeship programs.

Six million jobs in America go unanswered every single day because of a skills alignment problem and also the horror of what opiate addiction has done across the United States. It has sidelined 2 million people.

What they are telling us today is the following: We have got tax simplification. What happened to the postcard? As I said earlier, we are going to have to carry around a billboard for tax simplification to figure out what is in it. They keep talking about phase-ins and phaseouts. I am telling you, we will all be passed out by the time they get done with this. This is more complexity.

And wait until people have a chance over the next few weeks to sort through what is in this bill. But here is something you might give some thought to: the bottom quintile, you are going to get \$60 a year. The second quintile, you are going to get \$380 a year. The top 1 percent, they are going to get \$51,000 a year. The top 0.1 percent, they are going to get \$193,000 a year, all in the name of middle class tax relief.

As we proceed to the holiday, they are telling us this is their Christmas present. And you know what they are doing with it? It is going to be Christmas hangover debt, and they are putting it on the credit card and adding \$2.3 trillion to the Federal debt.

Merry Christmas.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN), who has devoted

his life to this moment and tax reform, our Speaker of the House.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding time to me.

First, I want to start off by thanking all of the members and the staff of the Ways and Means Committee for all of their hard work in putting this bill together. I want to thank them for this.

I want to personally thank one of my predecessors from the Ways and Means Committee, who helped lay the foundation to get us where we are today, and that is Dave Camp. Dave Camp did a lot to help us get to where we are.

I want to, most of all, commend and express my profound admiration to the architect of this measure, Chairman KEVIN BRADY.

His endless patience and his persistence and his great demeanor have seen this through and gotten us to where we are today.

My colleagues, this is a day I have been looking forward to for a long time. We are about to achieve some really big things, things that the cynics have scoffed at for years, decades even; ideas that have been worked on for so long to help hardworking Americans who have been left behind for too long.

Today—today—we are giving the people of this country their money back. This is their money, after all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will identify the person or persons responsible and have them escorted from the House Chamber before proceedings will resume.

The Chair will also remind all persons in the gallery that they are here as guests of the House and that any manifestation of approval or disapproval of the proceedings in the House are in violation of the rules of the House.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin, the Speaker of the House.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would simply like to remind my colleagues and the Speaker that my minute can last for as long as I want it to last.

Mr. Speaker, as I was saying, today we are giving the people their money back. The bottom line here is the typical family making the median income in America will get a \$2,059 tax cut next year alone. What this is is real relief for families who are living paycheck to paycheck, struggling to make ends meet.

They hear about the economy getting better. They turn on the TV, and they see the stock market going up, but now we need to make sure that these people in our communities and our country, who are struggling, see their own personal economy getting better, and that is what this is all about.

We have got to understand that times are tough for a lot of people in this country right now. Today, this is about how much better things can be. This is about more jobs, fair taxes. It is about bigger paychecks. It is about faster growth and upward mobility. It is about a strong economy that makes all of us stronger and healthier. Those are the effects, those are the benefits, of tax reform.

Here is the heart of it, and here is why this is so vital that we do this. Here is what it speaks to and what I truly believe is a generational defining moment for this Nation.

Our Tax Code is so broken that it undermines the very thing that makes our Nation exceptional in the first place. It punishes hard work. It discourages our entrepreneurial spirit. It dims freedom and free enterprise. It limits the potential of our own people.

When Americans see good jobs going away, when Americans wake up and they see the companies that they grew up with in their communities going away, they wonder if we have lost something bigger.

The mission that drives us here today is to restore this beautiful American idea. What is that idea? That the condition of your birth does not determine the outcome of your life. You can work hard, play by the rules, get ahead, and make a better life for yourselves and an even better one for your kids.

It is that sense of possibility. We want people to be free to strive to make the most of their lives. We want a country with the resilience to endure and tackle all of its challenges.

Mr. Speaker, economic growth and job creation will not solve all of our problems, but it will help make all of our problems much easier to solve. This is the direction that we are choosing here today because we know exactly where the status quo leads us.

For years, the powers that be have blocked and stonewalled reform under the umbrella of an arrogant, condescending, and paternalistic ideology—an ideology that seeks to limit mobility, to limit aspirations, to accept less in our lives. It is a view of the world that sees life and the economy as a zero-sum game. Your gain comes at my loss; therefore, we can't do it.

Look at where this got us: the worst recovery since World War II, flat wages, and an economy just limping along. Stagnation is a breeding ground for a class-based society where elites predetermine the outcome of our lives. That is not the American idea.

They will tell you this: Just hand over more freedom to the unelected bureaucrats, and they will figure it out, they know more, we will all just be okay. Hand over more of your hard-earned dollars to the IRS, and it will all be okay.

There is your scam right there. We know, given the opportunity, there are no limits to what our people, our fellow citizens, our brothers and sisters can

do. Yet for years now, this Tax Code has been skewed to the well connected, full of special interest carve-outs and loopholes.

Meanwhile, the hardworking family in America has got to jump through all the hoops that the IRS can muster. Reform means we bring rates down at every level. We clear out these loopholes so that people can just keep more of what they earn in the first place, because it is their money in the first place. No special favors, just basic fairness.

Reform means simplification, too. Nearly 9 out of 10 Americans will still be able to do their taxes on the form the size of a postcard. That is amazing.

And given the opportunity, there are no limits to what our workers and our entrepreneurs can do.

Yet while the world has changed, while the world has become more competitive, closer, smaller, our Tax Code has not. Instead of leading, we have been falling behind to the point where we now are the worst in the industrialized world at how we tax our businesses.

We tax our businesses a whole lot more than our foreign competitors tax theirs. They win; we lose. That is not fair.

It is basically open season for our competitors to come in and take our jobs overseas under the current Tax Code. Reform means we go from the back of the pack to the front of the pack.

Instead of the slow growth that we have been slogging through for years, we want to get back to real sustained economic growth. We want to build an opportunity economy where there is more demand for higher paying jobs. That is the whole purpose of all of this. Make sure that people can grow up and reach their potential. Make sure that the jobs are there to give people the careers they want so they can reach their potential, so their families can reach their potential. That is why we are doing this.

This is, without question, the single most important thing we can do to, once again, make America the best place to do business.

There is more than that in this bill. With this bill, we are finally restoring the freedom to make our own healthcare choices. By repealing the individual mandate at the heart of ObamaCare, we are giving back the freedom and the flexibility to buy the healthcare that is right for you and your family.

Finally, we are doing something truly to put America in the lead. We are doing something historic to develop our own energy resources. Some people have been working here since I was in the second grade on this project. After decades and decades in this Chamber, we are opening up a small, nonwilderness area of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge for responsible development. It is the most ambitious step we have taken in years to secure our own energy future.

This is one of those times to just take a step back. Let's just take a minute, collect ourselves, and step away from the noise.

We talk a lot in this job about turning points. There is no doubt that we are at one of those turning points right now. This one will determine the kind of country we are going to have this century.

But too often, we have seen before how doubt creeps in, how the tyranny of short-term thinking takes over, and history—history—fails to turn.

There is, after all, a reason that this has not been done in 31 years. This really is a generational defining moment. And let's let this generational defining moment be defined by optimism, not by fear; by the rising aspirations of our people and not the doom and gloom of managed decline that we have become too familiar with.

This is our chance. This is our moment. Let's turn at this turning point. Let's reclaim the principles that have guided us for generations. Let's recapture our destiny for generations to come so this beautiful story of the American idea is repeated and repeated and passed on to the next generation, a nation more united, more confident, more prosperous, and, Mr. Speaker, more free. Pass this bill.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, let's pass this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Budget Committee, I rise in strong and unyielding opposition to the Conference Report for H.R. 1, the so-called "Tax Cut and Jobs Act," which more accurately should be called the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

With this Conference Report House and Senate Republicans have pulled off a near-impossible feat: they have taken a bad bill and made it worse, much worse.

I oppose this cruel and immoral \$1.7 trillion tax giveaway to wealthy corporations and the top one percent because it raises taxes on poor, working, and middle class families; explodes the deficit by adding an additional \$2.2 trillion over ten years; and will require an estimated \$5.4 trillion cut in funding for the programs ordinary Americans depend on for health security, educational opportunity, and economic progress.

Mr. Speaker, Americans are not fooled; they know trickle-down economics has never worked, and they see right through this phony tax plan and recognize it for the scam that it is.

That is why Americans reject this Republican tax giveaway by an overwhelming 2:1 margin.

Here are just a few of the myriad reasons why this Republican Tax Scam is by far the most unpopular tax measure ever considered by the Congress:

1. Raises taxes on 86 million middle class families;
2. Gives 83 percent of the tax cuts to the wealthiest 1 percent and explodes deficit by \$1.7 trillion;
3. Gives new tax breaks to corporations shipping American jobs overseas which will

eliminate jobs and drive down American wages and salaries.

4. The \$1.5 trillion deficit that will be created by the GOP Tax Scam will be used by the Republicans to justify devastating cuts in Medicare and Medicaid.

This Republican tax plan is even more toxic to my constituents in the Eighteenth Congressional District of Texas.

Mr. Speaker, as you may know, my constituents and others in Texas are still struggling to recover from the devastation caused by Hurricane Harvey, the worst storm ever to make landfall in the continental United States.

And by margins exceeding 90 percent, they reject:

1. Any cuts to Medicare or Medicaid to finance tax cuts for wealthy corporations and the top 1 percent;

2. Eliminating the mortgage interest deduction;

3. Eliminating the deductibility of state and local taxes;

4. Eliminating existing deductions for student loan interest or making taxable college endowment funds or college fellowships expenses.

Mr. Speaker, my constituents, and Americans across the country, oppose this unfair Republican tax giveaway because nearly half of the \$1.7 trillion tax cut goes to just the top one percent.

In fact, the average annual tax cut for the top one-tenth of one percent is \$320,000; for the top one percent it is \$62,000, and for those earning \$1 million a year it is \$68,000.

Nearly 25 percent of the tax cut goes to households in just the top one-tenth of one percent, who make at least \$5 million a year (2027).

While super-wealthy corporations and individuals are reaping windfalls, millions of middle-class and working families will see their taxes go up:

1. 13 million households face a tax increase next year.

2. 45 million households face a tax increase in 2027.

3. 29 million households (21 percent) earning less than \$100,000 a year see a tax increase.

On average, families earning up to \$86,000 annually would see a \$794 increase in their tax liability, a significant burden on families struggling to afford child care and balance their checkbook.

It is shocking, but not surprising, that under this Republican tax scam, the total value of tax cuts for just the top one percent is more than the entire tax cut for the lower 95 percent of earners.

Put another way, those earning more than \$912,000 a year will get more in tax cuts than 180 million households combined.

The core of this Republican tax scheme is a massive tax cut from 35 percent to 20 percent for corporations, but that is not the only way that the wealthy are rewarded.

The massive tax cuts for corporations are permanent but temporary for working and middle-class families.

Another immoral aspect of this terrible tax scam is that it abandons families that face natural disasters or high medical costs by repealing deductions for casualty losses and medical expenses.

Mr. Speaker, in what universe does it make any sense to eliminate, as this bill would, a deduction for:

Duffy Kinzinger
 Duncan (SC) Knight
 Duncan (TN) Kustoff (TN)
 Dunn Labrador
 Emmer LaHood
 Estes (KS) LaMalfa
 Farenthold Lamborn
 Faso Lance
 Ferguson Latta
 Fitzpatrick Lewis (MN)
 Fleischmann LoBiondo
 Flores Long
 Fortenberry Loudermilk
 Foxx Love
 Frelinghuysen Lucas
 Gaetz Luetkemeyer
 Gallagher MacArthur
 Garrett Marchant
 Gianforte Marino
 Gibbs Marshall
 Gohmert Massie
 Goodlatte Mast
 Gosar McCaughy
 Gowdy McCaul
 Granger McClintock
 Graves (GA) McHenry
 Graves (LA) McKinley
 Graves (MO) McMorris
 Griffith Rodgers
 Grothman McSally
 Guthrie Meadows
 Handel Meehan
 Harper Messer
 Harris Mitchell
 Hartzler Moonenar
 Hensarling Mooney (WV)
 Herrera Beutler Mullin
 Hice, Jody B. Newhouse
 Higgins (LA) Noem
 Hill Norman
 Holding Nunes
 Hollingsworth Olson
 Hudson Palazzio
 Huizenga Palmer
 Hultgren Paulsen
 Hunter Pearce
 Hurd Perry
 Issa Pittenger
 Jenkins (KS) Poe (TX)
 Jenkins (WV) Poliquin
 Johnson (LA) Posey
 Johnson (OH) Ratcliffe
 Johnson, Sam Reed
 Jones Reichert
 Jordan Renacci
 Joyce (OH) Rice (SC)
 Katko Roby
 Kelly (MS) Roe (TN)
 Kelly (PA) Rogers (AL)
 King (IA) Rogers (KY)
 King (NY) Rohrabacher

NOT VOTING—4

Brat Kennedy
 Bridenstine Pocan

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will remove the person or persons responsible from the House gallery.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will remove the person or persons responsible from the House gallery.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1420

Messrs. STEWART and REICHERT changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 227, nays 203, not voting 2, as follows:

[Roll No. 692]

YEAS—227

Abraham
 Aderholt
 Allen
 Amash
 Amodei
 Arrington
 Babin
 Bacon
 Banks (IN)
 Barletta
 Barr
 Barton
 Bergman
 Biggs
 Bilirakis
 Bishop (MI)
 Bishop (UT)
 Black
 Blackburn
 Blum
 Bost
 Brady (TX)
 Brat
 Bridenstine
 Brooks (AL)
 Brooks (IN)
 Buchanan
 Buck
 Bucshon
 Budd
 Burgess
 Byrne
 Calvert
 Carter (GA)
 Carter (TX)
 Chabot
 Cheney
 Coffman
 Cole
 Collins (GA)
 Collins (NY)
 Comer
 Comstock
 Conaway
 Cook
 Costello (PA)
 Cramer
 Crawford
 Culberson
 Curbelo (FL)
 Curtis
 Davidson
 Davis, Rodney
 Denham
 Dent
 DeSantis
 DesJarlais
 Diaz-Balart
 Duffy
 Duncan (SC)
 Duncan (TN)
 Dunn
 Emmer
 Estes (KS)
 Farenthold
 Ferguson
 Fitzpatrick
 Fleischmann
 Flores
 Fortenberry
 Foxx
 Gaetz
 Gallagher
 Garrett

Gianforte
 Gibbs
 Gohmert
 Goodlatte
 Gosar
 Gowdy
 Granger
 Graves (GA)
 Graves (LA)
 Graves (MO)
 Griffith
 Grothman
 Guthrie
 Handel
 Harper
 Harris
 Hartzler
 Hensarling
 Herrera Beutler
 Hice, Jody B.
 Higgins (LA)
 Hill
 Holding
 Hollingsworth
 Hudson
 Huizenga
 Hultgren
 Hunter
 Hurd
 Jenkins (KS)
 Jenkins (WV)
 Johnson (LA)
 Johnson (OH)
 Johnson, Sam
 Jordan
 Joyce (OH)
 Katko
 Kelly (MS)
 Kelly (PA)
 King (IA)
 King (NY)

Mullin
 Newhouse
 Noem
 Norman
 Nunes
 Olson
 Palazzo
 Palmer
 Paulsen
 Pearce
 Perry
 Roby
 Roe (TN)
 Rogers (AL)
 Rogers (KY)
 Rooney, Francis
 Rooney, Thomas
 Ross
 Rothfus
 Rouzer
 Royce (CA)
 Russell
 Rutherford
 Sanford
 Scalise
 Schweikert
 Scott, Austin
 Sensenbrenner
 Sessions
 Shimkus
 Shuster
 Simpson
 Smith (MO)
 Smith (NE)
 Smith (NJ)
 Smith (TX)
 Smucker
 Stefanik
 Stivers
 Taylor
 Tenney
 Thompson (PA)
 Tiberi
 Tipton
 Trott
 Turner
 Upton
 Valadao
 Wagner
 Walberg
 Walden
 Walker
 Walorski
 Walters, Mimi
 Weber (TX)
 Webster (FL)
 Wenstrup
 Westerman
 Williams
 Wilson (SC)
 Wittman
 Womack
 Woodall

Wittman
 Womack
 Woodall

Yoder
 Yoho
 Young (AK)

Young (IA)

NAYS—203

Adams
 Aguilar
 Barragan
 Bass
 Beatty
 Bera
 Beyer
 Bishop (GA)
 Blumenauer
 Blunt Rochester
 Bonamici
 Boyle, Brendan
 F.
 Brady (PA)
 Brown (MD)
 Brownley (CA)
 Bustos
 Butterfield
 Capuano
 Carbajal
 Cárdenas
 Carson (IN)
 Cartwright
 Castor (FL)
 Castro (TX)
 Chu, Judy
 Cicilline
 Clark (MA)
 Clarke (NY)
 Clay
 Cleaver
 Clyburn
 Cohen
 Connolly
 Cooper
 Correa
 Costa
 Courtney
 Crist
 Crowley
 Cuellar
 Cummings
 Davis (CA)
 Davis, Danny
 DeFazio
 DeGette
 Delaney
 DeLauro
 DelBene
 Demings
 DeSaulnier
 Deutch
 Dingell
 Doggett
 Donovan
 Doyle, Michael
 F.
 Ellison
 Engel
 Eshoo
 Espallat
 Esty (CT)
 Evans
 Faso
 Foster
 Frankel (FL)
 Frelinghuysen
 Fudge
 Gabbard
 Gallego

Garamendi
 Gomez
 Gonzalez (TX)
 Gottheimer
 Green, Al
 Green, Gene
 Grijalva
 Gutiérrez
 Hanabusa
 Hastings
 Heck
 Higgins (NY)
 Himes
 Hoyer
 Huffman
 Issa
 Jackson Lee
 Jayapal
 Jeffries
 Johnson (GA)
 Johnson, E. B.
 Jones
 Kaptur
 Keating
 Kelly (IL)
 Khanna
 Kihuen
 Kildee
 Kilmer
 Kind
 King (NY)
 Krishnamoorthi
 Kuster (NH)
 Lance
 Langevin
 Larsen (WA)
 Larson (CT)
 Lawrence
 Lawson (FL)
 Lee
 Levin
 Lewis (GA)
 Lieu, Ted
 Lipinski
 LoBiondo
 Loebsock
 Lofgren
 Lowenthal
 Lowey
 Lujan Grisham,
 M.
 Lujan, Ben Ray
 Titus
 Lynch
 Maloney,
 Carolyn B.
 Maloney, Sean
 Matsui
 McCollum
 McEachin
 McGovern
 McNeerney
 Meeks
 Meng
 Moore
 Moulton
 Murphy (FL)
 Nadler
 Napolitano
 Neal
 Nolan

Norcross
 O'Halleran
 O'Rourke
 Pallone
 Panetta
 Pascrell
 Payne
 Pelosi
 Perlmutter
 Peters
 Peterson
 Pingree
 Polis
 Price (NC)
 Quigley
 Raskin
 Rice (NY)
 Richmond
 Rohrabacher
 Rosen
 Roybal-Allard
 Ruiz
 Ruppersberger
 Rush
 Ryan (OH)
 Sánchez
 Sarbanes
 Schakowsky
 Schiff
 Schneider
 Schrader
 Scott (VA)
 Scott, David
 Serrano
 Sewell (AL)
 Shea-Porter
 Sherman
 Sinema
 Sires
 Slaughter
 Smith (NJ)
 Smith (WA)
 Soto
 Speier
 Stefanik
 Suozzi
 Swalwell (CA)
 Takano
 Thompson (CA)
 Thompson (MS)
 Titus
 Tonko
 Torres
 Tsongas
 Vargas
 Veasey
 Vela
 Velázquez
 Vislosky
 Walz
 Wasserman
 Meng
 Schultz
 Waters, Maxine
 Watson Coleman
 Welch
 Wilson (FL)
 Yarmuth
 Zeldin

NOT VOTING—2

Kennedy
 Pocan

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will remove the person or persons responsible from the House gallery.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will ensure that the person or persons responsible are escorted from the gallery.

□ 1427

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUPPORTING VETERANS IN STEM CAREERS ACT

The SPEAKER. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4323) to promote veteran involvement in STEM education, computer science, and scientific research, and for other purposes, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DUNN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, as amended.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 420, nays 1, not voting 10, as follows:

[Roll No. 693]

YEAS—420

- Abraham
- Adams
- Aderholt
- Aguilar
- Allen
- Amodei
- Babin
- Bacon
- Banks (IN)
- Barletta
- Barr
- Barragán
- Barton
- Bass
- Beatty
- Bera
- Bergman
- Beyer
- Biggs
- Bilirakis
- Bishop (GA)
- Bishop (UT)
- Black
- Blackburn
- Blum
- Blumenauer
- Blunt Rochester
- Bonamici
- Bost
- Boyle, Brendan
- F.
- Brady (PA)
- Brady (TX)
- Brat
- Brooks (AL)
- Brooks (IN)
- Brown (MD)
- Brownley (CA)
- Buchanan
- Buck
- Bucshon
- Budd
- Burgess
- Bustos
- Butterfield
- Byrne
- Calvert
- Capuano
- Carbajal
- Cárdenas
- Carson (IN)
- Carter (GA)
- Carter (TX)
- Cartwright
- Castor (FL)
- Castro (TX)
- Chabot
- Cheney
- Chu, Judy
- Cicilline
- Clark (MA)
- Clarke (NY)
- Clay
- Cleaver
- Clyburn
- Coffman
- Cohen
- Cole
- Collins (GA)
- Collins (NY)
- Comer
- Comstock
- Conaway
- Connolly
- Cook
- Cooper
- Correa
- Costa
- Costello (PA)
- Courtney
- Cramer
- Crawford
- Crist
- Crowley
- Cuellar
- Culberson
- Cummings
- Curbelo (FL)
- Curtis
- Davidson
- Davis (CA)
- Davis, Danny
- Davis, Rodney
- DeFazio
- DeGette
- Delaney
- DeLauro
- DelBene
- Demings
- Denham
- Dent
- DeSantis
- DeSaulnier
- DesJarlais
- Deutch
- Diaz-Balart
- Dingell
- Doggett
- Donovan
- Doyle, Michael
- F.
- Duffy
- Duncan (SC)
- Duncan (TN)
- Dunn
- Ellison
- Emmer
- Engel
- Eshoo
- Españillat
- Estes (KS)
- Esty (CT)
- Evans
- Farenthold
- Faso
- Ferguson
- Fitzpatrick
- Fleischmann
- Flores
- Fortenberry
- Foster
- Foxx
- Frankel (FL)
- Frelinghuysen
- Fudge
- Gabbard
- Gallagher
- Gallego
- Garamendi
- Garrett
- Gianforte
- Gibbs
- Gohmert
- Gomez
- Gonzalez (TX)
- Goodlatte
- Gosar
- Gottheimer
- Gowdy
- Granger
- Graves (GA)
- Graves (LA)
- Graves (MO)
- Green, Al
- Green, Gene
- Griffith
- Grijalva
- Grothman
- Guthrie

- Gutiérrez
- Hanabusa
- Handel
- Harper
- Harris
- Hartzler
- Hastings
- Heck
- Hensarling
- Herrera Beutler
- Hice, Jody B.
- Higgins (LA)
- Higgins (NY)
- Hill
- Himes
- Holding
- Hollingsworth
- Hoyer
- Hudson
- Huffman
- Huizenga
- Hultgren
- Hunter
- Hurd
- Issa
- Jackson Lee
- Jayapal
- Jeffries
- Jenkins (KS)
- Jenkins (WV)
- Johnson (GA)
- Johnson (LA)
- Johnson (OH)
- Johnson, E. B.
- Johnson, Sam
- Jones
- Jordan
- Joyce (OH)
- Kaptur
- Katko
- Kelly (IL)
- Kelly (MS)
- Kelly (PA)
- Khanna
- Kihuen
- Kildee
- Kilmer
- Kind
- King (IA)
- King (NY)
- Kinzinger
- Knight
- Krishnamoorthi
- Kuster (NH)
- Kustoff (TN)
- Labrador
- LaHood
- LaMalfa
- Lamborn
- Lance
- Langevin
- Larsen (WA)
- Larson (CT)
- Latta
- Lawrence
- Lawson (FL)
- Lee
- Levin
- Lewis (MN)
- Lieu, Ted
- Lipinski
- LoBiondo
- Loeb
- Loeb
- Lofgren
- Long
- Love
- Lowenthal
- Lowe
- Lucas
- Ros-Lehtinen
- Rosen
- Roskam
- Ross
- Rothfus
- Rouzer
- Roybal-Allard
- Royce (CA)
- Ruiz
- Ruppersberger
- Rush
- Russell

NAYS—1

Amash

NOT VOTING—10

- Keating
- Kennedy
- Lewis (GA)
- Loudermilk

- Rutherford
- Ryan (OH)
- Sánchez
- Sanford
- Sarbanes
- Scalise
- Schakowsky
- Schiff
- Schneider
- Schrader
- Schweikert
- Scott (VA)
- Scott, Austin
- Scott, David
- Sensenbrenner
- Sessions
- Sewell (AL)
- Shea-Porter
- Sherman
- Shimkus
- Shuster
- Simpson
- Sinema
- Sires
- Slaughter
- Smith (MO)
- Smith (NE)
- Smith (NJ)
- Smith (TX)
- Smith (WA)
- Smucker
- Soto
- Speier
- Stefanik
- Stewart
- Stivers
- Suozzi
- Swalwell (CA)
- Takano
- Taylor
- Tenney
- Thompson (CA)
- Thompson (MS)
- Thompson (PA)
- Thornberry
- Tiberi
- Tipton
- Titus
- Tonko
- Torres
- Trott
- Tsongas
- Turner
- Upton
- Valadao
- Vargas
- Veasey
- Vela
- Velázquez
- Visclosky
- Wagner
- Walberg
- Walden
- Walker
- Walorski
- Walters, Mimi
- Walz
- Wasserman
- Schultz
- Waters, Maxine
- Watson Coleman
- Weber (TX)
- Webster (FL)
- Welch
- Wenstrup
- Westerman
- Williams
- Wilson (FL)
- Wilson (SC)
- Wittman
- Womack
- Woodall
- Yarmuth
- Yoder
- Yoho
- Young (AK)
- Young (IA)
- Zeldin

□ 1435

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BYRNE). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or votes objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

HOUR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 4 of rule XVI, I move that when the House adjourns this legislative day, it adjourn to meet at 9 a.m. on Wednesday, December 20, 2017, for morning-hour debate and 10 a.m. for legislative business.

The motion was agreed to.

JOBS FOR OUR HEROES ACT

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 1393) to streamline the process by which active duty military, reservists, and veterans receive commercial driver's licenses.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 1393

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Jobs for Our Heroes Act".

SEC. 2. MEDICAL CERTIFICATE FOR VETERANS OPERATING COMMERCIAL MOTOR VEHICLES.

(a) QUALIFIED EXAMINERS.—Section 5403(d)(2) of the FAST Act (49 U.S.C. 31149 note; 129 Stat. 1548) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) QUALIFIED EXAMINER.—The term 'qualified examiner' means an individual who—

"(A) is employed by the Department of Veterans Affairs as an advanced practice nurse, doctor of chiropractic, doctor of medicine, doctor of osteopathy, physician assistant, or other medical professional;

"(B) is licensed, certified, or registered in a State to perform physical examinations;

"(C) is familiar with the standards for, and physical requirements of, an operator required to be medically certified under section 31149 of title 49, United States Code; and

"(D) has never, with respect to such section, been found to have acted fraudulently, including by fraudulently awarding a medical certificate."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 5403 of the FAST Act (49 U.S.C. 31149 note; 129 Stat. 1548) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking "physician-approved veteran operator, the qualified

physician” and inserting “veteran operator approved by a qualified examiner, the qualified examiner”;

(2) in subsection (b)(1)—

(A) by striking “the physician” and inserting “the examiner”; and

(B) by striking “qualified physician” and inserting “qualified examiner”;

(3) in subsection (c)—

(A) by striking “qualified physicians” and inserting “qualified examiners”; and

(B) by striking “such physicians” and inserting “such examiners”; and

(4) in subsection (d)—

(A) by redesignating paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) as paragraphs (3), (1), and (2), respectively, and by moving the text of paragraph (3), as redesignated, to appear after paragraph (2), as redesignated; and

(B) in paragraph (3), as redesignated—

(i) in the paragraph heading, by striking “PHYSICIAN-APPROVED VETERAN OPERATOR” and inserting “VETERAN OPERATOR APPROVED BY A QUALIFIED EXAMINER”; and

(ii) by striking “physician-approved veteran operator” and inserting “veteran operator approved by a qualified examiner”.

(c) RULEMAKING.—The amendments made by this section shall be incorporated into any rulemaking proceeding related to section 5403 of the FAST Act (49 U.S.C. 31149 note; 129 Stat. 1548) that is being conducted as of the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 3. COMMERCIAL DRIVER'S LICENSE STANDARDS FOR CURRENT AND FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES.

Section 31305(d) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the subsection heading, by striking “VETERAN OPERATORS” and inserting “OPERATORS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, RESERVISTS, OR VETERANS”;

(2) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking “subparagraph (A) during, at least,” and inserting “subparagraph (A)—

“(i) while serving in the armed forces or reserve components; and

“(ii) during”; and

(3) in paragraph (2)(B)—

(A) by inserting “current or” before “former” each place the term appears; and

(B) by inserting “one of” before “the reserve components”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) and the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on S. 1393.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

S. 1393 would exempt current members of the armed services or reserve components from certain testing requirements for commercial driver's licenses if they had qualifying experience while serving in the armed services or reserve components.

This bill also expands the types of medical professionals at the Depart-

ment of Veterans Affairs who could certify that veterans meet the physical standards required to operate a commercial vehicle.

These commonsense changes will help remove barriers to employment for the men and women who have served our country in uniform.

This bill is a combination of H.R. 2547, the Veterans Expanded Trucking Opportunities Act of 2017, sponsored by Representative ROB WOODALL, and H.R. 2258, the ADVANCE Act, which is sponsored by Representative PETE AGUILAR. The House passed both bills under suspension on June 26, 2017. The bill we are considering today passed the Senate by unanimous consent on September 14, which means this will head to the President's desk once the House approves it.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Mr. WOODALL and Mr. AGUILAR for their leadership on the House bills and Senator CORNYN for his work in the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support S. 1393, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in support of S. 1393, the Jobs for Our Heroes Act.

This bill is a step in the right direction to help the Nation tackle the longstanding commercial driver's shortage—a shortage that I must say I have been working on ever since I have been on this committee and especially since becoming ranking member of the subcommittee—and, of course, at the same time, to support veterans in a successful transition from military to civilian life.

S. 1393 ensures that all qualified medical professionals employed by the Department of Veterans Affairs can perform commercial driver physical examinations for their veteran patients.

The medical professionals that this bill addresses are already eligible to become certified medical examiners. This bill simply allows these individuals to utilize an alternative certification process that is currently being finalized by the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration.

The most recently available data shows that, of the 54,000 medical professionals listed in FMCSA's National Registry of Certified Medical Examiners, only 25 medical professionals are employed by the VA. The online training and testing system being developed by FMCSA and the VA should help remedy this situation. These two agencies have done a good job creating an alternative process that will eventually allow more VA doctors to become certified medical examiners, while maintaining the safety and integrity of the certification system.

Although the FAST Act provision authorizing this process referred to physicians, FMCSA should allow VA-employed nurse practitioners, chiropractors, physician assistants, and other

qualified medical professionals to participate. This bill ensures that these medical professionals are eligible to use this process.

The bill also ensures that current servicemembers who have military experience operating commercial motor vehicles will be able to more easily obtain a commercial driver's license. Congress included a provision in the FAST Act to allow States to waive the written CDL knowledge test for drivers with military commercial motor vehicle driving experience, but it restricts this waiver to “former members” of the military.

There are a significant number of current reservists and members of the National Guard with military commercial motor vehicle experience who could benefit from the waiver. These servicemen and -women receive what the FMCSA describes as “thorough and comprehensive training,” including many hours of behind-the-wheel training, something that I have long sought and advocated for as a requirement for civilian drivers. These military drivers already have it.

FMCSA has already taken action to make current servicemembers eligible for the knowledge test waiver on a temporary basis. Last year, FMCSA issued an exemption that allows States to waive the CDL knowledge test for trained military truck drivers, whether they are current members of the military or our veterans; however, FMCSA's temporary exemption expires October 2018.

□ 1445

This bill makes permanent the ability of current members of the military to utilize the FAST Act waiver. S. 1393 is nearly identical to two bills the House previously passed earlier this year, H.R. 2547 and H.R. 2258, both of which passed by votes of 409-0, or unanimously.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support this legislation, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. WOODALL).

Mr. WOODALL. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my chairman for yielding me the time. I want to thank him for his leadership. The ranking member, I appreciate her leadership as well.

She was exactly right. These are two House bills that the Senate combined that we passed unanimously here. This veterans trucking language was language that the gentlewoman from California (Ms. BROWNLEY) and I introduced together upon learning that of the more than 54,000 medical professionals that are allowed to certify folks for Federal trucking licenses, only 25 of those worked in the VA system. Of 54,000, only 25 were available to our veterans.

We said that is not right, so this House came together. We expanded. All the physicians of the VA became available to serve our veterans through

these trucking certifications. The bill went to the President's desk, and he signed it.

Then we had folks come back. We had advanced practice nurses, we had physicians' assistants, we had folks working throughout the VA healthcare system who said: You know what, we, too, are licensed to provide these physicals; and if you change the language, we, too, will be your partner in serving veterans.

Again, JULIA BROWNLEY on the Democrat side; I on this side; my ranking member; Ms. NORTON; my chairman here, Mr. GRAVES; we came together and now we have a further improvement to language that the rules are still being crafted for down at DOT.

Mr. Speaker, folks don't think there is cooperation in this Chamber. Folks don't think that we are able to work together in this Chamber. This is an example of what goes on every single day. Constituents raise problems. Republicans and Democrats get together to solve those problems.

I am so grateful to my friends on the committee for their leadership to get this done. To Ranking Member DEFazio and Chairman SHUSTER, I thank them as well for their leadership.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. AGUILAR).

Mr. AGUILAR. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, far too often our brave servicemembers return to civilian life only to find that the skills they have gained in military service do not easily transfer to the job market. These brave men and women who have worked tirelessly to keep their country safe deserve to know that they can thrive here after their service is complete.

For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Jobs for Our Heroes Act. Among other critical initiatives to help our servicemembers find civilian employment, this legislation contains my bill, the ADVANCE Act.

The ADVANCE Act will allow Active-Duty servicemembers, reservists, and National Guardsmen to access the same unique testing standards for commercial driver's licenses granted to veterans by the latest surface transportation bill.

This commonsense legislation will allow those serving our country to begin the process of finding civilian employment before they finish their term of service, allowing them to hit the ground running upon reentering civilian life. Our Nation's heroes deserve to know that the process of transitioning out of the military will be seamless, and this bipartisan legislation will help ensure that is the case.

I want to thank the ranking member, the chairman for their leadership. I also want to thank Senators WARREN, CORNYN, and TILLIS for guiding this bill through the Senate. I urge my colleagues here in the House to vote in favor of this today.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this bill marries two priorities: jobs for our veterans. So many come back, and they have had training, yet we are finding that we can't always find jobs for them. Here are jobs where there is a chronic problem, tough jobs, jobs which require people to be away from home, often for long hours, jobs that do not pay as well as some other jobs. So there has been a chronic shortage.

This bill serves both purposes, and it serves our Nation very well.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, S. 1393.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays. The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

NO HUMAN TRAFFICKING ON OUR ROADS ACT

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 1532) to disqualify from operating a commercial motor vehicle for life an individual who uses a commercial motor vehicle in committing a felony involving human trafficking.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 1532

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "No Human Trafficking on Our Roads Act".

SEC. 2. LIFETIME DISQUALIFICATION WITHOUT REINSTATEMENT.

Section 31310(d) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the heading, by striking "CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE VIOLATIONS" and inserting "LIFETIME DISQUALIFICATION WITHOUT REINSTATEMENT";

(2) by striking "The Secretary" and inserting "(1) CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE VIOLATIONS.—The Secretary"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(2) HUMAN TRAFFICKING VIOLATIONS.—The Secretary shall disqualify from operating a commercial motor vehicle for life an individual who uses a commercial motor vehicle in committing a felony involving an act or

practice described in paragraph (9) of section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102(9))."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) and the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on S. 1532.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, human trafficking is a terrible crime with an estimated 20 million victims worldwide. It is incumbent upon Congress to take the steps necessary to combat this crime whenever possible.

Just this past summer there was a case in San Antonio in which 10 people died while being illegally trafficked in a commercial motor vehicle. Drivers have been the first line of defense in helping identify and report these sorts of activities within the trucking community. We need these drivers to stay vigilant and we need to weed out the bad actors.

In addition to the criminal penalties, drivers who knowingly take part in human trafficking should never again be able to drive commercially. Current law prohibits an individual from operating a commercial motor vehicle if they are convicted of one of nine different crimes, including alcohol abuse, negligent manslaughter, and drug trafficking.

S. 1532 disqualifies individuals from operating a commercial vehicle for their lifetime if they ever use that commercial vehicle to commit a felony involving human trafficking.

This bipartisan bill passed the Senate with unanimous consent, and I would like to commend Mr. KATKO for his leadership on the House version of this bill, and I would urge my colleagues to support S. 1532.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in support of S. 1532. This legislation institutes a lifetime ban from operating a commercial motor vehicle for any individual who has used such a vehicle to commit human trafficking.

In the summer of 2017, 10 people died in San Antonio, Texas, in the process of being illegally trafficked in a truck at Walmart. That horrendous incident served as a stark reminder that the transportation sector can be exploited for heinous acts.

Since 2007, the National Human Trafficking Hotline has received reports of more than 22,000 sex trafficking cases inside our country. In addition, it has received over 5,000 reports of individuals who have been coerced into forced labor or indentured servitude.

The National Center for Missing and Exploited Children estimates that one of every six runaway children who was reported to them last year had become victims of sex trafficking.

The FMCSA currently prohibits any individual from operating a CMV for life if he or she is convicted of committing specific crimes, including negligent manslaughter and drug trafficking. This bill ensures that the FMCSA also takes action against perpetrators who use their CMV to commit “severe”—and that is the operative word—forms of sex trafficking, as defined by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act.

The Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure reported an identical bill, H.R. 3814, to the House by a voice vote in November. This legislation takes important steps to reduce human trafficking in the transportation sector.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this important bill, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. KATKO).

Mr. KATKO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank my colleague for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to rise in favor of S. 1532, the No Human Trafficking on Our Roads Act. This bipartisan, bicameral bill strengthens our Nation’s efforts to combat human trafficking.

As a former organized crime prosecutor for two decades both on the Northern border and on the Southern border, I have seen firsthand the horrors of human trafficking. Too often, human traffickers take advantage of our Nation’s transportation network to transport their victims from one location to the next.

The U.S. Department of Transportation and the transportation industry play a critical role in preventing and stopping these heinous exploitations. I want to commend the trucking industry for their commitment in training drivers to identify instances of human trafficking through organizations like Truckers Against Trafficking.

Truck drivers are often a critical asset in helping law enforcement identify victims who otherwise might go unseen. However, an isolated few individuals have taken advantage of their position to illegally traffic innocent people. We must stop this from occurring.

Earlier this year, alongside my good friend, Congresswoman ESTY, I introduced H.R. 3814, the identical House companion to this bill. While the vast majority of our Nation’s truck drivers

are hardworking, honest men and women, our bill is necessary to ensure that the select few who commit these crimes are brought to justice.

I am grateful for the chairman’s support in moving our bill through the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and bringing this important issue before the floor of the House. I would also like to thank outside organizations, like the National District Attorneys Association, for supporting this legislation.

Again, I would like to thank Representative ESTY and Senators THUNE and KLOBUCHAR for their bipartisan, bicameral leadership in this matter.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, this is another example of what bipartisanship can achieve in the House of Representatives, unlike, sadly, the tax bill that was just passed just before us in the House of Representatives here this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further speakers, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I would urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, S. 1532.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

COMBATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN COMMERCIAL VEHICLES ACT

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 1536) to designate a human trafficking prevention coordinator and to expand the scope of activities authorized under the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration’s outreach and education program to include human trafficking prevention activities, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 1536

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act”.

SEC. 2. HUMAN TRAFFICKING PREVENTION COORDINATOR.

The Secretary of Transportation shall designate an official within the Department of Transportation who shall—

(1) coordinate human trafficking prevention efforts across modal administrations in the Department of Transportation and with other departments and agencies of the Federal Government; and

(2) in coordinating such efforts, take into account the unique challenges of combating human trafficking within different transportation modes.

SEC. 3. EXPANSION OF OUTREACH AND EDUCATION PROGRAM.

Section 31110(c)(1) of title 49, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following: “The program authorized under this subsection may support, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, the recognition, prevention, and reporting of human trafficking, while deferring to existing resources, as practicable.”.

SEC. 4. EXPANSION OF COMMERCIAL DRIVER’S LICENSE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

Section 31313(a)(3) of title 49, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (D), by striking “or” at the end;

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (E) as subparagraph (F); and

(3) by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following:

“(E) support, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, the recognition, prevention, and reporting of human trafficking; or”.

SEC. 5. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary shall establish an advisory committee on human trafficking.

(b) MEMBERSHIP.—

(1) COMPOSITION.—The Committee shall be composed of not more than 15 external stakeholder members whose diverse experience and background enable them to provide balanced points of view with regard to carrying out the duties of the Committee.

(2) SELECTION.—The Secretary shall appoint the external stakeholder members to the Committee, including representatives from—

(A) trafficking advocacy organizations;

(B) law enforcement; and

(C) trucking, bus, rail, aviation, maritime, and port sectors, including industry and labor.

(3) PERIODS OF APPOINTMENT.—Members shall be appointed for the life of the Committee.

(4) VACANCIES.—A vacancy in the Committee shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made and shall not affect the powers or duties of the Committee.

(5) COMPENSATION.—Committee members shall serve without compensation.

(c) AUTHORITY.—Not later than 9 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall establish and appoint all members of the Committee.

(d) DUTIES.—

(1) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.—Not later than 18 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Committee shall make recommendations to the Secretary on actions the Department can take to help combat human trafficking, including the development and implementation of—

(A) successful strategies for identifying and reporting instances of human trafficking; and

(B) recommendations for administrative or legislative changes necessary to use programs, properties, or other resources owned, operated, or funded by the Department to combat human trafficking.

(2) BEST PRACTICES AND RECOMMENDATIONS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—The Committee shall develop recommended best practices for States and State and local transportation stakeholders to follow in combating human trafficking.

(B) DEVELOPMENT.—The best practices shall be based on multidisciplinary research and promising, evidence-based models and programs.

(C) CONTENT.—The best practices shall be user-friendly, incorporate the most up-to-date technology, and include the following:

- (i) Sample training materials.
- (ii) Strategies to identify victims.
- (iii) Sample protocols and recommendations, including—
 - (I) strategies to collect, document, and share data across systems and agencies;
 - (II) strategies to help agencies better understand the types of trafficking involved, the scope of the problem, and the degree of victim interaction with multiple systems; and
 - (III) strategies to identify effective pathways for State agencies to utilize their position in educating critical stakeholder groups and assisting victims.

(D) INFORMING STATES OF BEST PRACTICES.—The Secretary shall ensure that State Governors and State departments of transportation are notified of the best practices and recommendations.

(e) REPORTS.—Not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall—

(1) submit a report on the actions of the Committee described in subsection (d) to—

(A) the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate; and

(B) the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure of the House of Representatives; and

(2) make the report under paragraph (1) publicly available both physically and online.

(f) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) COMMITTEE.—The term “Committee” means the Department of Transportation Advisory Committee on Human Trafficking established under subsection (a).

(2) HUMAN TRAFFICKING.—The term “human trafficking” means an act or practice described in paragraph (9) or paragraph (10) of section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

(3) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means the Secretary of Transportation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) and the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and to include extraneous material on S. 1536.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

□ 1500

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, S. 1536 empowers the Department of Transportation to play

an important role in combating human trafficking. Specifically what this bill does is it directs the Secretary of Transportation to designate a human trafficking prevention coordinator from within the Department; it expands the scope of activities authorized under the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration’s outreach and education program and under the Commercial Driver’s License program implementation grants to include human trafficking prevention activities; and it requires the Secretary to establish an advisory committee on human trafficking.

S. 1536 is supported by Members on both sides of the aisle, and it passed the Senate with unanimous consent.

I would like to commend Ms. ESTY for her leadership on the House version of this bill. Because of her work and her partnership on this with Mr. KATKO, the House version passed through committee unanimously.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support S. 1536, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this bill as well. S. 1536 will help ensure that the U.S. Department of Transportation has the necessary tools to reduce the prevalence of human trafficking in commercial vehicles.

In 2016, more than 7,000 cases of human trafficking were reported to the National Human Trafficking Hotline. With this legislation, Congress is stepping in to ensure DOT has additional authority and resources to combat this egregious crime.

This bill provides the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration, FMCSA, more flexibility to combat human trafficking by authorizing funding from two existing grant programs to be used to support the reporting and the prevention of human trafficking. The bill will also help DOT coordinate efforts to fight human trafficking with other Federal agencies, and it establishes an advisory committee on human trafficking.

The advisory committee will convene experts from law enforcement, victim advocacy organizations, and the transportation industry to advise DOT of concrete steps it can take to improve the recognition and the prevention of trafficking.

The advisory committee will also develop and share best practices with State and local stakeholders so that they are better equipped to combat the trafficking in their own communities.

The Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure reported an identical bill, H.R. 3813, authored by the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. ESTY), to the House in November.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this bill, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I don’t have any speakers, and I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. ESTY), the author of the bill.

Ms. ESTY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to strongly support the passage of S. 1536, the Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act. This bipartisan, bicameral bill is an important step in combating the terrible crime of human trafficking.

The Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act will help stem the tide of trafficking by providing training to commercial truck drivers through the Department of Transportation to recognize and report trafficking, further empowering them to prevent this horrendous crime.

Specifically, this bill designates a human trafficking prevention coordinator at the U.S. Department of Transportation and increases outreach, education, and reporting efforts at the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration.

Mr. Speaker, human trafficking is an appalling and inhumane crime, and it is occurring in communities all over my home State of Connecticut and throughout the entire United States. As I learned when a human trafficking ring was broken up in my small hometown, anyone can become a victim of this crime regardless of race, age, gender, or socioeconomic status.

This appalling crime takes many forms, the vast majority of which are sexually exploitative in nature. Shockingly, the average age a teen enters the sex trade in the United States is 12 to 14 years old, and many victims are runaway girls who were sexually abused as children.

Truckers and commercial drivers are often the first line of defense against human trafficking in the United States. Their eyes and ears are on the roads, where victims are being moved across borders and from city to city.

The Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act is supported by Truckers Against Trafficking, the National District Attorneys Association, the Commercial Vehicle Safety Alliance, the Owner Operator Independent Drivers Association, and ECPAT-USA.

I am proud to be the coauthor of the House companion to the No Human Trafficking on Our Roads Act along with my friend, JOHN KATKO of New York.

I am also pleased that we will be voting today on another bill that Congressman KATKO and I coauthored, the No Human Trafficking on Our Roads Act.

Both bills were originally introduced in the Senate by Senators KLOBUCHAR and THUNE and passed unanimously. Both bills were also passed unanimously out of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my friends and colleagues to join me in voting “yes”

on the Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act and the No Human Trafficking on Our Roads Act today so we can send these very important pieces of legislation to the President's desk for his swift signature.

Mr. Speaker, again, I want to thank my Republican and Democratic colleagues both in the House and the Senate for their work on these two important bills.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. LAWRENCE).

Mrs. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague, Ms. NORTON, for having this amazing interest to our country put before us for a vote.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of S. 1532, No Human Trafficking on Our Roads, and S. 1536, the Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act.

As the vice chair of the congressional bipartisan Caucus for Women's Issues and a member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, I am pleased that we are solving these issues of real concern.

Human trafficking is an inexcusable crime. According to the National Human Trafficking Resource Center, about 8 in 10 reported victims are women. It is a crime that exploits women more than anyone else, and especially young girls.

Mr. Speaker, combating human trafficking is a serious concern of mine. Unfortunately, in my district—I represent the Metro Detroit area—a major international transportation and shipping hub in southeast Michigan, we rank number seven in total human trafficking cases reported in our country.

These bills mark progress toward combating human trafficking. We are improving our systems to better recognize and report this crime. We are closing loopholes in our transportation system that traffickers have taken advantage of for far too long.

I am proud to support these bills, and I urge my colleagues to support them as well.

Mr. Speaker, today I needed a vote and a voice for something that is good for this country, and so I stand here in support.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. YODER). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, S. 1536.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the yeas have it.

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

SYSTEMIC RISK DESIGNATION IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 2017

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 667, I call up the bill (H.R. 3312) to amend the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act to specify when bank holding companies may be subject to certain enhanced supervision, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 667, in lieu of the amendment recommended by the Committee on Financial Services printed in the bill, an amendment in the nature of a substitute consisting of the text of Rules Committee Print 115-49, modified by the amendment printed in House Report 115-474, is adopted, and the bill, as amended, is considered read.

The text of the bill, as amended, is as follows:

H.R. 3312

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017".

SEC. 2. REVISIONS TO COUNCIL AUTHORITY.

(a) *PURPOSES AND DUTIES.*—Section 112 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5322) is amended in subsection (a)(2)(I) by inserting before the semicolon “, which have been identified as global systemically important bank holding companies pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”.

(b) *ENHANCED SUPERVISION.*—Section 115 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5325) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1), by striking “large, interconnected bank holding companies” and inserting “bank holding companies which have been identified as global systemically important bank holding companies pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”; and

(2) in subsection (a)(2)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “; or” at the end and inserting a period;

(B) by striking “the Council may” and all that follows through “differentiate” and inserting “the Council may differentiate”; and

(C) by striking subparagraph (B).

(c) *REPORTS.*—Section 116(a) of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5326(a)) is amended by striking “with total consolidated assets of \$50,000,000,000 or greater” and inserting “which has been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”.

(d) *MITIGATION.*—Section 121(a) of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5331) is amended by striking “with total consolidated assets of \$50,000,000,000

or more” and inserting “which has been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”.

(e) *OFFICE OF FINANCIAL RESEARCH.*—Section 155 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5345) is amended in subsection (d) by striking “with total consolidated assets of 50,000,000,000 or greater” and inserting “which have been identified as global systemically important bank holding companies pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”.

SEC. 3. REVISIONS TO BOARD AUTHORITY.

(a) *ACQUISITIONS.*—Section 163 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5363) is amended by striking “with total consolidated assets equal to or greater than \$50,000,000,000” each place such term appears and inserting “which has been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”.

(b) *MANAGEMENT INTERLOCKS.*—Section 164 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5364) is amended by striking “with total consolidated assets equal to or greater than \$50,000,000,000” and inserting “which has been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165”.

(c) *ENHANCED SUPERVISION AND PRUDENTIAL STANDARDS.*—Section 165 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5365) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking “with total consolidated assets equal to or greater than \$50,000,000,000” and inserting “which have been identified as global systemically important bank holding companies pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l)”; and

(2) in subsection (a)(2)—

(A) by striking “(A) IN GENERAL.—”;

(B) in subparagraph (A), by striking “may” and inserting “shall”; and

(C) by striking subparagraph (B);

(3) in subsection (j), by striking “with total consolidated assets equal to or greater than \$50,000,000,000” and inserting “which has been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l)”; and

(d) *ADVANCED TAILORING.*—Section 165 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5365) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(1) *ADDITIONAL BANK HOLDING COMPANIES SUBJECT TO ENHANCED SUPERVISION AND PRUDENTIAL STANDARDS BY TAILORED REGULATION.*—

“(1) *DETERMINATION.*—The Board of Governors may, within the limits of its existing resources—

“(A) determine that a bank holding company that has not been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, shall be subject to certain enhanced supervision or prudential standards under this section, tailored to the risks presented, based on the considerations in paragraph (3), where material financial distress at the bank holding company, or the nature, scope, size, scale, concentration, interconnectedness, or mix of the activities of the individual bank holding company, could pose a threat to the financial stability of the United States; or

“(B) by regulation determine that a category of bank holding companies that have not been identified as global systemically important bank holding companies pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, shall be subject to certain enhanced supervision or prudential standards under this section, tailored to the risk presented by the category of bank holding companies, based on the considerations in paragraph (3), where material financial distress at the category of bank holding companies, or the nature, scope, size, scale, concentration, interconnectedness, or mix of the activities of the category of bank holding companies, could pose a threat to the financial stability of the United States.

“(2) COUNCIL APPROVAL OF REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO CATEGORIES.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1)(B), a regulation issued by the Board of Governors to make a determination under such paragraph (1)(B) shall not take effect unless the Council, by a vote of not fewer than 2/3 of the voting members then serving, including an affirmative vote by the Chairperson, approves the metrics used by the Board of Governors in establishing such regulation.

“(3) CONSIDERATIONS.—In making any determination under paragraph (1), the Board of Governors shall consider the following factors:

“(A) The size of the bank holding company.

“(B) The interconnectedness of the bank holding company.

“(C) The extent of readily available substitutes or financial institution infrastructure for the services of the bank holding company.

“(D) The global cross-jurisdictional activity of the bank holding company.

“(E) The complexity of the bank holding company.

“(4) CONSISTENT APPLICATION OF CONSIDERATIONS.—In making a determination under paragraph (1), the Board of Governors shall ensure that bank holding companies that are similarly situated with respect to the factors described under paragraph (3), are treated similarly for purposes of any enhanced supervision or prudential standards applied under this section.

“(5) USE OF CURRENTLY REPORTED DATA TO AVOID UNNECESSARY BURDEN.—For purposes of making a determination under paragraph (1), the Board of Governors shall make use of data already being reported to the Board of Governors, including from calculating a bank holding company’s systemic indicator score, in order to avoid placing an unnecessary burden on bank holding companies.”.

(e) SYSTEMIC IDENTIFICATION.—Section 165 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5365), as amended by subsection (d), is further amended by adding at the end the following:

“(m) SYSTEMIC IDENTIFICATION.—With respect to the identification of bank holding companies as global systemically important bank holding companies pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l), the Board of Governors shall—

“(1) publish, including on the Board of Governors’s website, a list of all bank holding companies that have been so identified, and keep such list current; and

“(2) solicit feedback from the Council on the identification process and on the application of such process to specific bank holding companies.”.

SEC. 4. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.

Nothing in this Act or the amendments made by this Act shall be construed to prohibit the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System from prescribing enhanced prudential standards for any bank holding company which the Board of Governors determines, based upon the bank holding company’s size, interconnectedness, substitutability, global cross-jurisdictional activity, and complexity, could pose a

safety and soundness risk to the stability of the United States banking or financial system but has not been designated as a global systemically important bank holding company.

SEC. 5. EXISTING ASSESSMENT TERMINATION SCHEDULE.

(a) TEMPORARY EXTENSION OF EXISTING ASSESSMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Each bank holding company that, on the day that is 24 months following the date of the enactment of this Act, has total consolidated assets equal to or greater than \$50,000,000,000, has not been identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, and has not been subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, shall be subject to assessments by the Secretary of the Treasury to the same extent as a bank holding company that has been so identified or subjected.

(2) CONSIDERATIONS.—In making assessments pursuant to paragraph (1), the Secretary of the Treasury shall take into account differences among the bank holding companies subject to such assessment, based on the considerations for establishing the prudential standards under section 115 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act (12 U.S.C. 5325).

(3) LIMITATION ON AMOUNT OF ASSESSMENTS.—The aggregate amount collected pursuant to paragraph (1) from all bank holding companies assessed under such paragraph shall be \$58,000,000.

(4) PAYMENT PERIOD OPTIONS.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall offer the option of payments spread out before the end of the 48-month period following the date of the enactment of this Act, or shorter periods including the option of a one-time payment, at the discretion of each bank holding company paying assessments pursuant to paragraph (1).

(5) ASSESSMENTS TO BE MADE IN ADDITION TO ANY OTHER ASSESSMENTS.—The assessments collected pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be in addition to, and not as a replacement of, any assessments required under any other law.

(b) TREATMENT UPON DETERMINATION.—A bank holding company assessed under this section shall no longer be subject to such assessments in the event it is identified as a global systemically important bank holding company pursuant to section 217.402 of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations, or subjected to a determination under subsection (l) of section 165 of the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. Any prior payments made by such a banking holding company pursuant to an assessment under this section shall be nonrefundable.

SEC. 6. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall take effect after the end of the 18-month period following the date of the enactment of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The bill, as amended, shall be debatable for 1 hour equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on Financial Services.

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and submit extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, today I rise in strong support of H.R. 3312, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017.

This very important piece of legislation was introduced by my friend, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, who serves as chairman of the Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit Subcommittee of the Financial Services Committee, and is co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of Members of the House. In fact, Mr. Speaker, the bill was approved in October by the Financial Services Committee with a very strong bipartisan vote of 47–12, so strong, Mr. Speaker, that even a majority of Democrats on the committee voted to support the bill.

This bill reforms what Republicans and now many Democrats acknowledge is a flawed and arbitrary framework under the Dodd-Frank Act to designate so-called systemically important financial institutions, also known as SIFIs. In fact, one of those Democrats who acknowledges that it is a flawed and arbitrary framework is none other than former chairman of the House Financial Services Committee, Barney Frank, the very Frank of Dodd-Frank, the coauthor of the Dodd-Frank Act. He, himself, has said that this provision in the Dodd-Frank Act that many of us are trying to reform today is “arbitrary” and “a mistake.” Those are his words, Mr. Speaker, not mine.

That arbitrary and mistaken provision is Dodd-Frank’s one-size-fits-all standard that subjects banks with \$50 billion or more in assets to the same costly and cumbersome SIFI regulatory standards as trillion-dollar global systemically important institutions.

We should take note that this flawed standard has now been criticized by Federal Reserve Chair Janet Yellen, former Federal Reserve Board Governor Dan Tarullo, former Comptroller of the Currency Thomas Curry, and many other Obama appointees. In other words, Mr. Speaker, it is that bad.

Mr. LUETKEMEYER’s bipartisan bill—again, very strong bipartisan bill—replaces this inflexible, flawed, \$50 billion threshold that has been criticized by so many with a series of well-established, critical standards that more accurately measure systemic importance.

□ 1515

Specifically, his legislation requires the Federal Reserve to review a financial institution’s size, interconnectedness, global cross-jurisdictional activity, and complexity, before determining whether the institution should be subject to heightened SIFI regulatory standards.

In other words, this bipartisan bill tailors regulations based on a bank’s

actual level of risk, instead of Dodd-Frank's one-size-fits-all system that ensnares smaller regional and midsize banks that, essentially, have simple community bank lending models. These banks are not globally complex Wall Street banks and shouldn't be treated the same.

It simply doesn't make sense to subject small regional and midsize banks with only \$50 billion in assets to the same expensive and cumbersome SIFI regulatory regime as a bank like JPMorgan Chase, which has \$2.5 trillion in assets. Based on size alone, the \$50 billion bank is just 2 percent, 2 percent of JPMorgan Chase's size.

What does make sense, Mr. Speaker, is to base the regulation of these financial institutions on their actual risk profile rather than their asset size alone, which is exactly what Mr. LUETKEMEYER's strongly bipartisan bill will do.

Now, while I personally do not support the SIFI architecture at all and do not believe any financial institution in America should be designated too big to fail, it is important that we always continue to work to find bipartisan reforms where we can find them and improve current law, and the legislation before us today represents a good faith effort to do exactly that.

Let's keep in mind, Mr. Speaker, this is simply not a debate over an arcane definition in law. It is about the real world effect these regulations have on the U.S. economy and the working men and women whom we represent.

Let me share with my colleagues what the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Council has to say about the importance of the bill that we are debating today: "Access to working and growth capital remains a challenge for many entrepreneurs and small businesses. H.R. 3312 would improve the lending environment and unleash capital by alleviating inappropriate requirements imposed on regional and midsize banks under Dodd-Frank. Midsize and regional banks, which many startups and small businesses have counted on for lending, have been negatively affected by this Dodd-Frank arbitrary trigger."

Mr. Speaker, the American people deserve better. They deserve a healthy economy with growing paychecks, better jobs, and a brighter future. It is time to restore economic growth fueled by capital flowing from America's banks to American communities across our Nation.

So I urge my colleagues to correct this widely acknowledged mistake in Dodd-Frank, even acknowledged by former Congressman Barney Frank himself, and put into place real, discernible, critical standards, and help our struggling small businesses on Main Street. Let's pass H.R. 3312.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. DAVID SCOTT).

Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, as the Democratic lead on this bill, it is very important for me to point out that I worked very closely with Chairman Barney Frank and the Obama administration, both of which admitted at the time that it was a mistake, a blunt instrument, to be able to just put an arbitrary figure of \$50 billion and say they are a threat to our financial stability.

No. Our banking system deserves better than that. The American people deserve better than that. It is not the amount of money that you have got in your assets that caused the problem; it was what they were doing that caused the exposure.

So we want to substitute the \$50 billion to make sure that we have a five-point test that the Feds will give that will be able to determine if they are a threat to our security and then tailor a program of advanced supervision that would prevent them from causing us this problem.

It is a great bill. It is time we corrected it, and I ask all of my colleagues, both Democrats and Republicans, to do the right thing for the American people, and let's have a resounding "yes" vote for this SIFI bill.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. LUETKEMEYER), who is the Republican sponsor of the legislation and the chairman of our Financial Services Subcommittee on Financial Institutions and Consumer Credit.

Mr. LUETKEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, I want to start by thanking Chairman HENSARLING for his support of this legislation and his dedication to a more reasonable regulatory regime.

I would also like to thank my good friend, Representative DAVID SCOTT from Georgia, for being a cosponsor on the Democrat side and for all the hard work and support he has given us throughout this labor of love here on trying to get this thing done. He has been a champion for us, and we thank him sincerely.

Today, the House will consider H.R. 3312, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017, a bipartisan piece of legislation to address an inefficient regulatory structure by accounting for actual risk, rather than the size alone in the designation of systemically important financial institutions, or SIFIs.

Under the current regulatory framework for SIFI designations, any bank holding company with more than \$50 billion in assets is subject to enhanced regulatory supervision and special assessments. This approach fails to take into account differences in business models or risks posed to the financial system. It has real world implications, too, stunting economic growth and limiting access to credit.

The risk of a traditional bank is not the same as an internationally active complex firm. In fact, the Fed has produced data showing the risk of every single midsize and regional bank which

pales in comparison to risks posed by many and almost all global systemically important banks.

H.R. 3312 will remove the completely arbitrary approach taken today and replace it with analysis of actual risk posed to the financial system. The bill would require regulators to examine not just size, but also interconnectedness, the extent of readily available substitutes, global cross-jurisdictional activity, and the complexity of each bank holding company.

Today's method isn't a reasonable basis for supervision, a fact that has been recognized by Fed Chair Yellen, Treasury Secretary Mnuchin, and former Treasury Secretary Lew, and many Members of this body. Even Barney Frank, as Chairman HENSARLING just noted, the former Democratic chairman of the Financial Services Committee and author of the Dodd-Frank Act, has said the \$50 billion threshold is completely arbitrary and has had negative implications on our economy.

It is important to note that this bill will not impact the authority of the Federal Reserve to oversee institutions. The focused standards set forth in the bill don't guarantee that any institution will be permanently freed from the rigors that are associated with SIFI designation. If the Fed so feels that a bank needs to have continuous oversight, they will do so.

I want to take a moment to discuss the score issued by the Congressional Budget Office. CBO opined that this bill would result in direct spending. I disagree with the CBO interpretation of what this legislation will do, and I believe that my bill will actually create a safer financial system.

At the same time, it is important to me and my colleagues that the bill comes to the taxpayers at no cost. The offset included in the Rules Committee Print will more than cover any potential hit to the Deposit Insurance Fund and makes this legislation budget-neutral.

The bottom line is this: an inefficient regulatory structure that does not reflect the reality of the U.S. banking system can have real economic consequences. We should no longer let the SIFI process lead to marketplace disruption or penalize companies for size alone.

I have worked on this legislation surrounding the SIFI designation process for the last 4 years, but I have not done it alone. H.R. 3312 was drafted in good faith with—and with considerable input from—many of my friends on the other side of the aisle as well.

Because we worked together, this legislation received broad bipartisan support when it was reported by the Financial Services Committee with a vote of 47–12. That means nearly 80 percent of the committee members voted in favor of this legislation.

I want to thank my colleagues for their help in this effort, namely, Mr. SCOTT, Ms. SINEMA, Mr. HILL, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. STIVERS, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr.

BUDD, Mr. MEEKS, and Mr. GOTTHEIMER. This is an important issue, and I hope our colleagues will join us in supporting this bipartisan, commonsense measure.

Mr. Speaker, at the end of the day, this is a bill about being able to allow these banks that are caught in a “California Hotel” situation here to be able to get out of this with a good analysis of their risk profile, their business model, because, at the end of the day, this is what this is all about. Their business model is not a risk to this country or the economic system that we have. It is not like the international connected banks, and, therefore, they shouldn’t be treated as such.

As a result, this is important for not only the midsize banks, but for the banks below them because the regulators have been also allowing these sorts of requirements and rules to roll downhill on community banks as well. So it is time we put a stop to this.

It is important that we take a pragmatic approach to this designation process, to manage actual risk, and limit the real threats to our financial system.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Missouri (Mrs. WAGNER), the chairwoman of the Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Mrs. WAGNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman HENSARLING for his support and for yielding me this time.

I am proud to rise today in support of my colleague, Chairman BLAINE LUETKEMEYER, and urge immediate passage of his bill, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017.

H.R. 3312 uses a commonsense approach which would allow regulators the opportunity to weigh multiple factors before deeming a financial institution systemically important.

More importantly, the bill would allow the Financial Stability Oversight Council, FSOC, to more precisely identify systemic risk by differentiating between stable activities and those that would truly threaten the financial stability of the United States.

Under the Dodd-Frank Act, the Federal Reserve was given never-before-seen regulatory power to supervise those that were deemed systemically important. Unfortunately, the Fed has chosen to ignore tailoring their regulatory standards and continues to base them on asset size alone.

If an institution, indeed, is a minimal risk, then it is vital to make sure those standards reflect that lower risk.

Finally, it is important to note that an arbitrary threshold does matter to those caught in the SIFI web. These financial institutions often face significant compliance costs under a SIFI designation, redirecting resources that otherwise would provide consumers with affordable financial products.

Chairman LUETKEMEYER’s bill creates a framework that promotes re-

sponsible regulations and enforces market discipline, all while protecting taxpayers from unnecessary bailouts.

Mr. Speaker, again, I want to applaud my friend, the gentleman from Missouri, Chairman LUETKEMEYER, for his leadership on this issue. H.R. 3312 is about smarter regulation. I urge all my colleagues to support Chairman LUETKEMEYER’s bill.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. BARR), the chairman of the Financial Services Subcommittee on Monetary Policy and Trade.

Mr. BARR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of a bipartisan bill, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017, introduced by my good friend and colleague, Congressman BLAINE LUETKEMEYER from Missouri.

I also want to thank Chairman HENSARLING for his leadership and, for my friends on the other side of the aisle, particularly Mr. DAVID SCOTT from Georgia, for his leadership in support of this legislation.

Among the least transparent and most mysterious black holes of the United States Government is the process under the Dodd-Frank financial control law, by which U.S. financial firms are designated too big to fail.

Formally called systemically important financial institutions, or SIFIs, these firms are considered by all-knowing Washington bureaucrats as businesses so critical to the Nation’s economy that they need to be burdened with additional regulations, supervised more strictly to further the cause of bureaucrats, and designated as a SIFI to send a clear signal to investors that it is a firm which is most likely to be bailed out by taxpayers during the next crisis.

For bank SIFIs, there is a one-size-fits-all designation model that says that any bank with more than \$50 billion in assets is automatically a SIFI. Bureaucrats do little to nothing to account for the unique nature of each institution that may indicate it is more risk adverse or better positioned to handle a turbulent economy.

Bank SIFIs suffer from the same plight, in that they are not told by the U.S. Government what they need to do to rid themselves of the shackles of this SIFI designation. Instead, these firms are left in the dark to guess what they can do to de-risk by Federal regulators. And even if firms try to make reforms, they have no idea if the changes they are making will help them shed themselves of this arbitrary designation.

□ 1530

In the end, the entire SIFI process does little to make our economy stronger and more resilient. Instead, designated U.S. firms and their workers are harmed and disadvantaged relative to their international competi-

tion, undermining credit availability, causing weaker jobs and economic growth in America.

For these reasons, I support the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act, which will give much-needed transparency to the SIFI designation process and eliminate the arbitrary automatic SIFI designation of banks with \$50 billion or more in assets.

Under this legislation, banks will be judged by their merits, such as interconnectedness, size, cross-jurisdictional activity, complexity, and substitutability, and the justifications for a designation will be clearly communicated to them. The end result will be greater credit availability for small businesses, more capital formation, more help for consumers, greater consumer choice, greater economic growth, and greater competition.

Mr. Speaker, again, I want to thank Mr. LUETKEMEYER and Mr. HENSARLING for their leadership on this critical issue, and I urge my colleagues to vote for this legislation.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentlemen from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) has 29 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING) has 14½ minutes remaining.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, in order to better balance the time on each side, may I inquire if my colleague anticipates having speakers on the bill.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I do anticipate additional speakers, and I will be making comments myself.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HULTGREN), the vice chairman of the Financial Services Subcommittee on Capital Markets, Securities, and Investments.

Mr. HULTGREN. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Chairman HENSARLING for his continued work on this, and I also want to thank my colleague and friend from Missouri, BLAINE LUETKEMEYER, for his important work on this issue.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a co-sponsor on this legislation because it is an important bill for regional banks in Illinois, but also around the country.

The Financial Services Committee has spent a significant amount of time debating which banks should qualify as so-called community banks and regional banks when determining how to legislate regulatory relief.

I have to agree that, as a bank starts getting larger, it starts looking less and less like a community bank. But both Republicans and Democrats have agreed that asset size should not be the sole characteristic for determining a bank’s riskiness to the financial system.

There are a number of banks that have successfully made use of the traditional community bank business

model of deposit taking and lending that have grown in size. Some have grown substantially, and now they are able to serve more than one community.

Congress should not punish these financial institutions with an asset threshold that even Congressman Barney Frank described as arbitrary. Our policies should encourage low-risk relationship lending so communities can benefit from institutions of different sizes. At a minimum, we should provide the banking regulators some flexibility to determine which institutions with assets over \$50 billion pose higher risk to the financial system.

In addition to the outstanding community banks in my district, my constituents also look to regional banks like BMO and Discover when they are trying to find best rates on mortgages, car loans, credit cards, or their student loans.

Discover Financial Services, which has its headquarters just outside my district in Riverwoods, Illinois, has a simple business model that includes credit cards, student loans, home equity lending, and a number of deposit products that you would expect from a Main Street financial institution. This is the only business Discover is in. Nothing they do is comparable to what you might see in one of the big money center banks.

So why did Congress mandate that this bank be automatically designated as systemically important? The current law is arbitrary and subjects banks to the same standards as trillion-dollar global systemically important institutions.

Automatically designating these institutions as systemically important unnecessarily increases the cost of lending and makes it more difficult for my constituents to achieve their financial goals.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage my colleagues to support the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, because I believe in truth in labeling, truth in titling, truth in the style of legislation, Mr. Speaker, I believe that this bill should be appropriately styled the Big Bank Bonus Bill.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that this bill be styled the Big Bank Bonus Bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot entertain the gentleman's request.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am sorry?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair cannot entertain that request as the majority manager has not yielded for that purpose.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. A UC request.

Mr. Speaker, my friends on the other side have said much about Barney Frank.

Chairman Frank was a dear friend of mine. I knew him well. I still do know him well. Mr. Speaker, Chairman Frank has not endorsed this bill. The language that they have used would lead an unsuspecting person to conclude that Chairman Frank supports this piece of legislation. He does not.

I have in my hand a letter from Chairman Frank. I will read a portion of it. He indicates:

H.R. 3312 significantly increases the need for subjective judgment by the regulators and very much weakens the ability of financial institutions to rely on clear rules to guide their decisionmaking.

Mr. Speaker, without question, Chairman Frank does not support this legislation.

My friends have made much to-do about the term "arbitrary and capricious," a threshold that is arbitrary. What is more arbitrary than reducing the corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 21 percent, which you just did? What is more arbitrary than reducing the individual tax rate from 39.6 percent to 37 percent, which you just did?

You are the masters of arbitrary and capricious numbers. That bill that you just passed is flush with arbitrary and capricious numbers.

Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that they examine their thoughts about arbitrary and capricious before we continue, because I have more to say about arbitrary and capricious numbers.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. SARBANES), my colleague.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleague for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong opposition to H.R. 3312. I appreciate my colleague's redesignation, renaming of the bill. I think it is much more appropriate.

Mr. Speaker, this is a completely unwarranted piece of legislation. If you look at it, it is just another gift to the wealthy and the well connected on Wall Street.

We keep saying that over here because it is true. It is crazy. In 2008, the economy was brought to its knees. Reckless behavior out there by a lot of these huge institutions. The Nation's largest financial institutions crashed the economy. Everybody knows it.

So what did we do? We took steps, smart steps. We put in place the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010. I think most Americans were comforted by that. They felt, okay. There are guardrails in place now so this kind of thing can't happen again.

But the fact of the matter is that, as soon as the ink was dry on that law, lobbyists moved in, the special interests moved in, and they started to unwind the core provisions, and the guardrails are starting to come down.

This is crazy. This is a case of amnesia at best or cynical capitulation to Wall Street at worst.

Proponents of the legislation say this is about helping the mom-and-pop banks on Main Street—Main Street. Were institutions like Countrywide and Washington Mutual and Wachovia and IndyMac—these are the names that haunt a lot of Americans. A lot of American households suffered because of the behavior of those institutions. Were they Main Street banks?

The fact is, under the bill before us, some of the Nation's largest banks whose failure led to the carnage of 2008 would be exempt from heightened oversight. Exactly the kind of institutions that the public wants us to keep an eye on would no longer have that oversight in place. Of those still standing, 30 of the Nation's 38 largest financial institutions would escape sensible oversight imposed by Dodd-Frank.

Even more than that, this legislation is based on the false premise that the reforms of Dodd-Frank were one size fits all. That is the phrase we always hear to justify letting go of the reins: Oh, it is one size fits all. People can't fit into this. We have got to do something.

But, no, the agency was given the maneuvering room, the flexibility, to actually customize things and have been in a position to do that.

There was a premium put on regulatory flexibility, explicitly instructing the Federal Reserve to tailor its prudential regulatory regime based on size and risk profile of financial institutions.

Ironically, the changes to asset thresholds will increase the likelihood of consolidation as large financial institutions and banks can now grow, that is, buy out small players beyond the \$50 billion threshold. The banks are going to start growing bigger again. The financial institutions are going to get heavier again. It makes it easier for them to crash through whatever guardrails we can build.

The public doesn't want this, and that means true community banks very well might be absorbed by super-regional banks, which would decrease consumer credit access and worsen pricing.

Mr. Speaker, Americans are tired of watching this Congress forget the lessons of the 2008 financial crash. They are tired of a Congress that routinely favors Wall Street over the interests of Main Street, and they are tired of the same worn-out talking points that are used to justify deregulation of Wall Street.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to oppose this bill.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. EMMER), a hard-working member of the Financial Services Committee.

Mr. EMMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, some of America's largest financial institutions failed, resulting in near collapse of our entire financial system. The experience destroyed businesses, ruined

lives across the country, and left fear and uncertainty in its wake.

Congress set out to prevent a future crisis by requiring enhanced supervision and regulation of some of the biggest financial institutions in the country by passing the Dodd-Frank Act. In Dodd-Frank, Congress defined the largest financial institutions as “systematically important financial institutions,” more commonly referred to as SIFIs, those with more than \$50 billion in assets.

The goal of preventing our Nation’s largest financial institutions from failing and bringing down our entire financial system is laudable. The problem, however, is Dodd-Frank’s definition of what constitutes a SIFI: the \$50 billion asset threshold. In fact, the creator of the threshold and former chair of the Financial Services Committee, Barney Frank, admits the threshold is arbitrary, and he supports changing the threshold.

H.R. 3312, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act, removes the arbitrary asset threshold and, instead, will classify the largest financial institutions by their activities. Differentiating between stable activities and those that could potentially threaten the financial stability of the United States is a more accurate way to identify and monitor risk.

Mr. Speaker, I ask all my colleagues to support this important and appropriate policy change to ensure the continued stability of our financial system by passing H.R. 3312.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would like to engage my friend from Minnesota, if I may, before he leaves. Would the gentleman please not leave?

Would Mr. HENSARLING ask the gentleman not to leave? I want to engage him.

I would like to engage Mr. EMMER, if he will come back, please. I would like to engage with the gentleman for just a moment if I may.

The gentleman declines.

Is there anyone on the other side that I can talk to?

I ask Mr. HENSARLING, is 39.6 arbitrary, reducing the taxes on individuals from 39.6 to 37? What is 37? Why is it not arbitrary?

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, is the gentleman prepared to yield me time?

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Pardon?

Mr. HENSARLING. Is the gentleman prepared to yield me time?

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. I yield time. Yes, of course.

Mr. HENSARLING. How much time does the gentleman yield me?

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. I yield.

Mr. HENSARLING. I inquire of the gentleman how much time is he yielding? I don’t wish to be cut off.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. I yield you such time as I may deem necessary, if you will take time.

Well, you may use your own time.

Mr. HENSARLING. I am going to respectfully decline the opportunity.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the arbitrary numbers that they have they don’t care to defend.

Let’s talk about the one-size-fits-all accusation, if you will.

Mr. Speaker, I have a source, and it is the Department of the Treasury, which indicates that we have a tiered system, and we actually have five different tiers. These tiers will allow banks to be classified as small, midsize, regional, international active, and G-SIBs.

□ 1545

There is a tiering system, but within the tiering system, we have given the regulators the authority to tailor rules to fit banks within the system.

Mr. Speaker, my colleague mentioned institution failure. I was here. I know what happened in 2008. I understand why we have Dodd-Frank. We don’t have Dodd-Frank because Mr. Dodd and Mr. Frank woke up one morning and decided that they would like to regulate banks to the extent that they were regulated.

We have Dodd-Frank because we had a crisis. We had Dodd-Frank developed because of exotic products, the 327s and the 228s, which had teaser rates that would allow persons to get into loans that had fixed rates for 3 years or 2 years, and then they would have 27 years of variable rates or 28 years of variable rates.

This was the exotic product that a good many people had and could not get out of because, quite frankly, they also had a prepayment penalty that would coincide with these teaser rates.

It was a time of great crisis for banking.

We also had the so-called credit default swaps, which were just another way of laying off bets. Banks found clever ways to lay off their bets that they thought were risky.

We had no-doc loans, negative amortization. You could pay as much as you wanted and would add to the principal what you didn’t pay, which means that you would end up paying a lot more for your loan than you initially started out owing.

We had interest-only loans: just pay the interest, let the loan continue to increase in value.

There was no firewall between commercial banking and investment banking. They finally got Glass-Steagall. Took them decades to do it, but they did.

Then we had the dastardly yield spread premium, which would allow the person who was servicing you, the loan originator, to qualify you for a loan at 5 percent, come out and shake your hand and say: Good news, you now have a loan for 10 percent.

That was all lawful, but Dodd-Frank ended all of this.

We have Dodd-Frank because we had a deregulation era, very much com-

parable to what we are about to go through now. Banks were regulated to the extent that they couldn’t do all of these things, but we deregulated, just as we are about to do it now, and we will get back to the future, where banks will not have the liquidity necessary, where the credit risk that they take will be unreasonable.

This is a bill that belongs on the trash heap of history. I adamantly oppose the bill. I believe that it is time for us to take the stand that the American people want us to take, not the stand that the big banks would have us take.

This is a big bank bonus. The big banks love this bill. Thirty banks are going to be relieved of their obligation to let us know how to put them out of their misery in the event that they are about to bring the banking system down. Thirty banks. These are big banks, \$500 billion max. Big banks.

These banks will continue to give us their stress test so that we can know what their liquidity is and understand their credit worthiness by virtue of the loans that they make.

This bill is what the big banks want, but not the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MAXINE WATERS), the ranking member.

Ms. MAXINE WATERS of California. Mr. Speaker, first I would like to thank Congressman GREEN for his leadership. He is a member of the Financial Services Committee, who is dedicated to the proposition that we can and should work very hard to implement Dodd-Frank.

He has done a wonderful job in representing all of the people of this country when it comes to this issue of whether or not we are going to allow the biggest banks in this country to revert back to the practices that they have been involved in historically, where it caused us to be into a situation that caused the recession in 2008 or whether or not we are going to honor the work of Dodd-Frank and the reforms that were instituted and be about the business of fairness and justice.

I want to thank Mr. GREEN for his work, for his leadership, and for managing this most important legislation today.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to H.R. 3312, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act.

At a time when big banks are doing very well and the industry made record profits—more than \$171 billion last year—and business lending has increased 75 percent since Dodd-Frank was signed into law, now is not the time to eliminate critical safeguards and reduce oversight of many of our largest banks.

H.R. 3312 will roll back the enhanced prudential standards that currently apply to the 30 of the largest banks with more than \$50 billion in assets. These are some of the most important

rules in Dodd-Frank, like enhanced capital and stress testing that are critical to maintaining a safe and sound banking system that supports the broader economy.

Proponents of this bill argue that Dodd-Frank imposed a one-size-fits-all approach to any bank over \$50 billion. But the law makes clear that the Fed should tier and tailor its rules to differentiate between even these large banks “on an individual basis or by category, taking into consideration their capital structure, riskiness, complexity, financial activities (including the financial activities of their subsidiaries), size, and any other risk-related factors that the Board of Governors deems appropriate.”

There is no one-size-fits-all mandate and the Fed has indeed tailored these rules. For example, the prudential rules for a trillion-dollar bank are much tougher compared to those that apply to a \$250 billion bank and considerably more so compared to a \$50 billion bank.

Yet, after 18 months, this bill would exempt 30 of our largest banks from enhanced oversight, and it replaces the \$50 billion threshold with a cumbersome, discretionary process led by the Federal Reserve along with the FSOC. We have a similar process for designating non-bank financial bank companies, like AIG, which have posed a systemic risk. So it is strange that Republicans are now pushing a similar approach after they repeatedly blasted the same FSOC designation process for being arbitrary, opaque, unfair, and unworkable.

Those designations were heavily litigated, if not blocked in court, as these new designations by the Federal Reserve and the FSOC would likely be. Currently, there is only one non-bank designated by the FSOC through this process, so we should expect there would be hardly any designations through H.R. 3312.

Who are these 30 massive banks that stand to benefit?

These banks collectively hold more than \$5 trillion in assets or one-fourth of all banking assets in the United States. Of the 30 banks, 12 of them are foreign banks, including Deutsche Bank, HSBC, Credit Suisse, and UBS. These banks have violated a wide range of U.S. laws, including anti-money laundering and unlawful trading practices, so I have no clue why Congress should even consider doing those banks any favors.

For all the talk about helping out small community banks that serve our customers well in our rural and underserved neighborhoods, there is not a single provision that helps out these thousands of community banks and their customers. While some characterize this bill as helping “medium-sized” banks, the medium-sized bank has only about \$200 million in assets or roughly 250 times less than the massive banks that benefit by this bill.

More troubling, instead of helping community banks, the bill would make

it easier for the largest banks to acquire smaller ones, accelerating a 30-year consolidation trend.

Reasonable people can disagree on how best to dial up or down some of these enhanced standards and tier them more effectively—and I know my colleagues have good intentions—but this proposal goes way, way too far in reversing strong oversight of the Nation’s largest banks. Even a Senate bill that resembles Chairman HENSARLING’s “Wrong Choice Act” is far less aggressive, raising the \$50 billion threshold to \$250 billion, although even that proposal would be damaging.

Let me close by emphasizing that H.R. 3312 represents one of the largest rollbacks of sensible rules for many of our largest banks, including a dozen foreign banks, at a time when the industry is making record profits, and such a bill would hurt and make it harder for community banks to compete.

For these reasons, I strongly urge Members to oppose this bill, H.R. 3312.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, what is the amount of time remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) has 10½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING) has 11 minutes remaining.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I am now pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HILL), a member of the Financial Services Committee and our Republican whip.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for the time.

I rise in strong support of H.R. 3312, a bipartisan bill. A majority of the majority party and a majority of the minority party on our committee reported this bill to the House floor. It is sponsored by my friend, Chairman BLAINE LUETKEMEYER, who has spent years studying Dodd-Frank, seven long years of studying the impact of Dodd-Frank, and how to improve it.

This bill removes a requirement that uses \$50 billion as an asset test to designate whether a banking company in this country is systemically important and, if they are, subject them to higher regulatory standards.

But instead of ending too-big-to-fail, Dodd-Frank’s misguided designation regime just entrenches it, Mr. Speaker.

Authorizing the government to designate large financial institutions as systemically important creates a new class of firms that markets will interpret and assume are too big to fail.

The SIFI designation, as noted by many Members on this side of the aisle, is, in fact, arbitrary, and I respect my friend that other numbers in statute may be arbitrary as well. But this one doesn’t have any economic basis on why the participants in designing Dodd-Frank picked \$50 billion.

But over the past 7 years, we have had witness after witness tell us that we should look a different direction

and not have an arbitrary number of \$50 billion.

Several Federal Reserve officials have expressed that similar view. Mr. Frank, as noted, has expressed that view. So here comes Mr. LUETKEMEYER with an excellent idea, an idea of an activities-based designation that the Fed has designed itself, Mr. Speaker.

The Federal Reserve has designed the metric we are using to say that an institution is systemically important. It is activities-based so that we can distinguish between levels of risk that might be systemically important to our country.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 30 seconds to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for the time.

So activity-based standards have already been found effective by the Federal Reserve. They work and they were used in evaluating acquisitions on regional banking companies. So Mr. LUETKEMEYER is on to a good idea. Mr. Speaker, instead of using \$50 billion that was plucked out of thin air in the dead of night in the conference committee in 2010, let’s reflect on 7 years and operate in a better way.

So I urge support of this bill, Mr. Speaker. I thank Mr. LUETKEMEYER for bringing it. I urge our Senators on the other end of this building to look at this as a model for how we should reform Dodd-Frank in their own bill.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, this bill does not impact 99 percent, approximately, of the banks. Most banks in this country have assets—about 89 to 90 percent of them—of \$1 billion or under.

□ 1600

This bill is for the big banks. The big banks are doing quite well. Last year, the banks made record profits of \$171 billion. Community banks grew at 8.3 percent, and big banks grew at a 4.8 percent rate. They are lending to businesses at a record level.

So the contention cannot be that they are doing this because banks are losing money. It has very little to do with how much money they are losing. It has a lot to do with the fact that big banks would like to be deregulated so that they can get back to the business as usual that caused the crisis of 2008.

Mr. Speaker, there are 30 big banks this bill will impact worth more than \$5 trillion in assets. This bill is not needed because, if this bill is implemented, it will cause the banks to no longer be placed under the \$50 billion threshold, except by way of regulation from the prudential regulator, which won’t happen easily.

MetLife is a pretty good example of what can happen. Currently, MetLife is in court. They are tied up in court, probably indefinitely, because the big banks have big bucks, and they are

going to fight being designated as SIFIs.

MetLife is fighting it. It is an insurance company, of course, but it is fighting it. If they are going to fight the designation, you have to have some way to put them under the stress test, under the living wills test. This has to be done.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. POE of Texas). The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself an additional 30 seconds.

If you don't have a trigger, it is not likely to be done, because the banks are going to fight you all the way through the courts and tie you up for years.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Maine (Mr. POLIQUIN), a very hardworking member of our committee.

Mr. POLIQUIN. Mr. Speaker, all businesses in America, large and small, should be fairly and predictably regulated, including those companies in the financial services industry.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when the real estate market collapsed in 2008, Washington did what it does often. It overreacted by imposing smothering layers of new regulations on small community banks, credit unions, and retirement advisers, when it should, Mr. Speaker, have focused its attention on eight or nine large, major money center banks that have tentacles that run throughout our economy.

Mr. Speaker, the goal of Dodd-Frank was to increase regulations on financial institutions that could bring down the economy if they got in trouble.

Now, the problem, Mr. Speaker, is that this regulatory net was cast so wide, it caught our small community banks and credit unions in having to deal with costly, unnecessary, and redundant regulations.

I travel the State of Maine, Mr. Speaker, and meet with our small financial institutions. They tell me: BRUCE, we are spending so much time and money hiring compliance officers to deal with these regulations instead of loan officers to make sure we get money out to our families and our small businesses can borrow and grow.

God forbid, Mr. Speaker, that the Bangor Savings Bank or the Maine Family Federal Credit Union in Lewiston gets into trouble. If they do, they will not bring down this economy.

Why in the world should they be imposing or have to deal with this additional layer of regulations as they are designated as a SIFI?

Mr. LUETKEMEYER's bill is a terrific bill. It is common sense. It is bipartisan. It will require the Federal Reserve to finally factor in the role and the function of these financial institutions in the economy, instead of arbitrarily based on assets.

This means, Mr. Speaker, that our community banks and our pension ad-

visers, our retirement advisers and credit unions will be able to focus on growing the economy and extending credit so our families can get a home mortgage, maybe buy another automobile, or maybe one of the lobstermen can get a new diesel put in their boat for the season.

The is a good bill, Mr. Speaker. I am grateful that Mr. LUETKEMEYER introduced H.R. 3312. I encourage everybody on both sides of the aisle to help American businesses and families by supporting this bill.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, may I inquire as to the amount of time I have remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from California (Ms. MAXINE WATERS).

Ms. MAXINE WATERS of California. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to talk about what is happening in this country with this administration at this time. It is so related to what we are trying to explain about what this bill attempts to do.

First of all, let me just share with you that committee Democrats have made repeated attempts to follow the Trump money trail and investigate the suspicious financial dealings of the President, his immediate family and his associates, including their possible involvement in illicit Russian financial schemes.

Since March, Democrats have written six letters—two to committee Chairman HENSARLING, one to Deutsche Bank, one to Deutsche Bank CEO John Cryan, two to Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin, and another to Deutsche Bank's external counsel, requesting their cooperation in exposing the scope of Russian influence on the Trump administration.

I have also written two letters on my own—one to Attorney General Jeff Sessions, another to Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, regarding the Department of Justice's investigation into Deutsche Bank's Russian mirror trading scheme.

On March 10, 2017, committee Democrats called on Chairman HENSARLING to use the full range of the committee's investigative powers to examine Deutsche Bank's Russian money laundering operation and assess the integrity of the U.S. Department of Justice's ongoing investigation into the scheme, given the Trump administration's conflicts of interest in the matter and the revelations of Attorney General Sessions' communications with the Russian Ambassador. Chairman HENSARLING failed to respond. We have heard nothing from our chairman.

On May 23, 2017, committee Democrats sent a letter to Deutsche Bank's chief executive officer, John Cryan, requesting information on two internal reviews the bank reportedly conducted, the first on its mirror trading scandal

and the second on whether the accounts of President Donald Trump and his family members held at the bank had any ties to Russia.

Deutsche Bank's external counsel responded, stating that Deutsche Bank was unable to cooperate with the request, citing privacy concerns.

On May 23, 2017, committee Democrats all sent a letter to Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin requesting that FinCEN provide any records to the committee that detail President Trump's financial ties to Russia as well as those of his family, his family members, and associates. Secretary Mnuchin failed to respond.

It goes on and on and on. Letters were sent on June 21. We sent a follow-up letter to Deutsche Bank. On and on and on.

What is important about all of this is Deutsche Bank is known and has been fined for many things, including money laundering. So, knowing that, what we are doing here is lifting oversight on Deutsche Bank, one of the fallen banks that would be covered by this bill.

I think this is outrageous. I think people should know what this bill is all about and how it is going to put us at greater risk. We are dealing with limiting the oversight of banks like Deutsche Bank.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, how much time does the other gentleman from Texas have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) has 4½ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. HENSARLING) has 6 minutes remaining.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I might point out to the ranking member that she should read her mail, since I responded to her letter.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DAVIDSON), a hardworking member of the Financial Services Committee.

Mr. DAVIDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am so pleased to join Mr. LUETKEMEYER in supporting his bill. I am so encouraged that this is a bipartisan bill.

Listening to the Members opposed, I am concerned that the bill is being highly mischaracterized. It occurred to me that when the Member opposed mentioned that 97 percent of banks would not be affected by this, that it automatically excludes 97 percent of banks from being affected by this.

Mr. LUETKEMEYER doesn't pick a number and say big is bad. He says: Let's judge the bank by its behavior, not by the size of its balance sheet.

This is a rational, measured approach, and that is why it has drawn bipartisan support. It is focused on solving the problem, not driving regulatory burdens.

Let me explain that the SIFI designation is an arbitrary number, and it subjects banks with \$50 billion or more in assets to the same standards as trillion-dollar globally important financial banks.

So a bank with \$51 billion would be regulated the same way as JPMorgan Chase, for example.

Even former Chair Barney Frank, as has been mentioned, seized the problem. Janet Yellen seized the problem.

People look at it and say: What can be a solution?

The Federal Reserve has seen a possible solution as judging the character of the business activity. Mr. LUETKEMEYER's bill firmly addresses that.

A simple asset threshold captures numerous banks that are widely perceived to be no threat to financial stability. It also distorts growth decisions.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Wisconsin (Ms. MOORE).

Ms. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. LUETKEMEYER might have had a good idea, but what we have really seen is an arbitrary FSOC and a Republican-controlled Federal Reserve Board that operates without quorums. This may be a good idea, but until we have a financial regulatory framework where we can trust the people in charge, I think that we should not support this bill.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH), a member of the Financial Services Committee.

Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 3312.

This bill is really important to Hoosiers back home. Hoosiers back home aren't checking the financial statements of banks around the country. What they are checking are their own financial statements.

According to the FDIC, the total balance of commercial and industrial loans smaller than \$1 million has increased by only 0.18 percent since 2018, when the U.S. GDP has grown by 26 percent.

The total balance of nonfarm residential loans has declined by almost 25 percent during the same time period. This is adversely impacting Hoosiers back home and their ability to get capital and loans to be able to start businesses.

Frequently, I get the opportunity to stand up here and talk about one-size-fits-all regulation. But in this particular instance, we are truly talking about one-size-restricting-all regulation.

Chairman LUETKEMEYER uses a very strong approach. Instead of, as the architects of section 165 in Dodd-Frank, using size as a proxy for risk, he simply said: Let's use their underlying risk as an indicator of their actual risk. He does this by using a system already put in place by the Federal Reserve in actually tracking the variables that indicate risk of an institution.

I strongly support the measure. I continue to strongly support the removal of arbitrary lines in regulation.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. MAXINE WATERS).

Ms. MAXINE WATERS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to correct my chairman—I do not like to do this—however, I did check my mail, and I have discovered that when he responded to the August 11 letter, he let me know that he would not use his subpoena power to help us out. He did not respond at all to the March 10 letter.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I happen to have the letter in my hand. I would be happy to share it with the ranking member if she has misfiled it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. GOTTHEIMER), a Democratic colleague.

□ 1615

Mr. GOTTHEIMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support this bipartisan legislation and to thank my friend, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, for working across the aisle with me on this commonsense measure.

This bill is a smart, thoughtful effort to perfect and improve our financial safeguards, cut burdensome regulation, and spur economic growth. Developed with Democrats and Republicans on the committee, it addresses our systematic risk in the financial sector.

With these changes, we can free up resources at smaller banks to get loans into the hands of New Jersey small businesses, families, and consumers, ultimately growing our American economy. It does so by making practical changes to protect New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, I urge support for this bipartisan legislation to help constituents in New Jersey's Fifth District.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I think that we have to reemphasize that Chairman Frank is not supporting this bill. I thought that the initial comment would be sufficient, but, again, I will read what Chairman Frank has delivered to us. He indicates that H.R. 3312 significantly increases the need for subjective judgments by the regulators and very much weakens the ability of financial institutions to rely on clear rules to guide their decisionmaking. Chairman Frank does not support this bill.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is not before the House because banks are losing money. Banks are making record profits: \$171 billion last year. The big banks, a 4.8 percent growth rate; and community banks, an 8.3 percent growth rate.

This bill is before the House because the big banks want to again get back to business as usual, which will allow them to do many of the things that brought this economy to its knees.

Mr. Speaker, how much time do I have remaining?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) has 1½ minutes remaining.

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we have 30 banks with assets in excess of \$5 trillion. These banks have

been designated as SIFIs for a reason. They ought to have to let the regulators know how they can be wound down in the event there is a crisis in the economy. They ought to undergo stress tests.

If a consumer wants a loan, the consumer has to demonstrate creditworthiness. If banks of this size are going to remain in business, they ought to let us know what their liquidity is and be required to have a certain amount of liquidity that will cause them to stay in business, even when we are faced with a crisis. They ought to be tested for their creditworthiness. That is what we currently have.

If the \$50 billion threshold is released, then they will be placed under the designation of SIFI only by regulators; and MetLife is proof positive that it is difficult, if not impossible, to do.

AIG went under simply because it was already known to be a systematically important institution.

Mr. Speaker, we must defeat this bill. I call on my colleagues to vote against it. It is a big-bank-bonus bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

First, I want to thank my colleague, the gentleman from Texas, for coming to the floor. I know how busy he is with his impeachment activities, so we are glad he has had an opportunity to come and share his views on this particular bill.

He spent a lot of time telling us who wasn't for the bill, but he didn't tell us who was for it. And I would, once again, inform my friend, my colleague from Texas, that not only is every single Republican member of the House Financial Services Committee for this bill, but a majority of the Democrats on the committee are for this bill. Perhaps that is why he could find so few Democrats to speak out against it.

So what we have heard, Mr. Speaker, is my colleague and the ranking member vociferously defend the whole idea that there should be institutions that are too big to fail. As they defend the Dodd-Frank Act, Mr. Speaker, I would like to point out that, yet again, the big banks have gotten bigger. Under their regulatory scheme, the big banks have gotten bigger and the communities banks have become fewer.

And now what they are telling us is: Oh, no, we have got to protect this regime.

Well, I don't believe in it. But what I do believe in, Mr. Speaker, and what Mr. LUETKEMEYER believes in, is that we need to try to find some bipartisan solutions, some common ground, to try to make some common sense out of some of these regulations.

What is fascinating to me is so many of the Obama-era regulators have said this \$50 billion threshold makes no sense. Usually, my Democratic colleagues will quote Mr. Tarullo, they

will quote Janet Yellen, or they will quote Mr. Curry. Well, all of them have said that the \$50 billion threshold is essentially arbitrary and does not work.

So, at the end of the day, what it is doing, Mr. Speaker, is putting in an additional regulatory burden on banks that pose no systemic risk to our economy, making it more difficult to extend credit to hardworking Americans who need it. But for people who just voted against tax relief for hardworking Americans, I guess that is what I would expect.

Now they want to make sure that they don't have tax relief, they don't have mortgages, and they don't have credit cards. That is what they are defending, Mr. Speaker, and it is wrong.

On a bipartisan basis, today, I believe we are going to vote for H.R. 3312 and make some sense out of this SIFI rule, and we will have a better America tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 667, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. For what purpose does the gentleman from Texas (Mr. AL GREEN) seek recognition?

Mr. AL GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise to remind my colleague that he will have another chance to vote on impeachment and to ask for a recorded vote.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman is not recognized for debate.

The question now is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. HENSARLING. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on passage of H.R. 3312 will be followed by 5-minute votes on:

The motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill, S. 1536, by the yeas and nays; and

Agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal, if ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 288, nays 130, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 694]

YEAS—288

Abraham	Barr	Bishop (UT)
Aderholt	Barton	Black
Allen	Beatty	Blackburn
Amash	Bera	Blum
Amodel	Bergman	Blunt Rochester
Arrington	Beyer	Bost
Babin	Biggs	Brady (TX)
Bacon	Bilirakis	Brat
Banks (IN)	Bishop (GA)	Brooks (IN)
Barletta	Bishop (MI)	Brown (MD)

Brownley (CA)	Hice, Jody B.	Pittenger
Buchanan	Higgins (LA)	Poe (TX)
Buck	Higgins (NY)	Poliquin
Bucshon	Hill	Posey
Budd	Himes	Rahall
Burgess	Holding	Reed
Byrne	Hollingsworth	Reichert
Calvert	Hudson	Rice (NY)
Cárdenas	Huizenga	Rice (SC)
Carter (GA)	Hultgren	Richmond
Carter (TX)	Hunter	Roby
Chabot	Hurd	Roe (TN)
Cheney	Issa	Rogers (AL)
Clay	Jenkins (KS)	Rogers (KY)
Coffman	Jenkins (WV)	Rohrabacher
Cole	Johnson (LA)	Rokita
Collins (GA)	Johnson (OH)	Rooney, Francis
Collins (NY)	Johnson, E. B.	Rooney, Thomas J.
Comer	Johnson, Sam	Ros-Lehtinen
Comstock	Jordan	Rosen
Conaway	Joyce (OH)	Rosen
Conolly	Katko	Roskam
Cook	Kelly (IL)	Ross
Cooper	Kelly (MS)	Rothfus
Correa	Kelly (PA)	Rouzer
Costa	Kihuen	Royce (CA)
Costello (PA)	Kilmer	Ruiz
Courtney	Kind	Russell
Cramer	King (IA)	Rutherford
Crawford	King (NY)	Sanford
Crist	Kinzinger	Schneider
Cuellar	Knight	Schrader
Culberson	Krishnamoorthi	Schweikert
Curbelo (FL)	Kustoff (TN)	Scott, Austin
Curtis	Labrador	Scott, David
Davidson	LaHood	Sensenbrenner
Davis, Rodney	LaMalfa	Sessions
Delaney	Lamborn	Sewell (AL)
Demings	Lance	Sherman
Denham	Larsen (WA)	Shimkus
Dent	Latta	Shuster
DeSantis	Lawson (FL)	Simpson
DesJarlais	Lewis (MN)	Sinema
Diaz-Balart	Lipinski	Smith (MO)
Donovan	LoBiondo	Smith (NE)
Duffy	Loeb	Smith (NJ)
Duncan (SC)	Long	Smucker
Dunn	Love	Soto
Emmer	Lucas	Stefanik
Estes (KS)	Luetkemeyer	Stewart
Esty (CT)	MacArthur	Stivers
Farenthold	Maloney, Sean	Suozi
Faso	Marchant	Taylor
Ferguson	Marino	Tenney
Fitzpatrick	Marshall	Thompson (PA)
Fleischmann	Massie	Thornberry
Flores	Mast	Tiberi
Fortenberry	McCarthy	Tipton
Foster	McCaul	Torres
Fox	McClintock	Trott
Frelinghuysen	McEachin	Turner
Gaetz	McHenry	Upton
Gallagher	McKinley	Valadao
Garrett	McKinley	Veasey
Gianforte	McMorris	Vela
Gibbs	Rodgers	Wagner
Gohmert	McSally	Walberg
Gonzalez (TX)	Meadows	Walden
Goodlatte	Meehan	Walker
Gosar	Meeke	Walorski
Gottheimer	Mitchell	Walters, Mimi
Gowdy	Moolenaar	Weber (TX)
Granger	Mooney (WV)	Webster (FL)
Graves (GA)	Mullin	Wenstrup
Graves (LA)	Murphy (FL)	Westerman
Graves (MO)	Newhouse	Williams
Green, Gene	Noem	Wilson (FL)
Griffith	Norman	Wilson (SC)
Grothman	Nunes	Wittman
Guthrie	O'Halleran	Womack
Handel	Olson	Woodall
Harper	Palazzo	Yoder
Harris	Palmer	Yoho
Harris	Paulsen	Young (AK)
Hartzler	Pearce	Young (IA)
Heck	Perry	Zeldin
Hensarling	Peters	
Herrera Beutler	Peterson	

NAYS—130

Adams	Butterfield	Clarke (NY)
Aguiar	Capuano	Cleaver
Barragán	Carbajal	Clyburn
Bass	Carson (IN)	Cohen
Blumenauer	Cartwright	Crowley
Bonamici	Castor (FL)	Castro (FL)
Boyle, Brendan	Castro (TX)	Davis, Danny
F.	Chu, Judy	DeFazio
Brady (PA)	Cicilline	DeGette
Bustos	Clark (MA)	DeLauro

DelBene	Langevin	Price (NC)
DeSaulnier	Larson (CT)	Quigley
Deutch	Lawrence	Raskin
Dingell	Lee	Royal-Allard
Doggett	Levin	Ruppersberger
Doyle, Michael	Lewis (GA)	Rush
F.	Lieu, Ted	Ryan (OH)
Duncan (TN)	Lofgren	Sánchez
Ellison	Lowenthal	Sarbanes
Engel	Lowe	Schakowsky
Eshoo	Lujan Grisham,	Schiff
Espallat	M.	Scott (VA)
Evans	Luján, Ben Ray	Serrano
Frankel (FL)	Maloney,	Shea-Porter
Fudge	Carolyn B.	Sires
Gabbard	Matsui	Slaughter
Gallego	McCollum	Smith (WA)
Garamendi	McGovern	Speier
Gomez	McNerney	Swalwell (CA)
Green, Al	Meng	Takano
Grijalva	Moore	Thompson (CA)
Gutiérrez	Moulton	Thompson (MS)
Hanabusa	Nadler	Titus
Hastings	Neal	Tonko
Hoyer	Nolan	Tsongas
Huffman	Norcross	Vargas
Jackson Lee	O'Rourke	Velázquez
Jayaal	Pallone	Visclosky
Johnson (GA)	Panetta	Walz
Jones	Pascrell	Wasserman
Kaptur	Payne	Schultz
Keating	Pelosi	Waters, Maxine
Khanna	Perlmutter	Watson Coleman
Kildee	Pingree	Welch
Kuster (NH)	Polis	Yarmuth

NOT VOTING—13

Bridenstine	Loudermilk	Renacci
Brooks (AL)	Lynch	Scalise
Cummings	Messer	Smith (TX)
Jeffries	Napolitano	
Kennedy	Pocan	

□ 1649

Ms. JACKSON LEE changed her vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. CÁRDENAS, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, and Mr. RICHMOND changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated against:

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Speaker, I inadvertently missed the vote for final passage of H.R. 3312, the Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017. Had I been present, I would have voted "Nay" on rollcall 694.

COMBATING HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN COMMERCIAL VEHICLES ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 1536) to designate a human trafficking prevention coordinator and to expand the scope of activities authorized under the Federal Motor Carrier Safety Administration's outreach and education program to include human trafficking prevention activities, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GRAVES) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 418, nays 1, not voting 12, as follows:

[Roll No. 695]

YEAS—418

Abraham
Adams
Aderholt
Aguilar
Allen
Amash
Amodei
Arrington
Babin
Bacon
Banks (IN)
Barletta
Barr
Barragán
Barton
Bass
Beatty
Bera
Bergman
Beyer
Biggs
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (MI)
Bishop (UT)
Black
Blackburn
Blum
Blumenauer
Blunt Rochester
Bonamici
Bost
Boyle, Brendan
F.
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Brat
Brooks (IN)
Brown (MD)
Brownley (CA)
Buchanan
Buck
Bucshon
Budd
Burgess
Bustos
Butterfield
Byrne
Calvert
Capuano
Carbajal
Cárdenas
Carson (IN)
Carter (GA)
Carter (TX)
Cartwright
Castor (FL)
Castro (TX)
Chabot
Cheney
Chu, Judy
Cicilline
Clark (MA)
Clarke (NY)
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coffman
Cohen
Cole
Collins (GA)
Collins (NY)
Comer
Comstock
Conaway
Connolly
Cook
Cooper
Correa
Costa
Costello (PA)
Courtney
Cramer
Crawford
Crist
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Curbelo (FL)
Curtis
Davidson
Davis (CA)
Davis, Danny
Davis, Rodney
DeFazio
DeGette

Delaney
DeLauro
DeBene
Demings
Denham
Dent
DeSantis
DeSaulnier
DesJarlais
Deutch
Diaz-Balart
Dingell
Doggett
Donovan
Doyle, Michael
F.
Duffy
Duncan (SC)
Duncan (TN)
Dunn
Ellison
Emmer
Engel
Eshoo
Español
Estes (KS)
Esty (CT)
Evans
Farenthold
Faso
Ferguson
Fitzpatrick
Fleischmann
Flores
Fortenberry
Foster
Fox
Frankel (FL)
Frelinghuysen
Fudge
Gabbard
Gallagher
Gallego
Garamendi
Garrett
Gianforte
Gibbs
Gohmert
Gomez
Gonzalez (TX)
Goodlatte
Gosar
Gottheimer
Gowdy
Granger
Graves (GA)
Graves (LA)
Graves (MO)
Green, Al
Green, Gene
Griffith
Grijalva
Grothman
Guthrie
Gutiérrez
Hanabusa
Handel
Harper
Harris
Hartzler
Hastings
Heck
Hensarling
Herrera Beutler
Hice, Jody B.
Higgins (LA)
Higgins (NY)
Hill
Correa
Himes
Holding
Hollingsworth
Hudson
Huffman
Huizenga
Hultgren
Hunter
Hurd
Issa
Jackson Lee
Jayapal
Jeffries
Jenkins (KS)
Jenkins (WV)
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (LA)

Johnson (OH)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Jones
Jordan
Joyce (OH)
Kaptur
Khanna
Kilhue
Kildee
Kilmer
Kind
King (IA)
King (NY)
Kinzinger
Knight
Krishnamoorthi
Kuster (NH)
Kustoff (TN)
Labrador
LaHood
LaMalfa
Lamborn
Lance
Langevin
Larsen (WA)
Larsen (CT)
Latta
Lawrence
Lawson (FL)
Lee
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lewis (MN)
Lieu, Ted
Lipinski
LoBiondo
Loeb
Lofgren
Long
Love
Lowenthal
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lujan Grisham,
M.
Lujan, Ben Ray
Lynch
MacArthur
Maloney,
Carolyn B.
Maloney, Sean
Marchant
Marino
Marshall
Massie
Matsui
McCarthy
McCaul
McClintock
McCollum
McEachin
McGovern
McHenry
McKinley
McMorris
Rodgers
McNerney
McSally
Meadows
Meehan
Meeks
Meng
Mitchell
Moolenaar
Mooney (WV)
Moore
Moulton
Mullin
Murphy (FL)
Nadler
Neal
Newhouse
Noem
Nolan
Norcross
Norman
Nunes
O'Halleran

O'Rourke
Olson
Palazzo
Pallone
Palmer
Panetta
Pascarella
Paulsen
Payne
Pearce
Pelosi
Perlmutter
Perry
Peterson
Pingree
Pittenger
Poe (TX)
Poliquin
Polis
Posey
Price (NC)
Quigley
Raskin
Ratcliffe
Reed
Reichert
Rice (NY)
Rice (SC)
Richardson
Rohby
Roe (TN)
Rogers (AL)
Rogers (KY)
Rohrabacher
Rokita
Rooney, Francis
Rooney, Thomas
J.
Ros-Lehtinen
Rosen
Roskam
Ross
Rothfus
Rouzer
Roybal-Allard

Royce (CA)
Ruiz
Ruppersberger
Rush
Russell
Rutherford
Ryan (OH)
Sanchez
Sanford
Sarbanes
Schakowsky
Schiff
Schneider
Schradler
Schweikert
Scott (VA)
Scott, Austin
Scott, David
Sensenbrenner
Serrano
Sessions
Sewell (AL)
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuster
Simpson
Sinema
Sires
Slaughter
Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (WA)
Smucker
Soto
Speier
Stefank
Stewart
Stivers
Suzuki
Swalwell (CA)
Takano
Taylor
Tenney
Thompson (CA)

NAYS—1

NOT VOTING—12

Bridenstine
Brooks (AL)
Cummings
Kennedy

Loudermilk
Messer
Napolitano
Pocan

Renacci
Scalise
Smith (TX)
Thompson (MS)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE
The SPEAKER pro tempore. There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1656

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, I was absent during rollcall votes No. 694 through 695 due to a death in my family. Had I been present, I would have voted "Nay" on H.R. 3312, Systemic Risk Designation Improvement Act of 2017, and "Yea" on S. 1536, Combating Human Trafficking in Commercial Vehicles Act.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the question on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal, which the Chair will put de novo.

The question is on the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. FASO. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 227, nays 180, answered "present" 1, not voting 23, as follows:

[Roll No. 696]

YEAS—227

Abraham
Aderholt
Allen
Amodei
Arrington
Babin
Bacon
Banks (IN)
Barletta
Barr
Barragán
Barton
Bass
Beatty
Bera
Bergman
Beyer
Biggs
Bilirakis
Bishop (GA)
Bishop (MI)
Bishop (UT)
Black
Blackburn
Blum
Blumenauer
Blunt Rochester
Bonamici
Bost
Boyle, Brendan
F.
Brady (PA)
Brady (TX)
Brat
Brooks (IN)
Brown (MD)
Brownley (CA)
Buchanan
Buck
Bucshon
Budd
Burgess
Bustos
Butterfield
Byrne
Calvert
Capuano
Carbajal
Cárdenas
Carson (IN)
Carter (GA)
Carter (TX)
Cartwright
Castor (FL)
Castro (TX)
Chabot
Cheney
Chu, Judy
Cicilline
Clark (MA)
Clarke (NY)
Clay
Cleaver
Clyburn
Coffman
Cohen
Cole
Collins (GA)
Collins (NY)
Comer
Comstock
Conaway
Connolly
Cook
Cooper
Correa
Costa
Costello (PA)
Courtney
Cramer
Crawford
Crist
Crowley
Cuellar
Culberson
Curbelo (FL)
Curtis
Davidson
Davis (CA)
Davis, Danny
Davis, Rodney
DeFazio
DeGette

Gallego
Gianforte
Gibbs
Goodlatte
Gosar
Gowdy
Granger
Green, Al
Griffith
Grothman
Guthrie
Hanabusa
Handel
Harper
Harris
Hartzler
Heck
Hensarling
Higgins (LA)
Higgins (NY)
Himes
Hollingsworth
Huffman
Huizenga
Hultgren
Hunter
Hurd
Issa
Jeffries
Johnson (GA)
Johnson (LA)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnson, Sam
Kaptur
Kelly (IL)
Kelly (MS)
Kelly (PA)
Kildee
King (IA)
Krishnamoorthi
Kuster (NH)
Kustoff (TN)
Labrador
LaMalfa
Lamborn
Larsen (WA)
Latta
Lawrence
Lewis (MN)
Lipinski
Long
Love
Lowey
Lucas
Luetkemeyer
Lujan Grisham,
M.
Marchant
Marino
Marshall
Massie
Matsui
McCarthy
McClintock
McCollum
McEachin
McHenry
McMorris
Rodgers
McNerney
Meadows
Meeks
Meng
Mitchell
Moolenaar
Mooney (WV)
Moulton

Mullin
Murphy (FL)
Nadler
Newhouse
Noem
Norman
Nunes
O'Rourke
Olson
Pascarella
Pelosi
Perlmutter
Pingree
Polis
Posey
Quigley
Rice (SC)
Roby
Roe (TN)
Rogers (KY)
Rooney, Francis
Rooney, Thomas
J.
Ross
Rothfus
Roybal-Allard
Royce (CA)
Ruppersberger
Russell
Rutherford
Sanford
Schneider
Schweikert
Scott (VA)
Scott, David
Sessions
Shea-Porter
Sherman
Shimkus
Shuster
Simpson
Sinema
Sires
Slaughter
Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)
Smith (WA)
Smucker
Soto
Speier
Stefank
Stewart
Stivers
Suzuki
Swalwell (CA)
Takano
Taylor
Tenney
Thompson (CA)

NAYS—180

Adams
Aguilar
Amash
Barragán
Barton

Bass
Bera
Biggs
Bishop (GA)
Blackburn

Bonamici
Bost
Boyle, Brendan
F.
Brady (PA)

Brownley (CA)	Hice, Jody B.	Pearce
Buck	Hill	Perry
Bucshon	Holding	Peters
Burgess	Hoyer	Peterson
Byrne	Hudson	Pittenger
Capuano	Jackson Lee	Poe (TX)
Carbajal	Jayapal	Poliquin
Cárdenas	Jenkins (KS)	Price (NC)
Carson (IN)	Jenkins (WV)	Raskin
Carter (GA)	Johnson (OH)	Ratcliffe
Castor (FL)	Jones	Reed
Cheney	Jordan	Reichert
Clark (MA)	Joyce (OH)	Rice (NY)
Clarke (NY)	Katko	Richmond
Cleaver	Keating	Rogers (AL)
Clyburn	Khanna	Rohrabacher
Cohen	Kihuen	Rokita
Comer	Kilmer	Ros-Lehtinen
Conaway	Kind	Rosen
Connolly	King (NY)	Roskam
Costa	Kinzinger	Rouzer
Courtney	Knight	Ruiz
Crawford	LaHood	Ryan (OH)
Crist	Lance	Sarbanes
Crowley	Langevin	Schakowsky
Curbelo (FL)	Larson (CT)	Schiff
DeFazio	Lawson (FL)	Schrader
Delaney	Lee	Scott, Austin
DelBene	Levin	Sensenbrenner
Denham	Lewis (GA)	Serrano
DeSantis	LoBiondo	Sewell (AL)
Diaz-Balart	Loeb sack	Sinema
Doyle, Michael	Lofgren	Sires
F.	Lowenthal	Slaughter
Emmer	Luján, Ben Ray	Smucker
Espallat	MacArthur	Lynch
Esty (CT)	Maloney	Stivers
Faso	Maloney, Carolyn B.	Swalwell (CA)
Fitzpatrick	Maloney, Sean	Tenney
Flores	Mast	Thompson (CA)
Foxx	McGovern	Thompson (PA)
Fudge	McKinley	Tipton
Gaetz	McSally	Torres
Gallagher	Meehan	Turner
Garrett	Moore	Upton
Gomez	Neal	Valadao
Gonzalez (TX)	Nolan	Vargas
Gottheimer	Norcross	Veasey
Graves (GA)	O'Halleran	Velázquez
Graves (LA)	Palazzo	Visclosky
Graves (MO)	Pallone	Walberg
Green, Gene	Palmer	Watson Coleman
Grijalva	Panetta	Wittman
Gutiérrez	Paulsen	Woodall
Hastings	Payne	Yoder
Herrera Beutler		Zeldin

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

Tonko

NOT VOTING—23

Beyer	Kennedy	Rush
Bridenstine	Lieu, Ted	Sánchez
Brooks (AL)	Loudermilk	Scalise
Correa	McCaul	Simpson
Cummings	Messer	Smith (TX)
Farenthold	Napolitano	Thompson (MS)
Garamendi	Pocan	Vela
Gohmert	Renacci	

□ 1704

Mr. POE of Texas changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "Yea" on rollcall No. 694, "Yea" on rollcall No. 695, and "Yea" on rollcall No. 696.

NATIONAL PARK FOUNDATION
CELEBRATES 50 YEARS

(Mr. PAULSEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAULSEN. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago, the National Park Foundation was

established by Congress and President Johnson.

The National Park Foundation is the official charity of America's national parks and the nonprofit partner to the National Park Service. For 50 years, they have raised funds, private funds, to help protect more than 84 million acres of national parks through critical conservation and preservation efforts.

The National Park Foundation has helped safeguard our heritage and engage that next generation of national park enthusiasts by connecting us to the parks right in our own backyard. Although they haven't been around as long as the National Park Service, they have played an important role in strengthening and enhancing our parks.

So, Mr. Speaker, I would just like to thank the National Park Foundation for its work to help protect and preserve the crown jewels of America, our national parks, monuments, and battlefields. Our country looks forward to another 50 years of your great work.

KEEPING OUR PROMISE

(Mr. ESPAILLAT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ESPAILLAT. Mr. Speaker, I looked at the calendar today and saw there was no Dream Act vote on the floor this week. As we approach tomorrow, a potential CR, Republican and Democrats must support this bipartisan Dream Act.

These are hardworking men and women, young people. They are doctors and artists, scientists and police officers, mentors and EMTs. These are Americans through and through.

We made a promise that we must keep. We need to protect the rights and principles that our country was founded on and thrives upon.

We demand a vote for a clean Dream Act today. We demand a vote for a clean Dream Act tomorrow.

MAKING HEALTH INSURANCE
AFFORDABLE

(Mr. LAMALFA asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LAMALFA. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to share the story of one of my constituents who has been severely impacted by the rising costs under the Affordable Care Act.

Mr. Watts, from Chico, California, was recently notified by his insurer that his health coverage will shut down at the end of the year. In its place, he was offered another plan that "may meet his needs" and that he will be automatically enrolled. That is right. They just sign him up for one.

The problem is, this plan, which covers an adult and two teens, sees his monthly premium skyrocket to \$2,067 per month, an increase of \$31. That is

a huge increase, 67 percent, costing him upwards of \$9,900 per year in new costs, bringing his total costs for health insurance to nearly \$25,000 per year.

Unsurprisingly, Mr. Watts is no longer able to afford his insurance, and many in Northern California and across the country currently find themselves in the same position.

Sadly, my office staff and I have heard this story countless times. Many in my district were pretty happy with their insurance before ObamaCare, and now, under the individual mandate, they are forced to pay for insurance they can't afford.

But with the repeal of the individual mandate, as in H.R. 1, which passed today, individuals like Mr. Watts are not punished for failing to purchase unaffordable insurance. Instead, we will seek to allow affordable choices for Americans to choose themselves.

SHAME ON REPUBLICANS

(Mr. DEFAZIO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, it is a dark day; \$3 trillion in revenue cuts, in tax breaks; three quarters of that goes to corporations under the premise that they will use that money to employ people. The last time they got this kind of a break, 93 percent of the money went to stock dividends, buybacks, and executive bonuses, and it will be no different this time—squandering America's wealth for the wealthiest among us.

Eighty-three percent of the remainder goes to people who earn over \$400,000 a year. They are going to trickle down on us, yet again.

At the same time, there is no infrastructure package. The Trump administration, the DOT says, we just don't know where we can find the money.

Well, imagine if they used a fraction of these tax giveaways for infrastructure—15,000 jobs per billion invested. We could have had \$1.5 billion with 3 percent of the money they just wasted on these tax cuts.

Shame on them.

BERKS COUNTY CAREER
PATHWAYS ALLIANCE

(Mr. SMUCKER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SMUCKER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize some wonderful work being done for our students in Berks County, Pennsylvania. The Berks County Career Pathways Alliance is an initiative to create a countywide framework to engage K-12 students in career awareness, work-based learning opportunities, and financial literacy.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken in this Chamber before about our work to prepare students for our 21st century economy, but today I get to stand up

here and share the work that is being done by the people on the ground fighting every day to make a difference in the lives of the students in their communities.

The Alliance brings together educators, school administrators, private business, and the local Chamber of Commerce, a cohesive group of diverse organizations, to make real progress toward improving the workforce pipeline in Berks County. Their goal is to have 18 school districts in Berks County adopt their framework and eventually make it a statewide initiative.

This initiative is being led by Dr. Jill Hackman, the executive director of the Berks County Intermediate Unit, and the Greater Reading Chamber Alliance. Thanks to their tireless efforts, and the efforts of many others involved, students will be exposed to new learning opportunities that can open the door to family sustaining careers.

I am very proud of the work being done in my district, and I look forward to seeing their initiative change the lives of some of the 70,000 K–12 students in Berks County.

THE TAX CUT IS A DEBACLE

(Ms. JACKSON LEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand the vote tally for the “Tax No Jobs” bill. It is interesting, when you are asked about the tax bill, they put the word “jobs.”

This was a very close vote, and 12 Republicans understood this was the worst vote, worst bill in the history of the United States; and the reason is, of course, because tens of millions of middle class households and those who need a tax break will not get it. \$1.7 trillion in debt.

It eliminates tax benefits that directly impact the middle class, it results in 13 million fewer Americans with health insurance, it adds over \$2 trillion in deficit spending, and it triggers PAYGO’s automatic spending cuts to mandatory programs.

So let me tell you, my voice is a little rough, but my heart is strong. Social Security to the American people, it is going to be cut. Medicare, it is going to be cut. The Medicaid, for those in nursing homes like my friend who I visited over the weekend, will be cut.

And you know what? There will be no answer in jobs of corporations who got low tax rates, lower than you.

This is a debacle so bad that it has to come back and we have to vote again for it.

My voice is a little rough, but I am going out there to tell the American people that this is the worst calamity since we collapsed under the past Republican administration. Vote “no” every time you see this bill because it is “no” for the American people.

□ 1715

IN MEMORY OF AGNES DOSTER

(Mr. CARTER of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARTER of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember the life of Mrs. Agnes Doster, who passed away on Monday, December 4, at the age of 79.

Originally from Forsyth, Georgia, Mrs. Doster worked for 40 years in the Secretary of the Senate’s office in the Georgia State Capitol. She served in a number of different capacities there with dedication since 1968, always making the Georgia State Capitol run more efficiently, while promoting good government.

Outside of her time working as a civil servant, Mrs. Doster was very active in the First Baptist Church of Snellville for over 45 years. There, she sang in the choir, played hand bells, directed weddings, and taught the 2-year-old Sunday school class.

She is survived by family all over the State of Georgia, including her husband, sister, children, grandchildren, and 30 nieces and nephews.

Mrs. Doster’s bright spirit will surely be missed by everyone around the Georgia State Capitol.

WHAT A DISASTER

(Mr. PAYNE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, what a disaster. The American people wanted a Tax Code that works for them. Instead, my esteemed colleagues just passed a tax plan that only works for crony capitalists and oligarchs.

The GOP tax plan is scamming hardworking American families in order to line the pockets of millionaire real estate developers and people who paint their toilet fixtures in their private jets gold.

Mr. Speaker, hardworking American taxpayers want jobs, investments in our highways and railroads, fully funded children’s healthcare, state-of-the-art schools, and well-paid teachers.

Oligarchs who own gilded skyscrapers, gold-leafed golf courses, and real estate passthroughs want to drown in the excesses of wealth.

The American people wrote their Representatives. They called us. They marched in the Halls of the Capitol for a democratic Tax Code. Instead, they got a scam that takes away money from schools, police officers, fire departments, and families. But I guess money talks.

THE PASSAGE OF H.R. 1 IS THE FIRST STEP

(Ms. TENNEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. TENNEY. Mr. Speaker, the passage of today’s bill is the first step to providing desperately needed once-in-a-generation relief from the failed status quo, especially in New York State.

Under this bill, the typical American family making \$73,000 a year will see a tax cut of \$2,059, and low- and middle-income New Yorkers can finally see an immediate raise in their January and February paychecks.

As a single working mom and a person who cared for my elderly and aging parents, I and my New York colleagues fought an uphill battle to include provisions facing elimination that are vital to seniors, single parents, struggling families, and overburdened job creators, many of whom have left New York State in vast numbers.

Despite the fact that these provisions faced the very real threat of elimination, our efforts were successful in securing the historic tax credit for a State like New York, with many of our Nation’s most historic and most important national landmarks, expanding the SALT deduction—the State and local tax deduction—childcare and dependent care credits, and continuing the deductibility of medical expenses, to assist our most vulnerable seniors in defraying high medical costs.

In New York’s 22nd District, 99 percent of itemizers deduct less than \$10,000 in property tax, the cap which represents the new deduction.

Due to Albany’s mismanagement, all the counties I represent are in the top 36 highest property tax rates compared with home value nationwide. This bill will provide relief on the Federal level, while, finally, finally, incentivizing Albany to respect taxpayers.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana). The gentlewoman is no longer recognized.

Members are reminded to heed the gavel.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED TAX REFORM

(Ms. GABBARD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. GABBARD. Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt that the American people need and want real tax reform, but rather than passing a strong, inclusive bipartisan bill focused on helping hardworking middle class families, today Republicans passed a bill filled with massive corporate giveaways and loopholes for the ultrawealthy.

For example, the top 1 percent in our country will receive over 82 percent of the entire tax benefit in the bill they passed today.

As long as Congress continues to pass legislation for partisan political reasons that seriously serve special corporate interests instead of the families that are struggling just to get by every day, where lobbyists have more input in the writing of this legislation than many Members of Congress, the American people lose.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose this legislation today. It is a disappointment and a huge lost opportunity to actually help so many struggling families all across the country.

WE NEED TO RESTART PUERTO RICO'S ECONOMY

(Miss GONZÁLEZ-COLÓN of Puerto Rico asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Miss GONZALEZ-COLÓN of Puerto Rico. Mr. Speaker, Puerto Rico's economy is the most vital aspect in bringing back some sense of normalcy to the lives of 3.4 million American citizens on the island after the devastating impact of both Hurricanes Irma and Maria.

Puerto Rico's economy had already been in a decline prior to these unprecedented natural disasters, due mostly to the island's outdated and discriminatory territorial status.

Tax reform presented this Congress with the historic opportunity to, even if only partially, fix these longstanding inequities by granting Puerto Rico equal treatment to that of the 50 States.

While we are grateful for the extension of federally qualified opportunity zones in this bill to the island, I believe that there is broad recognition on both sides of the aisle that more needs to be done in the future.

Congress must live up to its responsibility and act decisively to end years of improvisation by implementing sustainable pro-growth economic policies that are based upon the bedrock principles of citizen equality and political empower, and my constituents deserve no less.

AMTRAK CASCADES 501

(Ms. JAYAPAL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today with a heavy heart. Yesterday, my home State and my home district suffered a great tragedy. Amtrak Cascades 501, traveling from Seattle to Portland, Oregon, carrying 80 passengers and seven crewmembers, derailed near Olympia, Washington.

Early reports are that at least three passengers have died and nearly 100 people needed hospital care. My heart and prayers go out to all those families as they deal with this tragedy.

Our office stands ready to help any constituents in any way that we can. For up-to-date information, friends and family on Amtrak Cascades 501 can also call 1-800-523-9101.

I also want to thank our first responders for their skill and their courage. This could have been far worse without them.

But as Amtrak, the National Transportation Safety Board, and State and local officials help on the scene, there

are still so many questions, like: Why was the train going 50 miles over the speed limit as it rounded the curve? Why was the train not using positive train control technology to slow the train down? How, Mr. Speaker, can we be sure that this never happens again?

Mr. Speaker, I will do everything I can to ensure that the investigation and our affected families have the resources and the support necessary to get the facts in the coming days and months.

HONORING RILETTA CREAM

(Mr. NORCROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. NORCROSS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a very special woman, Mrs. Riletta Cream, from Camden County, but was known not only from the city she was born in, but the entire State of New Jersey. She passed away, unfortunately, yesterday.

Mrs. Cream was a kind, gentle, and loving woman, but had special character, strength, and conviction.

She was known as an institution for education and public service. She was a friend, a mentor, an educator, and a dear, dear friend to so many of those children who went to her school.

She was a Camden city native, and was a principal of Camden City High School for over a decade. She served as a role model for students, teachers, and administrators. After retiring, she didn't give up. She then ran as a freeholder, and was elected time after time, continuing to serve the community.

She led projects at the time called Tech 2000 to make sure there was a computer in every child's classroom and at their desk. She fought for libraries when funding was short. She knew the value of education, whether it was going to college or to a trade school.

Mr. Speaker, I hope you will join me in mourning the loss of this shining light in my hometown. Mrs. Cream accomplished so much and gave so many years of service. May she rest in peace.

IN HONOR OF LILLIE BIGGINS

(Mr. VEASEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. VEASEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor my neighbor in east Fort Worth and my friend, Lillie Biggins, who will soon be retiring from the Texas Health Harris Methodist Hospital after 45 years of service.

Lillie joined the Texas Health Fort Worth family back in 1997, serving as vice president of operations. Her role was critical in overseeing major departments, such as emergency services, trauma services, and restorative services.

During her tenure, she helped cultivate a vision of success for the Texas Health Fort Worth community. Not

only did Lillie dedicate her time in the health community, but she also volunteers all around the city of Fort Worth. Lillie often mentors and helps others in the area of health, education, youth, senior citizen services, businesses, and so many areas in our city that are underserved.

For her dedicated service to the community, she has been awarded so many awards, including her induction into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame in 2014.

Mr. Speaker, I wish Lillie all the best as she moves on into her relaxing retirement, but I know that she probably won't be that relaxed and that she is going to be very active in the community. I wish her the best in the future.

THE REPUBLICAN TAX SCAM

(Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, what do Iran, Ebenezer Scrooge, and the Republican tax scam have in common?

Well, they are all ruthless, cutthroat, coldblooded, heartless, and stingy.

That is why I voted "no" on the Republican tax scam, and if I could have added an H to the no, I would have.

This legislation gives 83 percent of the tax cuts to the wealthiest 1 percent, while raising taxes on 86 million middle-income families.

The numbers prove that this is a tax cut for the ultrawealthy and not for the middle class, and anyone who tries to deceive you into thinking otherwise, shame on them.

Adding insult to injury, this tax cut adds \$1.5 trillion to the national debt, and Republicans will soon use the debt to justify their ultimate plan, which is to cut Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security.

Today's vote proves that Republicans care more about the wealthy and big multinational corporations than they do for ordinary people.

Merry Christmas to the wealthy, who already have plenty, and to their special interest lobbyists. And to the rest of America struggling to make ends meet, bah humbug.

THE CORKER KICKBACK

(Ms. KAPTUR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, as Republicans rammed through their tax gravy train for billionaires, we learned of another carve-out to megainvestors in real estate.

This carve-out allows real estate businesses to take advantage of a new tax break, which was parachuted into the Senate bill to swing Republican votes, like Senator BOB CORKER.

Drain the swamp?

The Republicans are laughing all the way to the bank.

A tax expert at Boston College said: This is a big windfall for real estate developers like Donald Trump.

So let me ask: Where's the windfall for the middle class? Where is the guarantee that those investors who make out big time are going to invest their money here in the United States of America and stop shipping our jobs overseas? Where is the guarantee for better wages?

We have seen this movie before.

Cut taxes for the rich and the economy grows?

Well, that didn't happen under the Bush tax cuts.

President John Kennedy said: "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

Mr. Speaker, this Republican tax scam locks in 83 percent of the breaks in favor of the richest among us, but a day of reckoning is coming November 2018.

□ 1730

RUSSIA AND THE ADMINISTRATION

(Mr. PERLMUTTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been a real flurry by the Republicans here in Congress to disparage and call names to the FBI and to the Justice Department, but it is right after Michael Flynn pled guilty, right after George Papadopoulos pled guilty in the investigation into Russia and potential collusion with the administration.

Now my question is: What are you afraid of? Why are you getting in such a big rush to complain about these folks now? What are you hiding? What is it that is bothering you? Let the detectives do their work to figure out what happened between Russia and this administration.

I mean, it is like we have been asking for the President's tax returns for ages. What is he hiding? We won't even know how much money he gets to save under this terrible tax bill that was passed today by the Republican Congress.

So I just want to know: Why are you so worried? What are you afraid of? What are you hiding?

FEMA HOTEL VOUCHERS MUST BE EXTENDED

(Mr. SOTO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SOTO. Mr. Speaker, over 250,000 of my fellow Puerto Ricans have arrived in Florida since Hurricane Maria. The tax bill on top of that absolutely is going to decimate the manufacturing sector there, which is going to only hasten further of my brothers and sisters to my home State, the great State of Florida.

We have done our best as a host State to ease school enrollment for our

young people, to have instate tuition for our college students coming here from the island. Our hospitals are doing their best to meet the challenge, and many are getting jobs, although not as high paying as we would like.

We also are putting bills forward to speed up Medicaid qualification and expand Section 8 housing. But, most critically, Florida faces a housing crisis of epic proportions.

On January 15, the FEMA hotel vouchers expire. This must be extended for another 6 months. In addition, we are leading a bipartisan effort in Florida to directly seek approval of FEMA direct lease vouchers so that people can have a place to stay.

I am appointing a bipartisan Federal task force on Puerto Rican arrivals in central Florida to help in this very good work.

PASSAGE OF THE TAX CUT AND WHAT IT MEANS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from California (Mr. GARAMENDI) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Chair for this time to talk about something that is rather important. Something we did today was to pass a horrendous tax cut that doesn't meet this fundamental goal.

Really, whenever we legislate here, we really ought to keep in mind our values: What is the purpose? What are we trying to accomplish? What is the goal? What is the human value that we are trying to put in place?

I often use this because it is here in Washington at the FDR Memorial. It is on the marble there: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much."

Let me read that again, Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

I want to use this as my compass, my guiding light on where we need to go. So this afternoon, this House of Representatives, by a vote of, I think, just over 200 voted to enact a tax law that goes in exactly the opposite direction of what FDR would say is our value, our goal.

Here it is. The Speaker of the House came here to bring down the gavel to announce the vote that he was so proud to have.

Eighty percent of the individual tax cuts don't go to the poor, don't go to the middle class. They go to the top 1 percent.

How does that fit with what Franklin Delano Roosevelt said to the American Nation during the height of the Great Depression?

No. You may as well take Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words, turn them

on their head, because this House didn't follow the edict, didn't follow the value, but did exactly the opposite: gave away, to the top 1 percent, even greater wealth.

How could that be? Why would they do that? Why would they do that?

Well, I don't know why they would do it, but they surely did it. And in addition to that, not just the wealthy 1 percent, the wealthy 10 percent, why don't you add American corporations to that who are awash in cash? \$2.5 trillion in the bank accounts of American corporations, and they don't know how to spend it to create jobs in the United States.

Instead, the Republicans, today, decided they needed \$1.43 billion additional cash as a result of the tax cut that no Democrats, not a one, but every Republican voted for, \$1.43 billion—the number is from the Joint Committee on Taxation—of new after-tax revenue to American corporations.

And what do you suppose they are going to do with that? Create jobs in the United States? Expand their manufacturing? No. Or higher wages for their workers? No.

I will tell you what they intend to do with it. This is it. The corporate tax giveaway will give Wells Fargo an 18 percent earnings increase.

How do they intend to spend it? Hint: Not on jobs.

In his own words, Tim Sloan, CEO of Wells Fargo, December 2017—I think that is this month—said: "Is it our goal to increase return to shareholders and do we have an excess amount of capital? The answer . . . is yes. So our expectation should be that we will continue to increase our dividend and our share buybacks next year and the year after that and the year after that."

All right, Mr. Sloan. You can thank the Republicans, because when you buy back your shares, when you increase your dividends, guess what. The stock price goes up, and we know that your compensation is based on stock price. Are you going to use that extra money for loans to small businesses? to farmers? No, you are not. You are not going to make more loans.

This is replicated across the American corporate culture. This is not unique. This new after-tax bonus that the Republicans are giving to American corporations is going to be used for the benefit of the wealthy. So you can add, if you will, to the tax cuts that are coming as a result of the reduction in the top income tax bracket for individuals from 39.6 percent to 37 percent, you can add to it, but, by the way, their investment portfolio is going to go up also.

This tax program is an abomination, and it is going to hurt every American over time.

I am joined here tonight by my colleagues who are probably as riled up about this as I am. I am not sure which one of them came in first.

I yield to the gentleman from the State of Oregon, PETER DEFAZIO, my colleague.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for explaining in some detail what the impacts of this legislation are and who is going to benefit. The gentleman is a member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, on which I am the ranking member.

I just want to say, we have been waiting for the trillion-dollar Trump infrastructure plan for a year now, and what we are hearing is, well, they just can't afford it. We can't afford to rebuild America's infrastructure.

So let's compare the impact of a few of these tax cuts to what we could have done or could do with that money. Every tax cut means the government forgoes revenue.

So let's just take the estate tax. Doubling the exemption from an \$11 million to \$22 million estate, that costs \$100 billion. If we invested that \$100 billion in infrastructure, we would create 1.5 million working family wage jobs for Americans—1.5 million jobs. Now, I suppose those people with the cuts in the estate tax, they are going to trickle something on working people, probably not jobs, though.

And let's look at one of my favorites, the passthrough. We are going to help small business. Well, no, we are not really going to help small business. If you work in your small business, you are not going to get a tax break. If you are a passive investor in a so-called small business or passthrough entity, you get a big tax break.

Now, the President says he won't benefit. He owns 500 passthrough businesses according to his financial disclosure. Each one of those will give him a massive tax break.

Well, that little beauty costs \$600 billion. For \$600 billion, if we invested it in infrastructure, we could create 9 million jobs. These passive investors in oil and gas and real estate, how many jobs are they going to create? Again, they might hire another manservant or someone to cut the lawn or someone to wax the yacht, but it's not going to be 9 million jobs, and it isn't going to be at family wages—Davis-Bacon wages, I might say, really good wages.

Let's just look at one item, the top rate. That only goes to people who earn over \$500,000 a year. They are going to get a substantial break. About \$130 billion it is going to cost us to give a tax break to people who earn over \$500,000 a year, more of the trickle class, and that would have created 2 million family wage jobs rebuilding America's infrastructure, and not just benefiting the people who do the work.

And it isn't just construction. It is design. It is engineering. It is small business. And just think of all the benefits in terms of the movement of goods and people and how it makes America more competitive.

What a sad day it is when, as you pointed out very well, we are giving this money—three-quarters of it goes to corporate tax breaks, three-quarters. The last time we gave corpora-

tions a big tax cut under Bush when they repatriated almost \$1 trillion, 93 percent of the money was spent on stock buybacks, dividends, and executive bonuses. I don't know what they did with the other 7 percent because those same corporations actually reduced employment.

So what a false promise this is. A very, very sad day. I thank the gentleman for bringing this to the attention of the American people.

Mr. GARAMENDI. I thank the ranking member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee for making a very clear case on how we might better spend our money.

I yield to the gentleman from the great State of California (Mr. MCNERNEY), my colleague and neighbor.

□ 1745

Mr. MCNERNEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my neighbor and friend, Mr. GARAMENDI, for holding this Special Order tonight and allowing us to talk about what this tax bill means.

Mr. Speaker, today is a sad day in America, as the House passed an unholy tax scam of a tax bill. This bill was rushed through Congress with no hearings, no Democratic votes, and no Democratic amendments. This Republican tax scam is being deceptively sold as a benefit for the middle class, but the real winners will be the big corporations and those on the cover of Forbes 400 richest Americans.

The Republican tax scam will increase the national debt by almost \$2 trillion, burdening our children or giving a Christmas bonus to the wealthiest Americans.

The Republican tax scam permanently lowers the corporate tax rate while the child tax credit increase expires in 2025. In other words, big corporations get a permanent tax cut while the middle class receives a temporary tax cut.

This tax scam places a cap on State and local taxes for individuals, targeting punishment for Democratic States. This is a new low for our democracy. The Republican tax scam also repeals the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate. This will cause 13 million Americans to lose their health insurance. Taking healthcare away from those who elected us is shameful.

Earlier today, we heard from Ady Barkan, who was recently diagnosed with ALS. Many will recognize Ady from the video of him confronting Senator FLAKE in an airplane.

Ady spoke passionately this morning about the dangers of this tax scam. As he was finishing, he talked about the opportunity we have to come back and do a real tax reform, in 2018, and do so in a bipartisan way. His hope for what a good tax bill should look like struck me. He said that we should come back and negotiate a tax bill that elevates human dignity, instead of promoting human misery.

This Republican tax scam will hurt millions of Americans, many who are

already struggling. We need a bipartisan solution to tax reform, not a special interest scam that benefits the wealthiest.

Mr. Speaker, Americans should have no doubt this tax scam will hurt them and the economy. Forget about investing in infrastructure. Forget about investing in education. Forget about investing in research. You better start worrying about Medicare and Social Security. This tax scam will make America a Third World nation.

Mr. Speaker, this tax scam is a disgrace.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. PERLMUTTER), my friend.

Mr. PERLMUTTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, Mr. GARAMENDI, for allowing me the opportunity to speak about this.

You have FDR on the poster. He also said December 7 was a day that would live in infamy. This is a day that will live in infamy because of the tax bill that was passed today.

I don't like to speak in this hyperbolic way, but what was passed by the Republican House, and soon by the Republican Senate, is something none of us has ever seen before.

Let's just do some easy math so that people understand how unbelievable the numbers are on this.

Let's take Speaker RYAN's numbers. He said an average family of four making some \$60,000 are going to save about \$1,183. Okay. Of the four, that is about \$275 per person. That is nice. I like it.

What he doesn't tell you, and what the Republicans refuse to talk about, is how much money is put on the credit card of the Nation for the current generation and future generations to have to pay. At best, it is \$1.5 trillion.

That is a number that none of us can really understand how big it is. But let's say there are 300 million Americans. Divide 300 million into \$1.5 trillion and that is \$5,000. Let's do the math. You get to save \$270, but you put \$5,000 on the credit card.

Wait a second. That doesn't sound quite right. Where does that \$4,730 go?

Well, it goes straight up to the wealthiest among us.

So all of us, as a country, as a nation, and as a people, have the obligation to pay this back.

And who gets it?

Just a very slim few. We get \$270, but we have \$5,000 on a credit card.

Mr. DEFAZIO talked about some of the opportunity costs that are lost from this \$1.5 trillion. If the \$1.5 trillion were out there to benefit all of us and just put in infrastructure, we would basically fix every road, every water work, every electric grid issue that we have; we would put broadband across the country, and all of us would benefit and make this country competitive for the next 50 years.

Instead, we say: We don't need that money. Let's just give it back to the wealthiest people in America.

Wrong. Terrible.

I serve on the Science Committee. We did some numbers in the Science Committee.

The entire budget for solar energy for our laboratories, in any given year, is about \$207 million. We were having this testimony and the Republicans were picking on the managers of the solar budget line and said: You have really got to shrink this. This is costing too much money.

Well, do you know how many times 207 million goes into \$1.5 trillion? Do you know how many years worth of budgets that is?

It is 7,480 years worth of solar energy budgets.

I have really been working on getting our astronauts to Mars. We have been advised that that is going to cost about \$200 billion over the course of the next 16 years, to 2033, which is when the orbits of Mars and the Earth come close together and saves us a lot of space time, travel time, and is safer for our astronauts.

We could send our astronauts to Mars and back and start from scratch eight times for this tax cut that is going to be received by the rich.

It is not right. It is not American. It is the opposite of what FDR said when he said: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

There has been some talk about how real estate developers and others are really going to benefit by this tax cut that nobody has seen until the last day or two. This is a giant piece of legislation.

One of the things the Democrats have asked for for a year now is that we want to see the President's tax returns. He has refused to disclose his tax returns. So we know he was a real estate developer, we know he is a very wealthy guy, and we know he is going to benefit in a large way—or, he might say in a huge way—by this tax cut. But we don't know how much it is going to be because he will never disclose his tax returns.

The ink is just barely dry as to how this is all going to work out. What has transpired today is really a shame. I really am disappointed in my Republican colleagues in how this matter has been rushed through.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman's final sentence was "rushed through." There has not been one substantive hearing in either House. There has been a markup hearing, but that is not a substantive hearing.

No Democratic amendments have been accepted. Not one economist has been called to testify—not one accountant, not one tax lawyer. No hearings whatsoever.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island (Mr. CICILLINE) to share with us his perspective.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding.

I would like to begin by thanking Mr. GARAMENDI for his relentless and passionate voice on behalf of working people, not only of California, but this country. He comes to the floor regularly and organizes these Special Order hours to help bring attention to these very important issues, and I really thank him for the opportunity to be part of it.

I want to begin where he left off, and that is the process.

We just learned today that the tax scam that the Republicans jammed through the House has to come back for another vote because they made some mistakes and didn't comply with some Senate rules.

This is what happens when you don't have hearings, you don't have thoughtful deliberation, you don't listen to witnesses who can identify problems with the bill, and instead you just bring it to the floor.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, did I hear Mr. CICILLINE correctly that the action taken here on the floor is not dispositive, but has to be modified in the Senate and brought back because they screwed up?

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island.

Mr. CICILLINE. Mr. Speaker, yes. Exactly. The bill will come back. So, hopefully, the American people will have another opportunity to make certain their voices are heard.

But this is not the way to do a complicated piece of legislation. The last time the Congress did tax reform, there were 400 witnesses, experts who came in, hearings month after month, because it is complicated. You want to make sure it works right. You are talking about the American economy.

None of that happened here. It was written in the dark of the night. Some of our Republican colleagues didn't see the text. This is not a way to do legislation, and it is one of the reasons that excluding the Democrats from contributing to this process was a terrible, terrible mistake.

What is the result?

We end up with a bill that does exactly the opposite of what it says it will do.

This is a job-killing bill. There is no more urgent priority that all of us have to create good-paying jobs, family supporting jobs. We Democrats have launched a very bold economic agenda that focuses on better jobs, better wages for a better future.

Millions of Americans will go to bed tonight and lie awake worried about whether or not they have enough money to pay their bills, whether they can put aside some savings for their retirement, whether they can send their kids to school.

All of those anxieties come from the fact they are not making enough money to make ends meet. They haven't seen an increase in their income in a very long time. What this tax bill does is make those problems worse. This will raise taxes on 86 mil-

lion middle class families in this country.

They call it a tax cut. For those 86 middle class families, it is a tax increase. In fact, 83 percent of the tax cuts go to the top 1 percent, the very richest people in this country and the biggest corporations. It also makes more generous tax provisions that incentivize companies to ship American jobs overseas.

This is not a job creator. The idea that if we just let the people at the very top hold on to all their money, it is going to trickle down to the rest of us, is a job killer. We know that doesn't work. They tried during the Bush administration. We had the worst job loss in a generation.

It doesn't work because we all know the way you actually create jobs is you grow the middle class. You make sure folks have good-paying jobs, have more money in their pockets to buy the goods and services.

Go to any small business in my State of Rhode Island, and I am sure it is the same in the State of California, and ask a small-business owner: What do you need to add a job? What do you need to increase the number of people who work in your business?

They will say one thing: I need customers. I need people to buy what I make and sell.

That is why strengthening the middle class, raising the income of people in this country, is the way you grow the economy. This is just the opposite.

I was sickened when that bill passed the floor a few moments ago and I saw our Republican colleagues cheering and hooting and hollering like they were at a ball game. They put points on the board. They didn't put points on the board for the American people.

We are going to keep fighting for a tax reform bill that actually provides cuts to middle class families that will help to promote economic growth and create good-paying jobs.

We think the Tax Code is broken. We have always been willing to work together in a bipartisan way to make the Tax Code simpler, more competitive, and work for the American people.

That is not what the Republicans did. This is a giveaway to their donors. Some of our colleagues said it out loud: If we don't pass a tax cut, our donors told us to not call anymore. They actually said that out loud.

That is not how you write legislation. Let's not forget who sent us here and whom we should be working for.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for giving me an opportunity to contribute to the conversation tonight. This is a bill which will hurt Rhode Island, hurt this country, and hurt our economy.

Finally, it also will result in the gutting of Medicare and Medicaid. Everyone forgets this creates a \$1.5 trillion debt which, by our rules, is going to result in automatic cuts to Medicare, Medicaid, student loan programs, block grants, vocational rehabilitation programs, and on and on and on.

□ 1800

They give away \$1.5 trillion that we don't have. They borrow the money to give away the tax cuts, and then next year they come back and say: Oh, we have no money. We have to cut Medicare and cut Medicaid and cut Social Security and cut Pell grants and not rebuild the infrastructure of our country.

Our Republican colleagues have said this is part one. Part two will be these cuts. The American people know this, which is why this bill is overwhelmingly unpopular with the American people. They see what the Republicans are up to. They are insulting the American people. They think they haven't figured this out. They are going to dangle a couple of dollars in front of them but then whack them with huge cuts next year.

The American people are smarter than this. The Republicans are going to be held accountable. We have to fight with every fiber in our body to stop this because it is really going to hurt people.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. CICILLINE for bringing to our attention some key elements here: The deficit issue, which we will discuss a little longer today. Also, the issue of really growing American jobs: growing wages, growing the future, and creating a better future for American workers. I know that has been the gentleman's passion and his work. We will go through all of those things in the day ahead.

This bill may very well become law, but I would surely like to see exactly how the President is going to do with this. I suspect this passthrough business in which he has 500 passthrough corporations—he is not an active investor. He will make out very, very well, and the working men and women of the middle class are going to lose.

I am just looking at this. This is the distribution tables from the Joint Committee on Taxation, December 18, 2017. Income category, a distribution of individual income tax side of the proposal. 2019, a small \$127 million reduction for everybody making less than \$10,000. In 2021, they are actually paying higher taxes. So the very, very bottom, in just 3 years, they are going to pay higher taxes.

I notice that my friend from North Carolina has joined us, and I thank him so very much for joining us. I know he has a few things on his mind, as do Mr. CICILLINE and I.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE) to share with us his views on what has happened today and where we are going.

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding. I am thankful that Mr. GARAMENDI has taken out this Special Order and that so many colleagues have come out to express their views on this travesty of a tax bill that was passed by the House today and that ap-

pears to be on its way to the President's desk.

Speaking of the President and how much he will benefit from that, I am sure my colleagues have heard the saying that he campaigned like a populist and is governing like a plutocrat.

Wouldn't you say this bill is a pretty good exhibit A with respect to that?

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, oh, absolutely. And I would say, also, that maybe it is an oligarch, and maybe we are creating one of those Russian oligarch societies here in which a few who are well connected to this President are going to do very, very well.

We are not talking about the Russia thing here today, but it gives me some pause to think: Why are they working so hard to end the Mueller investigation? But that is another subject for another day.

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. It is, indeed. But the Russian role model seems alive and well as we look at the development of the American economy and where we may be going.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleague will agree that our Republican friends know this is a very, very unpopular piece of legislation. It is striking, isn't it? They decided that they were going to go into the hole \$1.5 trillion, forget about revenue neutrality. They are going to go into the hole and borrow \$1.5 trillion. Even with that, they have not been able to write a bill that most of the American people feel a benefit from. It is extraordinary.

Well, the fact is that most of the American people won't benefit from this bill. I think they are on to that. The latest polling shows that Americans oppose this bill by a margin of 2 to 1. That is, of course, before they have even felt the effects of this bill.

I think Republicans know that this opposition is only going to get stronger the more people figure out what is in this bill. That may be why they have rushed this thing to passage in the most chaotic legislative process I can ever remember.

They released thousands of pages of text on this bill last Friday and expected to vote on it today, of course.

Maybe that is the reason why they held no hearings. The less people know, the better.

Maybe that is why we have had almost no debate.

Maybe that is why they won't even allow for a complete scoring of the bill by the Joint Committee on Taxation or the Congressional Budget Office.

Maybe that desire to cover up the consequences of this is the reason they have added these questionable provisions, to provide a fig leaf of coverage for hesitant Members, skittish Members who want to be able to explain this vote back home.

Mr. Speaker, I have heard for years Republican colleagues decry fiscal irresponsibility, a lack of regular order in these Chambers and a lack of orderly, responsible procedures. They have

talked about tax reform that simplifies the Tax Code, that benefits hard-working families.

Well, what we have seen today and what we have seen in recent days as this bill came to the floor is just a total contradiction of all that they have professed to stand for all these years. These words are nothing but lip service and false promises. They have sloppily drafted this bill behind closed doors. They plan to raise taxes on 86 million middle class families, and they plan to add \$1.5 trillion to the national debt.

Despite claims that this bill will benefit the middle class, 83 percent of the tax cuts go to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans.

And they have also taken aim at healthcare, as if the tax travesties weren't enough. By eliminating the so-called individual mandate, the GOP tax scam will explode premiums, and it will add 13 million Americans to the ranks of the uninsured.

The bill is a windfall for large corporations that want to ship American jobs overseas. They want to cut staff. They drive down wages and salaries. This bill will facilitate that.

Plain and simple, the Republican tax scam asks hardworking families and future generations of Americans to foot the bill for huge tax cuts for corporations and for the wealthiest.

And we haven't seen the end of it yet. Do you know what is coming next? You can bet that, once this bill passes, Republicans are going to pivot. They are going to pivot in a heartbeat to pose as the guardians of fiscal rectitude.

Having abandoned any pretense of revenue neutrality in this bill and having added \$1.5 trillion to the national debt and having triggered a \$25 billion Medicare sequester cut, they are, all of a sudden, going to sound the alarm: Poor us. We are broke. Our country is broke. We have got to squeeze Medicaid now. We have got to squeeze Medicare. We have got to squeeze Social Security. We have got to squeeze investments in transportation, housing, education, and research.

You can see it coming. We have seen this bad Republican movie before, although never on such an epic scale.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, we don't need to guess what they are going to do. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. RYAN, has said very clearly that next year will be step two. They will take on what he calls the social safety net: Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and food stamps. That is where the cuts are going to come. This is not our words. These are the words of the leadership of this House of Representatives, the words of the Speaker.

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is absolutely right. This has been in Republican budgets forever, this war on the kind of safety net provisions that so many of our fellow citizens depend on.

Fiscal rectitude, indeed. They are willing to go \$1.5 trillion in the hole,

willing to borrow that money, to take the national debt to dangerous levels.

But it is a matter of being able, then, to say: Poor us. Our country is broke. We can't afford to invest in our people. We can't afford to build our infrastructure. We can't even afford to leave intact the safety net that people have spent their lives depending on.

It is a travesty. This tax bill is not just about taxes. It is about keeping faith with the American people; and that faith, this very day, has been broken by the Republican Party.

Mr. Speaker, I should say this. They had an opportunity to do this the right way. This wasn't inevitable. This wasn't written in stone. They could have worked with Democrats in Congress in a bipartisan way to figure out how to grow the economy and how to simplify our Tax Code.

Do you remember that? Simplify the Tax Code and file it on a postcard. This bill makes the Tax Code far, far more complicated. It is a dream bill for tax lawyers and accountants.

So no more simplification. That has been forgotten.

They were going to lower the tax burden for middle class families. We could have figured out how to do that without exploding the debt. There are many, many things we could have achieved together.

We have, here, a once-in-a-decade opportunity, and they have blown it, they have squandered it, and that is a source of great regret. In fact, the Republicans have jeopardized our economic future to give tax cuts, tailor-made, for corporate lobbyists and, as they have actually said, to make their donors happy—to make their donors happy.

Mr. Speaker, we hope against hope that the Senate might yet do the right thing, and when they have to clean up this bill to bring it back to the House for yet another vote, that our House colleagues—it was a narrow vote. It was a narrow vote. It would be wonderful to turn it around. But we certainly need to make sure that there is no mistake how this has happened, what has happened, and we must start, this very day, to figure out how to make our economy and our country whole and to make it work for all of our people.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for this opportunity. This is very, very useful to be able to have this kind of extended discussion. Even though the subject matter is not happy—we have had a very bad day here in the House of Representatives—it is important for us to pick up, move ahead, and realize the task that lies ahead.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. PRICE of North Carolina so very much. His thoughtful discussion of this is much appreciated.

He mentioned the deficit issue. \$1.5 trillion does not include the interest on the \$1.5 trillion. So if you were to add the interest to the \$1.5 trillion, it would actually probably be over \$2 trillion to \$2.3 trillion that this will cost.

The actual reduction in revenues, \$1.5 trillion, interest on top of that another \$600 billion or so, so we are looking at something really serious here.

I would like to go through some of the numbers.

I looked at this. This is not something that is off 10 years from now. This is now.

In 2019, the structural deficit that is already in place, without even talking about this additional burden of increased deficit, the underlying structural deficit in 2019 is right around \$600 billion. This tax bill will add maybe \$250 billion to \$300 billion of additional debt in 2019. So we are going to get very close to \$1 trillion of deficit in 2019.

And, by the way, the military budget is increased by about, I think it is over \$50 billion. That is not paid for, so that is additional debt. That is going to be here on the floor tomorrow or the next day.

In addition to that, there is this ongoing effort to deal with the hurricanes, fires, and so forth. That is another \$120 billion that is not paid for.

So if you take \$120 billion, you take \$50 billion, and you take the \$250 billion to \$300 billion in the tax bill and you add that to the \$600 billion that exists to begin with, in 2019, it will be over \$1 trillion of new debt. And I will guarantee that the exodus, the migration of the deficit hawks from Washington, D.C., during December of 2017 will reverse in the warmer weather, coming back next year. And those deficit hawks will come back, they will come back to Congress, and they will go right after the programs that FDR talked about: those who have the least.

Our colleague, Mr. DEFAZIO, from the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee talked about what we could do if we had the money in infrastructure or if we had that billion dollars; 15,000 people would be employed. But we won't—we won't—have an infrastructure program, and they will be back here.

□ 1815

They will be back here to make cuts in the social safety net, as the Speaker has already said he intends to do. Medicaid, \$800 billion to \$1 trillion reduction in Medicaid over the next decade.

Who are the beneficiaries of Medicaid?

We think they are the people on welfare. Well, yes, but some 60 percent of Medicaid recipients are seniors, seniors in nursing homes and long-term care facilities.

I thank Mr. PRICE very much for joining us.

I think I am going to stop for just a moment and turn to my colleague from the great State of Maryland. If the gentleman would care to join us, I yield to Mr. RASKIN for his remarks.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join this evening. I thank the gentleman for putting together a discussion, a Special Order on this crit-

ical piece of legislation, which is now hurdling through Congress today.

I was reflecting, Mr. Speaker, that I had never seen a riot before, and I wonder how many people have been to a riot. And then as I was watching this bill being rammed through Congress, I realized that we were observing up close a riot, a ruling class riot, a trickle-down riot, special interest riot, a 1 percent riot against the rest of the country, the 1 percent that will get 83 percent of the tax cuts, the 1 percent that is overseeing an explosion in our deficit, adding somewhere between \$1½ trillion to \$2.3 trillion to our deficit that we are passing on to our children and our grandchildren.

My constituents in Maryland are saying to me: Hey, if we are going to go into an extra \$1½ trillion into deficits and debt, why don't we put that into an infrastructure plan for America? Why not rebuild our transportation system, the roads, the highways, the bridges, the Metro systems, the port authorities, the water systems, and cybersecurity? They are collapsing in front of our very eyes. So if we have got \$1½ trillion that we are going to put on the Federal tab, let's direct it into infrastructure.

But what do they bring us instead?

Old-fashioned, shopworn, and historically discredited trickle-down economics. It never works. It never works to cut taxes on the wealthy and big corporations and hope that the profits will just magically, mysteriously rain down on the middle class and working people.

It has just never worked like that. The only thing that does work is bubble-up middle class economics that gives opportunity to everybody—the poor working people, the middle class—and the money will flow up. The rich will get richer. We have proven it. That when you actually invest in education and you invest in infrastructure and you invest in healthcare, everybody does better. And then, because everybody is doing better, everybody does better, including the wealthy. We don't need to have top-down class warfare, trickle-down economics in America. But, hey, it is hard to stop a riot once it gets going, and we are in the middle of a riot here.

They said Malcolm X could stop a riot if he wanted to. Well, PAUL RYAN could stop this riot if he wanted to. The GOP could stop this riot. Maybe even President Trump could stop this riot. But the American oligarchs, the ones who are friends with the Russian oligarchs, the American oligarchs can taste victory already. They are carting off their TVs. They are checking out their gorgeous new yachts. They are measuring the drapes at Mar-a-Lago. They are polling for the Senate seats that they plan to buy with all of the new campaign contributions that come rolling in from the Mercers and the Koch brothers and the other plutocrats who are going to make out like bandits with this highway robbery.

In a riot, there is no time for hearings, no time for facts, no time for economic analysis, no time for experts, no time for discussion or democracy. There is no time for us even to read the lousy bills that their lobbyists write for them. They are too busy looting the Treasury in the middle of the night, ransacking Medicare and Medicaid, and trashing the neighborhoods of the beleaguered American middle class by raising taxes on 86 million families over the next decade.

They are too busy trashing the State and local tax deduction, imposing double taxes on our people, something that has not occurred since we developed the tax system back in 1862, when they imposed the first revenue act. In the middle of the Civil War, they exempted State and local taxes.

Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans said then, "That is double taxation; we won't do it in the middle of the Civil War," when they needed to raise money.

And here we are, in a time of record corporate profits, amazing prosperity that comes out of the Obama administration, amazing economic expansion and growth, and what do they want to do?

They want to impose double taxation on what they say is the blue States because now America has got to be divided.

It is their States and our States, so the blue States are going to just pay more. That is the way that they are pursuing their tax policy in the United States Congress. You could almost understand and appreciate this trickle-down mob mentality if it were just our own rich people who were wilding against American democracy. After all, the top 1 percent in America today owns only as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent combined. There is still the remnants of the middle class to destroy, and it is hard to keep up with the lifestyle of the rich and famous in Trump's billionaire Cabinet.

So they need to drive 13 million Americans off of their health insurance. They need to make tens of millions of Americans pay more in taxes. But here is the thing: one-third of the corporate windfall in their gigantic corporate tax break, which is the heart of their bill, hundreds of billions of dollars, one-third of the money will go to foreign investors in Saudi Arabia, in China, in Russia. The one-third of the American stock that is owned by foreign investors is going to just sail outside of the country immediately when we do this.

And that huge sucking sound of hundreds of billions of dollars flowing to other people's oligarchs will be followed by billions more in investments and millions more in jobs because of another little trick that got tucked into this bag of tricks on the American people and treats for our plutocrats. Their bill changes our tax policy to a territorial system.

Well, what does that mean?

It means, if you are an American businessman and you are setting up your new business, the American businessman or businesswoman, you are setting up your business on Main Street, you are going to pay 100 percent of your taxes due. Your rate is going to go way down under this bill, but you will pay 100 percent. If you ship your business and your jobs overseas to Mexico or Indonesia or Switzerland or Vietnam, you are going to pay zero percent of what you would owe.

Now, I think they put in some tiny, little fix about that saying: Well, if it gets too extreme, if you press the joke too far, you will pay something, maybe 10 percent.

Again, that was written in the middle of the night, so I haven't seen that. That is just a talking point.

But let me just close with this: like a riot, this tax scam has little to recommend it. Its only redeeming feature is that it will wake a horrified country up to the depravity and greed that have overtaken our politics and, I am sad to say, a once great political party in the United States of America. And when we wake up to the fiscal damage and the political hangover, then they will be coming with their meat cleavers towards Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid.

And when the American people bounce out the people who rioted today, when they bounce them out of office, well, it is going to be okay for them because they can go and work for the lobbyists and the big companies that made out like bandits today. So the joke is on us if this actually goes through. But don't forget that what we saw today was a riot from above.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. RASKIN so very much for his remarks. The voice of Maryland is strong and powerful and quite correct. Mr. RASKIN spoke of income inequality.

The wealthy in America, the top 1 percent, own as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent?

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, yes, I did say that.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, this bill would seem to further the skewing of wealth to the wealthy.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, the whole point is to cement into place an oligarchy, a plutocracy.

One of the reasons that the Founders of America were so opposed to the intergenerational transmission of wealth is because they said that is going to increase idleness, laziness, presumptuousness, and entitlement in new generations.

At a certain point, if you buy enough houses, if you buy enough horses, if you buy enough yachts, if you buy enough jewels, what do you want?

Well, you want a governorship. You want a Senate seat.

That is not democracy. That is plutocracy. So we can't let this system of wealth discrimination and separation devour our basic democratic values.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, that is interesting. Perhaps the House of Lords is in our future.

I was just thinking, as Mr. RASKIN was talking, of an old comic book that used to be popular. It was one of the Donald Duck comic books, and I remember it was Uncle Scrooge McDuck. I guess, in his treasury, he was playing with the dollars, throwing the coins up into the air. I am wondering if that is what we are really into here.

The superwealthy are just accumulating more and more wealth. For the benefit of the economy? Not really. It doesn't trickle down. There is absolutely no evidence that it does. In fact, there is plenty of historic economic evidence that trickle down doesn't work, but pushing up from the bottom would. We could have had a tax bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. RASKIN).

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to read so many prominent elected officials and political operatives on the GOP side saying that the whole reason for doing this is that their donors were effectively going on a strike and the donors were saying: If you don't get the tax bill through, don't expect contributions from us.

We couldn't have a more vivid demonstration of plutocracy in the country.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Well, if their tax bill is for their donors, we have a pretty good idea who the beneficiaries of the tax bill are. So the donors are the plutocrats, the superwealthy. It is Wall Street. Very much it is Wall Street because this is really about raising the stock price.

I think Mr. RASKIN may not have been here when I put this up, but I am going to do it one more time. It has been clear that before the 1980s, 50 percent, maybe 55 percent, 60 percent of the after-tax income of corporations went into creating a bigger corporation, into manufacturing jobs, plant equipment, hiring more people, paying better wages.

Beginning in the mid-1980s or so, that began to shift so that, today, exactly the opposite occurs. Maybe 70, 80 percent of the after-tax profits now go into buying back stock, increasing the stock price, higher dividends.

Case in point: the corporate tax giveaway in this bill, which is actually—I said earlier it was \$1.4 trillion reduction in corporate taxes over the next decade. It is actually \$1.3 trillion. My apologies for being incorrect.

\$1.3 trillion reduction in corporate taxes. For a company like Wells Fargo, a rather major bank, the corporate tax giveaway will give Wells Fargo an 18 percent earnings increase.

How does Wells Fargo intend to spend it?

Not on jobs.

Here is what the CEO of Wells Fargo, Mr. Tim Sloan, said in December of 2017. That is this month. He said: "Is it our goal to increase return to shareholders, and do we have an excess amount of capital? The answer to both is 'yes.' So our expectation should be that we will continue to increase our

dividend and our share buybacks next year and the year after that and the year after that.”

So where are the jobs?

May I cite one other example. Lowering the corporate tax rate was said to be an incentive for corporations to invest. Well, here is one of the great American corporations.

Are they investing?

I think not. They are buying back stock.

AT&T, another major American corporation, effectively reduced its tax rate to 8 percent over the last decade. So they are paying not 21 percent, as this bill would require. They are paying 8 percent.

Did they create jobs?

No. During that same period of time, they laid off 80,000 workers.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to Mr. RASKIN, if he would like to make a few closing remarks, and then I will wrap up.

□ 1830

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman, once again, for this opportunity and for his leadership.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman makes a superb point. We are at a point of record corporate profits. The corporations are swimming in profits and in cash, and if they wanted to be employing more people, they could be employing more people now.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, they could be raising wages. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. RASKIN. Mr. Speaker, or raising wages. They could do it right now.

All that we are doing is bestowing more of a bonus on them so they can give more money away to the CEOs. In the stock dividends and in the stock buybacks, it is cash gains within the corporations, so they are going to get wealthier. There is no reason to begrudge that. It is a large part of a lot of people's dreams to make a lot of money, but let's not press a good joke too far.

They are making tons of money right now, and we have got serious needs in the country. We have got an infrastructure crisis. Our roads and our highways and our metro systems and our water systems are suffering—our schools, our universities, our community colleges.

Why not invest in some common things that bring us together as a society, rather than having highway robbery from above against the rest of the country? It is just incomprehensible to me.

I have got to believe this is something to do with the corruption of our campaign finance regime. People are talking about: Well, we are waiting for the contributions to come in, and that they are telling us on the phone they don't want to give us contributions until we pass the tax bill.

So give them hundreds of billions, drive us into trillions of dollars in debt, and then they will give us back hundreds of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions. It is a bad

deal. That is why a lot of parts of the country are moving to public financing now, because it is remarkable how much damage you could do to the country on the cheap with a relatively small investment. After the Supreme Court's decision in 2010, in the Citizens United case, redefining corporations as political citizens, now the CEOs can take money directly out of the corporate treasury and put it into politics.

Mr. GARAMENDI. Mr. Speaker, from their own mouth comes from the truth of what Mr. RASKIN said. They have said it very clearly, they need to do this for their contributors.

Who are their contributors? Well, the wealthy, the superwealthy, and the rest.

Mr. Speaker, I think we are going to wrap it up here. I want to thank Mr. RASKIN for his participation. I want to thank my colleagues who came to the floor tonight to express their dismay at what has happened.

Now, because the bill was rushed through without any public hearings, there were errors in the bill that require that the Senate take the approved conference committee report and modify it, which I suppose means there has to be yet another conference committee, modify it, remove the errors that are in conflict with the Senate rules, and send it back here. Presumably, that will be done tomorrow.

Maybe now, as we bring to the attention of the American public the way in which this tax bill is harmful to the economy, harmful to the American middle class, and will result in 83 million Americans immediately paying higher taxes, and over the period of time, everybody that is less than \$100,000, maybe \$150,000, will be paying higher taxes, but the wealthy and the corporations will go on and have their lower taxes for many, many years to come, all of that hopefully will begin to sink in on the American public, and they will rise up in indignation and call a halt to what is a major rip-off of the American Treasury and America's future.

So we will continue to talk about this in the days ahead, and those who have voted for this are going to be held responsible and accountable as the days and the months go by.

Keep in mind that the Texas Two-Step is very much in play, and that, in the days ahead, in the next year, as the weather warms, the returned migration of the deficit hawks will take place, and they will go after Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, education, children's health, and other programs that men and women of America rely upon, and perhaps many, many more.

We will be fighting this fight for many months to come.

Mr. Speaker, keeping in mind the words of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, I yield back the balance of my time.

HONORING HASKELL MONROE, JR.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH). Under the Speaker's

announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. FLORES) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. FLORES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Dr. Haskell Monroe, Jr., of Bryan-College Station, Texas, who passed away on November 13, 2017.

Haskell Monroe, Jr., was born in Dallas, Texas, on March 18, 1931. He was the only child of Haskell Monroe, Sr., and Myrtle Monroe.

The family of three lived in Garland, Texas, until Haskell, Jr., was ten, when they moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, because of his father's job with the United States Department of War. They lived there for 2 years before moving to Orange, Texas, where the family resided through Haskell's high school years.

During his high school years, Haskell was an active member of the band, the track and field team, the football team, and he was a member of the Boy Scouts. His experience at schools in both Garland and Orange fostered a love of learning that lasted throughout his life.

After graduating from high school in 1948, he went on to Austin College in Sherman, Texas, where he continued his involvement in track and field and football. He graduated from Austin College in 1952, with a bachelor's degree in both history and English.

After graduation, he started graduate school at Austin College working to earn his master's in history. While working during his master's degree, Haskell began teaching at nearby Denison High School. He taught history at Denison and found his lifelong calling to be an educator while he was working there.

In 1954, Haskell enlisted in the United States Navy. He served for 3 years in the Navy, and while in the Navy, Haskell's passion for teaching never wavered, and he continued to teach while stationed in South Carolina. There, he taught English to visiting Japanese sailors and volunteered as an assistant coach for a local high school football team.

Haskell completed his service and was discharged from the Navy in 1956. Shortly thereafter, he met the love of his life, Margaret Joann Phillips, known as Jo. The two met while Haskell was working on historical research in North Carolina. On June 15, 1957, Jo and Haskell were married.

In addition to 78 years of love and happiness, the marriage produced four children: Stephen, Melanie, Mark, and John; and eight grandchildren.

The Monroes moved to Houston after their wedding in order for Haskell to pursue a Ph.D. in history at Rice University. They eventually moved to the Bryan-College Station area in 1959. One of his doctoral professors at Rice, Dr. Frank Vandiver, who would himself one day become the president at Texas A&M University, helped Haskell get his first job.

With Dr. Vandiver's recommendation, Haskell became a professor of history at the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas. This initial position was the beginning of a decades-long career both as a professor and as an administrator.

One of his early contributions to Texas A&M was his appointment to the Texas A&M Aspirations Committee. This initiative was commissioned by then-President Earl Rudder to recommend changes to the university to put the institution on sound footing for the future.

Among the recommendations to come out of this committee were the admission of female students, non-compulsory membership in the Corps of Cadets, racial integration, higher admission standards, and input that led to changing the name of the university to Texas A&M University.

Haskell left Texas A&M, in 1980, to become president at the University of Texas-El Paso, commonly known as UTEP.

After 7 years at UTEP, he became the chancellor at the University of Missouri, where he remained until 1993.

Under his leadership, both schools reached new heights as academic institutions, enrolling record numbers of students, increasing minority student populations, and molding many National Merit Award scholars.

In his down time, Haskell enjoyed collecting postcards from towns where he had lived and visited while traveling, especially the back roads of the United States and Mexico, and learning history through commemorative bricks, plaques, and roadside markers in historical places.

He also shared his father's passion for woodworking and was known to create many pieces for his friends and his family.

A member of the local community, Haskell was a member of the Rotary Club and served on boards of the United Way, Salvation Army, and Boy Scouts. He was also a lifelong member of the Presbyterian church, where he also served as an elder and an ordained deacon.

Mr. Speaker, Haskell Monroe worked tirelessly to teach young people and to give back to his community. He is loved by our Bryan-College Station community, and he left an enduring impression on the entire State of Texas. He will be forever remembered as a great educator, colleague, philanthropist, community leader, husband, father, grandfather, and friend.

My wife, Gina, and I offer our deepest and heartfelt condolences to the Monroe family. We also lift up the family and friends of Dr. Monroe in our prayers.

I have requested that a United States flag be flown over the Capitol to honor the life and legacy of Dr. Haskell Monroe, Jr.

As I close today, I urge all Americans to continue praying for our country during these difficult times, for our

military men and women who protect us from external threats, and for our first responders who protect us here at home.

HONORING ROBERT "POPEYE" CARTER

Mr. FLORES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor retired Staff Sergeant Robert Carter of Waco, Texas, better known as Popeye to his friends. He passed away on November 26, 2017.

Popeye was born in 1953 and grew up in the Waco area. In 1972, he graduated from Richfield High School. After graduation, he married his high school sweetheart, Geni Kay Reeves. Popeye also heard the call to serve his country and enlisted in the United States Army in 1972.

He was stationed in Frankfurt, Germany, where he patrolled the Czech border during the Cold War. He served on Active Duty from 1972 to 1975.

After his Active-Duty service was up, Popeye served in the Army Reserves from 1975 to 1995, and all his career in the Army spanned 23 years.

In November 1990, Popeye was called into Active Duty with his reserve unit. The unit shipped off to fight in the Gulf war. His unit was placed on the front lines, incurring heavy artillery fire throughout their time in the Gulf.

He returned to the United States, where he soon found out that he was suffering from what became known as Gulf War Syndrome. The aftermath of the war affected Popeye for the rest of his life.

After Popeye's service, he came back home to Waco and served as a mechanic for 30 years. Always wanting to give back, he began volunteering to help local veterans at the Veterans One-stop, which offers support services to veterans to help them reintegrate into society and provide them with an outlet to meet other veterans in the area. He was known as someone who would help anyone in need, often anonymously.

A man of great faith, Popeye believed strongly in God and used his faith to carry him through life. He openly shared his faith with others and believed in helping those in spiritual need just as much as those with physical wounds.

After the passing of his first wife, he married and enjoyed a new beginning with his wife, Roxanne Carter. Together, their family had a son and three daughters, as well as ten grandchildren, all of whom Popeye loved dearly.

In 2013, Popeye was nominated by the members of our community for the Texas 17th Congressional District Veteran Commendation award. It was an honor to bestow this unique award that recognized his selfless service to both our Nation and to our central Texas community.

In his free time, Popeye enjoyed the outdoors, and he loved to fish. He was also an avid motorcyclist and was routinely seen riding his Harley Davidson with friends.

A dedicated family man, Popeye loved to spend time with his family and

looked forward to dinners every Monday night, where his immediate family would gather to enjoy food and fellowship.

Mr. Speaker, selfless service to all those around him defined Popeye Carter's life. He worked tirelessly to defend our freedom and to better our Waco community. He is loved by his city, and he certainly left an enduring impression on all of central Texas.

He will be forever remembered as a selfless soldier, a philanthropist, a community member, a husband, a father, a grandfather, and a friend.

My wife, Gina, and I offer our deepest and heartfelt condolences to the Carter family. We also lift up the family and friends of Popeye Carter in our prayers.

I have requested the United States flag be flown over the Capitol to honor the life and legacy of Robert "Popeye" Carter.

As I close today, I urge all Americans to continue praying for our country during these difficult times, for our military men and women who protect us from threats abroad, and for our first responders who protect us here at home.

HONORING CALVIN "RYAN" COFFER

Mr. FLORES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor U.S. Marine Corps Staff Sergeant Calvin "Ryan" Coffey of Bryan, Texas, who passed away on October 24, 2017.

Ryan Coffey was born on September 22, 1983. From a young age, he was involved in the Boy Scouts and achieved the highest rank of Eagle Scout.

True to his Texas roots, he enjoyed hunting, fishing, and loved watching football, especially the Dallas Cowboys and the fighting Texas Aggies, especially with his grandmother, Mimi.

□ 1845

Growing up, Ryan spent many days working alongside his father in a local theater company, a small performance theater in Brazos Valley.

True to his nature, Ryan put duty before himself. He felt a call, and he answered it by serving his country in the United States Marine Corps. He enlisted as an infantryman. Ryan was assigned to the 2nd Battalion, 4th Marines and, later, to the 5th Headquarters Company based in Camp Pendleton, California. During his service, he deployed three times, once to Japan and twice to Iraq.

Ryan was a well-decorated Marine and rose to the rank of staff sergeant. His awards include the Marine Corps Achievement Medal with Valor, the Combat Action Ribbon, the Good Conduct Medal, the National Defense Service Medal, the Iraq Campaign Medal with Gold Star, and the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal.

Part of his duties included being a zodiac fast assault specialist, a squad leader, and a marksman instructor. On his second deployment to Iraq, he was tasked with providing security to General David Petraeus.

Ryan embodied the core values of being a United States Marine, and he

felt that his true mission was to make sure his squad made it home safely.

After leaving the Marine Corps, Ryan set a goal to attend college at Texas A&M University. He was accepted into Texas A&M, and he planned to attend the university after holding out one semester to work and to save money for school. Ryan embodied the core values of Texas A&M through his spirit of selfless service, leadership, loyalty, and integrity.

Unfortunately, the toll of his military service manifested itself in the form of PTSD, which, unfortunately, went undiagnosed. As the long-term effects of war began to grow within him, he ultimately became another victim of PTSD, and his life ended far too early.

Mr. Speaker, Sergeant Coffey worked tirelessly to serve our country as well as family and friends. He is loved by our Bryan-College Station community, and he left an enduring impression on the Brazos Valley. Ryan will be forever remembered as a courageous Marine, leader, loving son, community member, and friend.

My wife, Gina, and I lift up our deepest and heartfelt condolences to the Coffey family. We also lift up Ryan's family and friends in our prayers.

I have requested the United States flag be flown over the Capitol to honor the life and legacy of Ryan Coffey.

As I close today, I ask all Americans to continue to pray for our country during these difficult times, for our military men and women who protect us from threats overseas, and for our first responders who protect us here at home.

HONORING LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOB AMMON

Mr. FLORES. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor retired Lieutenant Colonel Bob Ammon of Waco, Texas, who passed away on September 28, 2017.

Bob was born in West Reading, Pennsylvania, on February 28, 1924. He would spend his early years in West Reading, growing up in what he described as an "average American home." He grew up with an older brother, Jim, and a younger sister, Marjorie.

In 1941, Bob was a senior in high school when the Japanese struck Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Not being old enough for the draft, Bob was still determined to serve his country and contribute to the war effort. In 1942, he decided to take the aviation exam to become a pilot in the United States Army. He passed the exam and, on August 25, 1942, he was sworn into the Army.

He was called into Active Duty in 1943, beginning flight training in Santa Ana, California, and completing his training at Fort Sumner, New Mexico.

After graduating from flight school, Bob was assigned to Mather Air Force Base to begin training as a B-25 bomber pilot. In 1944, he began bombing runs with the 11th Bomb Squadron, who were fighting to dismantle the Japanese occupation of China. He flew 21

bombing missions in China and participated in combat during the Battle of Hanoi Harbor.

After his service in World War II, Bob reenlisted during the Korean war. In Korea, he flew an astounding 43 bombing missions and earned a Purple Heart for wounds that he suffered after being shot down over North Korea.

Bob again reenlisted to serve when the Vietnam war broke out. He never missed combat in any of the wars he fought in, and he was proud of his military service until the day he passed.

While stationed at James Connolly Air Force Base, Bob met a beautiful woman named Ann at the Officers' Club, and they married in 1952. They enjoyed 64 years of marriage together and raised three sons—Steve, Bob, and Jeff—all of whom graduated from Baylor University in Waco.

Though he was often traveling, Bob made a point to be there for his sons and to make sure they were being raised well. He was known as a loving father who raised his sons with a steady hand, and he passed on his love of flying, golf, and family to his three sons. Today, his legacy includes 25 family members, including grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Bob was a patriotic man and always flew the American flag outside his home in Waco. He always made a point to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance and the national anthem, even as his health began to fail him late in life.

Bob was known for giving back to the local community, and he had a strong faith in God. Bob served in a position of leadership at the Covenant Church for 27 years. He was well-known for greeting parishioners with a smile at the doors of the church. His friendly and welcoming manner will surely be missed at Covenant Church.

Mr. Speaker, Bob worked tirelessly to protect our country, to raise a strong family, and to serve our Waco community. He is loved by his friends and family, and he left an enduring impression on all of central Texas. He will be forever remembered as an American hero, a great community member, a husband, a father, a grandfather, a great-grandfather, and a friend.

My wife, Gina, and I offer our deepest and heartfelt condolences to the Ammon family. We also lift up the family and friends of Bob in our prayers.

I have requested that a United States flag be flown over the Capitol to honor the life and legacy of Lieutenant Colonel Bob Ammon.

As I close today, I urge all Americans to continue praying for our country during these difficult times, for our military men and women who protect us abroad, and for our first responders who protect us from threats here at home.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

OUR ECONOMIC GROWTH FUTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of Jan-

uary 3, 2017, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT) is recognized for the remainder of the hour as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, as we try to get the boards to line up, we are only going to do three of these today.

Mr. Speaker, one of the things I wanted to do tonight, and we did it during sort of the debate earlier today—I hear lots of the discussions from our brothers and sisters on the left about the tax bill, and we often tease that this place is often a math-free zone, but I wanted to actually go a little bit bigger on why this tax bill is actually so crucial to every American, whether you be on the left, on the right, or just out there working as hard as you can and not thinking about politics.

The chart I have right on the side, this is what our nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has come up with as our economic growth future. If you take a look over here, you will see 1.8 percent GDP growth for the next 10 years. But we then skyrocket up to just, actually, if you saw the details, just slightly under 2. And then the next decade, so 30 years from now, we fall back down to 1.9 percent GDP growth.

Why this is crucial is, as baby boomers are retiring, we have lots of promises. You have heard discussions, just even someone that was behind the microphone 40 minutes ago, on the other side, talking about Medicare.

There are estimates out there that, over the 75-year actuarial window, Medicare is \$105 trillion underfunded. It is the largest unfunded liability we know in America and, possibly, the world. This is what happens when you are growing at 1.8 percent GDP.

If you love people, if you want this society to have an opportunity to keep its promises to our seniors, to our kids, to that working family, we must have economic growth.

I talked about this earlier today, a terrific editorial in The Wall Street Journal over this weekend, saying, hey, from the left's eyes, they think about equality, income inequality, and from the Republican side, we often sound like accountants. And I am sorry, but the math is important.

We think about economic growth because, if you look at the next chart, I just want you to sort of look at the very, very end. You see this sort of gold line, green line, the other green line. Do you see the separation? That is income inequality. It has grown dramatically in the last decade.

We have also grown at only 1.8 percent GDP the last decade. Slow economic expansion is where you get the income inequality.

If the left here actually cared about the very issue they talk about all the time, they would be embracing tax bills, regulatory bills, things that would actually expand the size of this economy so everyone has a fighting chance. But you find the politics of division very powerful around here.

Look, we all get the joke. We understand that so many of our brothers and sisters on the left, they are terrified, or their base is angry, however we want to define it. You can't let the Republicans have a victory, particularly on rewriting the Tax Code for the first time in 31 years, even though, if you actually look at many of their records in the past, they have all stood behind microphones and said the Tax Code is abysmal. It stifles economic expansion; it hurts hardworking people; and, in a low-growth environment, with this crappy Tax Code, this is what you get. But the politics are so uncomfortable that, for a lot of our friends, it is more uncomfortable to vote for something that actually might be seen as a Republican victory.

So I wish I had an elegant way of begging my friends on the Democratic side, saying: Just think about it as giving every American a fighting chance because, if we start to grow, you actually get paid more; you have more job opportunities; you can save money for your retirement, for your kids. Because where we are at today and where we have been the last decade, we are in real trouble.

You actually look at some of the nonpartisan groups, and even some of the partisan groups, on their analyses of what the U.S. debt structure looks like, there are many of these models that, in about 15, 18 years, they collapse, our debt to GDP.

What that means is, when we say, "Here is the size of our economy, gross domestic product—here is the size of our economy, and here is the size of our debt," in just a few years, we actually surpass the amount of publicly sold debt.

This is not where we are borrowing from our own trust funds. The publicly held debt passes the entire size of our economy, and it keeps going and going and going and going. That is status quo.

Please understand, the status quo has many of the models collapsing, much of this economy, in about 15, 18 years because our debt is so huge it consumes everything.

Social entitlements right now are about three-quarters of all of our spending. Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, that includes benefits of other welfare programs, earned and unearned, that is three-quarters of our spending, and it is going to become dramatically more.

So if you are someone who actually cares about health research, if you actually care about education, if you care about the national parks, if you care about the military, if you care about our relations around the world, all those are getting squeezed because of, substantially, the demographic curve we are already in, the growth of those populations, and our attempt to keep our promises.

If you care about keeping our promises, you care about the economic growth; and the tax rewrite is one of

the key elements in that. And, yes, it is going to also require thinking through immigration. It is going to be thinking through regulations. It is going to be thinking through the adoption of technology.

□ 1900

But understand, you can't stand around here and give speeches about income inequality and then support the very policies that actually create it. The intellectual inconsistency around here is so frustrating.

This is a really interesting board, and why it is so important is that I ask for everyone to stop thinking about the actual debt number and think about it as its ratio, as its percentage, as its burden on the size of the economy.

If we have a \$20 trillion economy and \$20 trillion of debt, we are at 100 percent of debt to GDP. Our economy is actually a bit bigger than that, but if you actually look at this red line, that is entitlements.

Do you notice all those years where it is flat?

That is actually not because we were spending less money on entitlements. What that is about is we were growing as an economy. Yes, we were still spending more money, but we were growing faster than the growth in that spending.

If you care about fairness, if you care about opportunity, if you care about the ability to save, if you care about income inequality, you have got to step up and do those things that are difficult—and they are very difficult—that will maximize economic expansion in this country, because the difficulties that are coming in the next decade in our inability to have enough resources or enough borrowing capacity to continue to pay is devastating. We need this economy to continue to grow.

As we walk through this, I want to actually walk through also a couple of observations. And forgive me, but this is one of those opportunities where you have a few minutes to share.

I hold a seat on the Ways and Means Committee. It has been fascinating. On occasion you will hear folks say: Well, this was rushed through.

Well, except it was built on about a decade's worth of work. If you look at all the years that Dave Camp, the previous chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; and then the chairman after him, who happened to be PAUL RYAN; and now the chairman, KEVIN BRADY, there are volumes and volumes of documentation. There are volumes and volumes of hearings and data. And there has got to be hundreds of hours of video out there of different hearings, both the whole committee and the subcommittees have done, in just trying to understand what affects economic growth, what works and what doesn't work.

An observation. How many people in the last couple weeks have you heard walk up behind these microphones and use the early 2000s as an economic example of a tax cut?

Now, understand, that was just substantially a basic income tax. It wasn't rewriting parts of the Tax Code. What so many folks forget to tell you, if you go back to 2002 and you actually look at what we call the baseline—and I am sorry, this is going to geek out a little bit—baseline is our model of what we think revenues are going to look like and what spending is going to look like over the next decade. Then you look at those things that are referred to as the Bush tax cuts when they finally expired.

You do realize the revenues—the revenues—that came into this government were \$77 billion higher than the projection, yet you will hear people get up behind the microphone and say: Well, these didn't pay for themselves.

But that is not the math.

Now, this government spent a lot more money than was projected. We had wars, we had bailouts, we had storms. We have had all sorts of things. We spent a lot more money. But if you actually look at the revenue line when those 2002 tax cuts expired, there was \$77 billion more in revenue than was projected.

Is that because of the tax cuts?

Partially. Maybe. But there were lots of other effects in the economy, adoptions of technology, and all sorts of things. But the basic rule of thumb is: Here is where we thought we would be, and we were \$77 billion over that.

Back to this concept of: Are there tax cuts that pay for themselves?

Absolutely.

Are there tax cuts that don't?

Absolutely.

And that was one of the really gut-wrenching parts of this discussion. If you actually spend some time looking at a nonpartisan group like the Tax Foundation and look at a lot of their modeling, they would come back to us and say: Hey, you could spend this money on something that is great politics, but you get almost no economic expansion from it. Or you could spend that same money or something over here that turns out not to be great politics, but is really good for the economy and really good a few years from now and someone being able to find a job, someone being able to be paid more, someone being able to save for their retirement or their kids.

How do you get up in front of an audience and say, "I know we would love to have this because this gets me re-elected. But for that same money, our society, economically, will be healthier, bigger, wealthier a few years from now if you put that money in expensing, in certain types of business tax cuts, because that expands the size of the economy"?

That is something a lot of folks haven't thought about as they grind through the technical details of thousands of thousands of pages of the Tax Code. Parts of the Tax Code are absolutely an economic document.

How you make us competitive in the world again? How do you maximize

economic expansion? How do you maximize opportunity for everyone to have a good-paying job?

But a Tax Code is also a political document. These are things that are very popular. These are things that get us elected. These are things that certain special interests line up at our door, walk around the hallways. If you actually saw the hallways over the last few months, I didn't know there were that many lobbyists in this town, all advocating for something for their business, for their State, for their community. All are honorable. But you have got to understand, when we put together a few-hundred-page bill and grind through it month after month after month and make a change here and a change here, and then realize the interactivity when they actually model it turns out this idea blows up this idea, the number of hours that have gone into making this math work are stunning and it is a really good document.

Is it everything all of us would want? No. Being a Representative from Arizona, I believe it is really good for my State.

But the thing I care most about is it being good for our country. I believe the tax bill, the tax reform, is fair to individuals. It is simpler. It is going to also deal with the hemorrhaging we have of corporations—and these are big corporations—leaving our country, hiding their profits overseas, and moving their expenses to the United States.

Is that fair?

Of course it isn't, but that is what the current Tax Code allows.

If you hear someone saying, "Vote 'no' on this bill," if you hear them saying, "We prefer the status quo," understand what they are saying: We want to live in a world of absolute mediocrity, with almost no economic growth, no opportunity to save, have higher salaries and higher opportunities. We are happy having, in a decade and a half, a debt crisis in this country.

And what they are also saying is they are okay with the hemorrhaging of American industry leaving this country because of the tax arbitrage, where they can get a better deal in other parts of the world.

That is the absurdity of some of the arguments you have heard around this body.

So back to my fairly snarky comment: We get the joke. We understand there are many out there who are terrified of Republicans getting a win here. But I want to argue that this is not a win for Republicans. It is a win for our society because, if we start moving away from that 1.8 percent economic growth that our congressional budget has projected for the next decade, we have a fighting chance to financially keep our promises, to have a strong military, to have that money for our education, to have that money for healthcare research, and for you as an American citizen to see your salaries increase, see your ability to save, and know you have a brighter future.

Mr. Speaker, just as an idiosyncrasy, over the last couple months, I have been keeping a little bit of a notebook of many of the comments that have come from my brothers and sisters in this body, some supporting the tax bill and making claims, many opposing the tax bill and making claims.

I am going to make a mark in my calendar, 1 year from now coming back behind this microphone, and we are going to open up that journal and we are going to read what was said. Hopefully the American people at that time will understand this is political rhetoric and this is actually based in math. And that math, I am desperately hoping and desperately believing, is going to be great for our country.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mrs. NAPOLITANO (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for today after 4:30 p.m. and balance of week on account of death in family.

Ms. CLARKE of New York (at the request of Ms. PELOSI) for the first series of votes today.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 11 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, December 20, 2017, at 9 a.m. for morning-hour debate.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3430. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting the National Security Strategy of the United States, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 3043(a)(1); Public Law 99-433, Sec. 603(a)(1); (100 Stat. 1075); to the Committee on Armed Services.

3431. A letter from the President, Institute for Defense Analyses, transmitting a report entitled, "Report on Elements Contributing to Expenses Incurred by Contractors for Bid and Proposal", pursuant to Sec. 824 of the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 2017, Public Law 114-328; to the Committee on Armed Services.

3432. A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations, Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting the Fiscal Year 2017 Federal Housing Administration Annual Management Report, pursuant to OMB Circular A-136, Sec. 1.6.; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

3433. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace; Prineville, OR [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0616; Airspace Docket No.: 17-ANM-26]

received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3434. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace; Seward, NE [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0354; Airspace Docket No.: 17-ACE-8] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3435. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Multiple Restricted Areas; Vandenberg AFB, CA [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0985; Airspace Docket No.: 17-AWP-21] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3436. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Saab AB, Saab Aeronautics (Formerly Known as Saab AB, Saab Aerosystems) Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0563; Product Identifier 2017-NM-021-AD; Amendment 39-19076; AD 2017-21-05] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3437. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Gulfstream Aerospace LP (Type Certificate Previously Held by Israel Aircraft Industries, Ltd.) Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0693; Product Identifier 2017-NM-044-AD; Amendment 39-19074; AD 2017-21-03] (RIN: 2120-AA64) December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3438. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Gulfstream Aerospace LP (Type Certificate Previously Held by Israel Aircraft Industries, Ltd.) Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0692; Product Identifier 2017-NM-043-AD; Amendment 39-19075; AD 2017-21-04] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3439. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Dassault Aviation Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2016-9500; Product Identifier 2016-NM-140-AD; Amendment 39-19072; AD 2017-21-01] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3440. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Embraer S.A. Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0697; Product Identifier 2017-NM-041-AD; Amendment 39-19080; AD 2017-21-09] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3441. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0628; Product Identifier 2016-NM-207-AD; Amendment 39-19079; AD 2017-21-08] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3442. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; IPECO Pilot and Co-Pilot Seats [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0490; Product Identifier 2017-NE-13-AD; Amendment 39-19082; AD 2017-22-02] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3443. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0497; Product Identifier 2016-NM-209-AD; Amendment 39-19078; AD 2017-21-07] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3444. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Rockwell Collins, Inc. Traffic Surveillance System Processing Unit [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0659; Product Identifier 2017-CE-014-AD; Amendment 39-19094; AD 2017-22-14] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3445. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0480; Product Identifier 2016-NM-204-AD; Amendment 39-19073; AD 2017-21-02] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3446. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; The Boeing Company Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0332; Product Identifier 2016-NM-164-AD; Amendment 39-19084; AD 2017-22-04] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3447. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Establishment of Class E Airspace; Cisco, TX [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0620; Airspace Docket No.: 17-ASW-10] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3448. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class D and Class E Airspace; Fort Knox, KY, and Louisville, KY [Docket No.: FAA-2016-9499; Airspace Docket No.: 16-ASO-19] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C.

801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3449. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace; Lemoore NAS, CA [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0219; Airspace Docket No.: 17-AWP-5] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3450. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace; Bend, OR [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0391; Airspace Docket No.: 17-ANM-13] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3451. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace; Oskaloosa, IA [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0296; Airspace Docket No.: 17-ACE-7] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3452. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace, for Stevens Point, WI [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0143; Airspace Docket No.: 17-AGL-5] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3453. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Establishment of Class E Airspace; Deblois, ME [Docket No.: FAA-2015-2891; Airspace Docket No.: 15-ANE-1] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3454. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Bombardier, Inc., Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0521; Product Identifier 2016-NM-189-AD; Amendment 39-19086; AD 2017-22-06] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3455. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Amendment of Class E Airspace; Scottsboro, AL [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0557; Airspace Docket No.: 17-ASO-15] received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3456. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Sikorsky Aircraft Corporation Helicopters [Docket No.: FAA-2017-0946; Product Identifier 2017-SW-045-AD; Amendment 39-19081; AD 2017-22-01] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3457. A letter from the Management and Program Analyst, FAA, Department of

Transportation, transmitting the Department's final rule — Airworthiness Directives; Airbus Airplanes [Docket No.: FAA-2016-6429; Product Identifier 2015-NM-117-AD; Amendment 39-19083; AD 2017-22-03] (RIN: 2120-AA64) received December 14, 2017, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); Public Law 104-121, Sec. 251; (110 Stat. 868); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

3458. A letter from the National Adjunct and Chief Executive Officer, Disabled American Veterans, transmitting the reports and proceedings of the 2017 National Convention of the Disabled American Veterans, held in New Orleans, Louisiana, July 29-August 1, 2017, pursuant to 44 U.S.C. 1332; and 36 U.S.C. 50308; and 36 U.S.C. 10101 (H. Doc. No. 115—82); to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and ordered to be printed.

3459. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau Legislative Affairs, Department of State, transmitting a memorandum of justification regarding the suspension of limitations under the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, pursuant to Public Law 104-45, Sec. 7(a)(1); (109 Stat. 400); jointly to the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Appropriations.

3460. A letter from the Acting Secretary, Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, transmitting the Office's Fiscal Year 2016 Annual Report to Congress, pursuant to 6 U.S.C. 345(b); Public Law 107-296, Sec. 705; (116 Stat. 2219); jointly to the Committees on Homeland Security and the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. NUNES: Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. H.R. 4478. A bill to amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to improve foreign intelligence collection and the safeguards, accountability, and oversight of acquisitions of foreign intelligence, to extend title VII of such Act, and for other purpose; with an amendment (Rept. 115-475 Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XII, public bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. TAKANO:

H.R. 4680. A bill to ensure due process protections of individuals in the United States against unlawful detention based solely on a protected characteristic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ENGEL (for himself, Mr. KINZINGER, Mr. ROYCE of California, and Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania):

H.R. 4681. A bill to limit assistance for areas of Syria controlled by the Government of Syria or associated forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Mrs. BLACKBURN (for herself, Mr. STIVERS, Mr. JOHNSON of Ohio, Mr. HUDSON, Mr. LANCE, Mr. COLLINS of New York, Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia, Mr. FLORES, Mr. CURTIS, Mr.

NORMAN, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. DUNCAN of South Carolina, Mr. CARTER of Georgia, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. GUTHRIE, and Mr. KNIGHT):

H.R. 4682. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to ensure internet openness, to prohibit blocking of lawful content, applications, services, and non-harmful devices, to prohibit impairment or degradation of lawful internet traffic, to limit the authority of the Federal Communications Commission and to preempt State law with respect to internet openness obligations, to provide that broadband internet access service shall be considered to be an information service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. REICHERT (for himself, Ms. DELBENE, Mrs. McMORRIS RODGERS, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, and Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN):

H.R. 4683. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to revise the NTAP period under the Medicare inpatient prospective payment system and the pass-through period under the Medicare outpatient prospective payment system; to the Committee on Ways and Means, and in addition to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

By Ms. JUDY CHU of California (for herself, Mrs. MURPHY of Florida, Mrs. BUSTOS, Mr. GONZALEZ of Texas, Mr. RUIZ, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. FRANKEL of Florida, Mrs. MIMI WALTERS of California, Ms. KUSTER of New Hampshire, and Mr. BILIRAKIS):

H.R. 4684. A bill to direct the Secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Director of the Center for Substance Abuse Treatment of the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, to publish and disseminate best practices for operating a recovery housing, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

By Mr. CICILLINE (for himself and Mr. LANGEVIN):

H.R. 4685. A bill to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 515 Hope Street in Bristol, Rhode Island, as the "First Sergeant P. Andrew McKenna Jr. Post Office"; to the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.

By Mr. ELLISON (for himself, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. POCAN, and Mr. CICILLINE):

H.R. 4686. A bill to establish the National Commission on Economic Concentration to study the effects of economic concentration on competition, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAWSON of Florida:

H.R. 4687. A bill to designate the health care center of the Department of Veterans Affairs in Tallahassee, Florida, as the Sergeant Ernest I. "Boots" Thomas VA Clinic, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Ms. MICHELLE LUJAN GRISHAM of New Mexico:

H.R. 4688. A bill to amend the Food Security Act of 1985 to make land grants-mercedes eligible for assistance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SMITH of Nebraska:

H.R. 4689. A bill to authorize early repayment of obligations to the Bureau of Reclamation within the Northport Irrigation District in the State of Nebraska; to the Committee on Natural Resources.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

150. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Texas, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 45, urging the United States Congress to bestow on Doris "Dorie" Miller the Congressional Medal of Honor; to the Committee on Armed Services.

151. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Texas, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 106, expressing support for the development and construction of a coastal barrier to protect the Gulf Coast region of Texas from storm surges; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

152. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, relative to Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 7, supporting the recommendations of the United States Army Corps of Engineers to prevent Asian and other invasive carp from entering the Great Lakes; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

153. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Texas, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 59, urging the Congress of the United States to pass a budget; jointly to the Committees on Appropriations and Oversight and Government Reform.

CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY STATEMENT

Pursuant to clause 7 of rule XII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, the following statements are submitted regarding the specific powers granted to Congress in the Constitution to enact the accompanying bill or joint resolution.

By Mr. TAKANO:

H.R. 4680.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18.

By Mr. ENGEL:

H.R. 4681.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18 of the Constitution

By Mrs. BLACKBURN:

H.R. 4682.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8 "necessary and proper" clause.

By Mr. REICHERT:

H.R. 4683.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

"The constitutional authority of Congress to enact this legislation is provided by Article I, section 8 of the United States Constitution, specifically clause 1 (relating to providing for the general welfare of the United States) and clause 18 (relating to the power to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying out the powers vested in Congress), and Article IV, section 3, clause 2 (relating to the power of Congress to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States)."

By Ms. JUDY CHU of California:

H.R. 4684.
Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Clause 1 of Section 8 of Article 1 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. CICILLINE:

H.R. 4685.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 7

By Mr. ELLISON:

H.R. 4686.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3: To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

By Mr. LAWSON of Florida:

H.R. 4687.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

"Article 1, Section 8: To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof."

By Ms. MICHELLE LUJAN GRISHAM of New Mexico:

H.R. 4688.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article I, Section 8, Clause 18 of the United States Constitution.

By Mr. SMITH of Nebraska:

H.R. 4689.

Congress has the power to enact this legislation pursuant to the following:

Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 7 of rule XII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions, as follows:

H.R. 130: Mr. RUIZ.

H.R. 131: Mr. RUIZ.

H.R. 203: Mr. CAPUANO.

H.R. 291: Mr. BIGGS.

H.R. 431: Mr. CAPUANO.

H.R. 449: Mr. FASO.

H.R. 548: Mr. THOMPSON of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 559: Mr. BANKS of Indiana.

H.R. 631: Mr. EMMER.

H.R. 719: Mr. SCHWEIKERT, Mr. HOLDING, and Mr. JORDAN.

H.R. 757: Ms. BONAMICI.

H.R. 788: Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana.

H.R. 850: Mr. HOLDING, Mr. NORMAN, and Mr. WILLIAMS.

H.R. 930: Mr. GRAVES of Georgia.

H.R. 1040: Mr. SANFORD.

H.R. 1178: Mr. BISHOP of Michigan and Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana.

H.R. 1192: Mr. WEBER of Texas, Mr. ROKITA, and Mr. HIGGINS of Louisiana.

H.R. 1204: Mr. GRAVES of Georgia.

H.R. 1212: Mr. QUIGLEY.

H.R. 1456: Mrs. DEMINGS and Mr. FASO.

H.R. 1478: Mr. MCGOVERN and Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.

H.R. 1494: Mr. LARSEN of Washington and Ms. ESHOO.

H.R. 1587: Mr. LIPINSKI.

H.R. 1617: Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 1651: Mr. RODNEY DAVIS of Illinois.

H.R. 1710: Mr. WALZ.

H.R. 1734: Mr. GRIJALVA.

H.R. 1825: Mr. GRAVES of Missouri and Mrs. BLACK.

H.R. 1847: Mr. HUDSON.

H.R. 1865: Mr. CALVERT.

H.R. 1910: Mr. PEARCE.

H.R. 1957: Mr. RUIZ.

H.R. 1987: Ms. BARRAGAN.

H.R. 2150: Mr. CÁRDENAS, Ms. MENG, and Ms. JAYAPAL.

H.R. 2193: Mr. CURTIS.

H.R. 2234: Mr. LOWENTHAL.

H.R. 2276: Mr. RASKIN.

H.R. 2315: Mr. ISSA.

H.R. 2319: Mr. BABIN.
 H.R. 2328: Ms. SEWELL of Alabama.
 H.R. 2366: Mr. PETERS.
 H.R. 2401: Mr. FASO.
 H.R. 2569: Mr. DESANTIS.
 H.R. 2591: Mr. JODY B. HICE of Georgia.
 H.R. 2670: Ms. GABBARD.
 H.R. 2723: Mr. SCHWEIKERT and Mr. HOLINGSWORTH.
 H.R. 2948: Mr. POLIS and Mr. KIND.
 H.R. 2995: Ms. HANABUSA and Ms. GABBARD.
 H.R. 2996: Mr. BROOKS of Alabama, Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. SCHWEIKERT, Mr. GOHMERT, and Mr. JORDAN.
 H.R. 3033: Mr. CAPUANO.
 H.R. 3314: Ms. SLAUGHTER.
 H.R. 3349: Mr. PASCARELL.
 H.R. 3350: Mr. GROTHMAN, Mr. FLORES, and Mr. SHUSTER.
 H.R. 3513: Mr. SENSENBRENNER.
 H.R. 3542: Ms. FRANKEL of Florida.
 H.R. 3576: Mr. ROKITA.
 H.R. 3711: Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. CARTER of Georgia, and Mr. ADERHOLT.
 H.R. 3768: Mr. WALZ and Mr. MCEACHIN.
 H.R. 3828: Ms. PINGREE, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. SMITH of Washington, and Ms. SHEA-PORTER.
 H.R. 3841: Mr. ZELDIN.
 H.R. 3887: Mr. DELANEY.
 H.R. 4006: Mr. BILIRAKIS.
 H.R. 4007: Ms. BASS, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. MCNERNEY, Mr. SCHNEIDER, Ms. SLAUGHTER, and Mr. VELA.
 H.R. 4022: Ms. ADAMS, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. VISCLOSKEY, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. SWALWELL of California, Mr. LYNCH, Mr. CARBAJAL, Mr. POLIS, Mr. HASTINGS, and Mr. BISHOP of Michigan.
 H.R. 4040: Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania.

H.R. 4068: Ms. BONAMICI.
 H.R. 4096: Mr. CARTWRIGHT.
 H.R. 4143: Mr. DEUTCH.
 H.R. 4207: Mr. TIPTON.
 H.R. 4209: Ms. BONAMICI.
 H.R. 4222: Ms. PINGREE.
 H.R. 4238: Mr. KING of New York.
 H.R. 4311: Mr. GRAVES of Georgia.
 H.R. 4340: Mr. BIGGS.
 H.R. 4392: Mr. SMUCKER, Mr. KIND, Mr. KILMER, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mrs. LOVE, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. SCHRADER, Mr. KELLY of Mississippi, and Mr. JOHNSON of Louisiana.
 H.R. 4396: Mr. SCHNEIDER and Mr. VEASEY.
 H.R. 4438: Mr. ABRAHAM.
 H.R. 4467: Mr. MITCHELL.
 H.R. 4472: Mr. STIVERS.
 H.R. 4516: Ms. SHEA-PORTER.
 H.R. 4526: Mr. GROTHMAN and Mr. BABIN.
 H.R. 4541: Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. HIGGINS of New York, Ms. ESTY of Connecticut, Mr. WALZ, Mr. POCAN, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. RICHMOND, and Mr. LEWIS of Georgia.
 H.R. 4565: Ms. PINGREE.
 H.R. 4608: Mr. ISSA.
 H.R. 4610: Ms. SHEA-PORTER and Mr. PRICE of North Carolina.
 H.R. 4620: Mrs. BLACK and Mr. ISSA.
 H.R. 4622: Mr. NOLAN and Mr. CARTWRIGHT.
 H.R. 4631: Ms. SINEMA and Mr. MEEKS.
 H.R. 4656: Ms. BONAMICI.
 H. Con. Res. 10: Mr. TIPTON.
 H. Con. Res. 45: Mr. THOMAS J. ROONEY of Florida and Mr. POE of Texas.
 H. Con. Res. 63: Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. SIRES, and Mr. HASTINGS.
 H. Res. 245: Mr. CLAY.
 H. Res. 252: Mr. TURNER.
 H. Res. 318: Mr. RASKIN.
 H. Res. 466: Mr. HURD, Mr. DOGGETT, and Ms. SEWELL of Alabama.

H. Res. 587: Mr. WELCH, Mrs. DAVIS of California, Mr. GARAMENDI, and Mr. KHANNA.
 H. Res. 621: Ms. JAYAPAL.
 H. Res. 661: Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN and Mr. MARINO.

 PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 3 of rule XII, petitions and papers were laid on the clerk's desk and referred as follows:

72. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Mr. Gregory Watson, a citizen of Austin, TX, relative to urging Congress to propose, pursuant to Article V, an amendment to the United States Constitution that would, in addition to congressional proposal, likewise allow an identically-worded suggested federal constitutional amendment, approved by the legislatures of at least two-thirds of the several states, as an alternate means of proposing future amendments and that would further provide for a same-day nationwide referendum as the exclusive method of ratifying any future amendments; thus repealing all references to a national proposing convention, and repealing all references to ratifying conventions conducted within the individual states, and repealing all references to state legislative ratification; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

73. Also, a petition of the Yates County, New York, Legislature, relative to Resolution No. 317-17, urging the United States Congress to enact, and President Trump to sign into law, H.R. 3576, the Second Amendment Guarantee Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.