

NAYS—42

Alexander	DeMint	Moran
Ayotte	Enzi	Murkowski
Barrasso	Graham	Paul
Blunt	Grassley	Portman
Boozman	Hatch	Risch
Brown (MA)	Heller	Roberts
Burr	Isakson	Rubio
Chambliss	Johanns	Sessions
Coats	Johnson (WI)	Shelby
Coburn	Kyl	Snowe
Cochran	Lee	Thune
Corker	Lugar	Toomey
Cornyn	McConnell	Vitter
Crapo	Mikulski	Wicker

NOT VOTING—8

Boxer	Inouye	Leahy
Hoeven	Kirk	McCain
Inhofe	Lautenberg	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 50, the nays are 42. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

The point of order is sustained. Under the previous order, the motion to invoke cloture on S. 3637 is withdrawn.

The majority leader.

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that today, Thursday, December 13, at 1:45, the Senate proceed to executive session to consider the following nominations: Calendar Nos. 830, 832; that there be 30 minutes for debate equally divided in the usual form; that upon the use or yielding back of that time, the Senate proceed to vote without intervening action or debate on Calendar Nos. 830 and 832, in that order, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table, with no intervening action or debate; that no further motions be in order; that any statements related to this matter be printed in the RECORD; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action, and the Senate then resume legislative session.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to a period of morning business until 1:45 p.m. with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each; further that Senator SNOWE be recognized at 1 p.m. for up to 45 minutes; finally, at 1:45 p.m. the Senate proceed to executive session as provided under the previous order.

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

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. REID. Madam President, we hope that after the first vote this afternoon we will be in a position to enter an order that we would be on—when we come back on Monday—the supplemental. We are going to come in earlier than usual. There will not be a vote until 5:30. That will likely be on a judge. But during the afternoon, there

can be a case made for the supplemental. So we hope to have a consent agreement on that within the next couple of hours.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Republican leader.

TRIBUTES TO DEPARTING SENATORS

SCOTT BROWN

Mr. MCCONNELL. Madam President, I would like to continue the difficult task of saying goodbye to Senators who will not be with us in the next Congress. Sadly, that includes Senator SCOTT BROWN of Massachusetts.

Senator BROWN came to us already something of a political legend. In just a few short years, he leaves behind an outsized legacy. We all remember how SCOTT rose to national prominence in the election literally heard about around the world. After the death of Senator Kennedy, there was an open seat in Massachusetts and a special election to fill it. Few people even entertained the thought of a Republican winning. And for good reason. Few States are as synonymous with political liberalism.

Democrats outnumber Republicans in the State 3 to 1, and the entire congressional delegation is composed of Democrats. But supported by his wife Gail and their daughters, along with some key early allies, including our own Senator MCCAIN, SCOTT appealed to the State's political independents, ran a flawless campaign, and won. As he put it on election night, he beat the odds and the experts, and the people became the machine. I think the 2006 GMC Canyon that SCOTT drove around during the election should actually go to the Smithsonian.

We all remember that night, and, in particular, SCOTT's acceptance speech. Most people focus on what he said about his daughters, but the speech itself was a masterpiece. It perfectly summed up the political moment, and it captured something essential about SCOTT's success; that is, the notion that no politician has a right to his or her seat; that we are all here to serve our constituents.

Every day I hold this office, SCOTT said, "I will give all that is in me to serve you well and to make you proud . . . [and] most of all, I will remember that while the honor is mine, this Senate seat belongs to no one person and to no political party, and as I have said before, and you said loud and clear today, it is the people's seat."

SCOTT lived up to his promise. He captured the imagination of the entire country when he corrected David Gergen by telling him the so-called Kennedy seat was, in fact, the people's seat. He carried that message straight to Washington.

I remember SCOTT telling me in our very first meeting that I could not count on his vote, that I would have to earn it. I told him he could do whatever he pleased. While he has not been

here long, he has certainly made his mark. I have seen a lot of politicians in my day, but few have been as talented as SCOTT BROWN. He is a unique talent. I have no doubt we will see him back in Washington someday in the not too distant future.

The truth is, SCOTT's victory was not the first time he had done what others thought impossible. As a young man, he knew poverty first hand, and a broken home, and even took to shoplifting to feed himself and his sister. Yet SCOTT overcame these early challenges. As is often the case, he owes a lot of it to an adult who saw his potential early on.

In SCOTT's case, that adult was Judge Samuel Zoll. When SCOTT showed up in his chambers one day, Judge Zoll saw a troubled but decent young man who needed a friendly nudge.

"We had a long talk about [the] talent I thought he had, and I didn't want to see him squander it," Judge Zoll later recalled.

SCOTT, of course, remembers it a little differently, saying the judge "verbally kicked [his] butt."

The judge ordered SCOTT to write a 1,500-word essay about disappointing his family. After reading it, he told SCOTT he would give him a break this time, but if he ever stole anything again—anything—he would be sent to jail. Judge Zoll's lesson stuck so deeply that the two men remained friends until Judge Zoll's death last year.

SCOTT went on to be a baseball star in high school and in college, earning the nickname "Downtown Scotty Brown." That was for his accuracy with a 3-point shot. Then he went to law school, the Army National Guard, held city and State political office, where he was 1 of just 5 Republicans in a body of 40 in the State senate and then the U.S. Senate.

Senator BROWN also famously found time to do a little modeling in his youth, and it was through this work that he met his wife Gail. I have had the pleasure to get to know SCOTT and Gail well over the last 3 years. They have two daughters and make an absolutely wonderful family. I am sure Gail, Ayla, and Arianna are very proud of SCOTT and just as sad as I am to see his tenure cut short. But they should be proud of the fact that SCOTT has accomplished a lot in 3 short years in the Senate.

He led the charge to repeal a burdensome withholding tax that hurt small businesses. He crafted legislation for crowdfunding, which allowed job creators to raise startup funds for their businesses over the Internet with less redtape, and he introduced legislation to ensure that children's hospitals have access to discounts on orphan drugs that are used to treat rare diseases. All of these bills are now law.

As a 32-year member of the National Guard, Senator BROWN takes a special interest in our men and women in uniform and their families. He introduced legislation to give businesses incentives to hire veterans, who, sadly, have

higher unemployment rates than the national average. He introduced and saw to passage legislation creating the Office of Service Member Affairs to protect troops who are often targeted by financial fraud and scams. He saw to the passage of legislation making it easier to void government contracts with businesses found to be funneling taxpayer resources to terrorist groups. He fought for National Guard members and their families to receive their fair housing allowance when deployed overseas.

Although his work in the Senate has come to an end, I am sure SCOTT BROWN's work in public service, in whatever capacity, will not. He is still a young man with a bright future ahead of him. I, for one, am very much looking forward to seeing how he uses his talents next.

From the statehouse to the Senate, from the modeling shoot to the basketball court, Senator SCOTT BROWN has always made his own success. I do not think he knows any other way.

SCOTT, it has been an honor serving with you. You not only made history, you made a difference. You should be proud.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. REED. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for up to 15 minutes in morning business.

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

THE FISCAL CLIFF

Mr. REED. Madam President, I rise today to speak about the real-world consequences of failing to achieve a fair and balanced solution to avert the automatic tax hikes and spending cuts that would otherwise occur at the end of December—the end of this month.

Failing to continue unemployment insurance, allowing taxes to rise on middle-income Americans, and cutting Federal spending too much and too soon during a struggling economic recovery could, as the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has estimated, cause a new recession.

This is a fate we can and should avoid for people in my State and across the country. Indeed, families in Rhode Island are still getting their economic footing and cannot afford another economic setback. An economic downturn will erase the strides we have made so far to strengthen our economy and exacerbate the widening income inequality, which Americans sense and recognize in an economy that all too often seems stacked against them. Instead, we must work toward a compromise that is fair, helps the middle class, creates jobs, and strengthens and accelerates our economic recovery.

As I see it, widening income inequality and the sense that future generations will not see the same kind of economic security as my generation is one of the most pressing challenges facing

our Nation. Over the past several decades, top earners have taken a bigger and bigger chunk of income while wages have stagnated for far too many Americans.

From 2000 to 2007, incomes for 90 percent of workers rose by about 4 percent, while the top one-tenth of 1 percent of Americans saw income gains of 94 percent. The vast majority of Americans have seen wage gains that are barely enough to keep their heads above water, while a very small number of top-income earners have seen an extraordinary growth in income.

In 2010 alone, about 20 percent of all income went to the top 1 percent. We are now back to income inequality levels similar to just before the Great Depression. Such wide disparities are unsustainable, create economic instability and threaten our social fabric.

In the past, when income inequality has reached these kinds of levels, Democrats and Republicans have both recognized its destabilizing impact and worked together to reward success while providing meaningful opportunities and a sense of fairness for all Americans.

I believe there are straightforward ways we can begin to reverse this escalating income inequality—ways which are true to the founding principles of our Nation. After all, we have done it before. From the end of World War II and well into the 1970s, incomes grew rapidly across the United States and economic prosperity was broadly shared. As our economy grew, every level of America shared in that growth.

By making education affordable, fostering innovation and job creation, and providing economic security to retirees through Medicare and Social Security, our country went from a paralyzing Great Depression to an economic superpower. We were able to accomplish such a drastic transformation because we were willing to consider revenue as a way to invest in the future and promise economic security to our seniors.

Focusing spending on policies that work and balancing revenue is at the core of this debate. I have made tough choices in the 1990s that balanced the budget, generated a surplus, and supported robust job creation. In January of 1993, the unemployment rate stood at 7.3 percent, and by January of 2001 that rate had been reduced down to 3.9 percent. That period of record growth also saw a substantial decline in the poverty rate. In 1993, 15.1 percent of Americans were in poverty, but thanks to job growth and an expanding economy based upon a balanced approach to deficit reduction—including revenue and reduction in expenditures—poverty fell to 11.3 percent in 2000.

But the unpaid wars of the Bush administration, excess tax cuts for the wealthy, and a financial crisis brought on by lax regulation under the Bush Presidency erased those hard-fought gains of the 1990s. As a result, we have seen education become more expensive, Federal investments that support eco-

nomics prosperity for all have been reduced, and economic gains have been concentrated at the top. Meanwhile, in spite of repeated claims, lower tax rates for the wealthiest haven't driven job creation and economic growth. We have had record low income tax rates; yet now we are struggling with one of the worst unemployment crises we have seen since the Great Depression.

I believe the election has shown Americans want us to return to the principles that work for the benefit of everyone, not just a select few. With that in mind, the path forward should be clear.

We should continue tax cuts for income up to one-quarter of a million dollars and reduce the deficit by nearly \$1 trillion. We should continue extended unemployment insurance for 2 million people who will lose it otherwise. We should prevent further immediate cuts to Federal investments in things that keep us safe, grow our economy, and enhance the lives of Americans, whether it be infrastructure, workforce training or research and development.

What we should absolutely not do is make changes, hasty changes, to Social Security and Medicare that would undermine the promise of economic security to seniors, not just this generation of seniors but succeeding generations of seniors. Fairness, opportunity, respect for the rules, and a sense of security in retirement, those are the priorities that can't be lost as we debate the budget.

So I am disheartened to hear that Republicans are holding the middle class and the entire economy hostage in order to preserve nearly \$1 trillion in additional tax cuts for the top 2 percent of Americans, while at the same time proposing detrimental changes to Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid. I believe this is an untenable position and one I hope my colleagues on the other side will soon abandon.

Moreover, the Republican proposal does not provide immediate, short-term aid to 2 million Americans out of work and looking for employment. These were men and women who were working, and as a consequence of the economic difficulties over the last few years have lost their jobs. Their proposal would not, as the President's plan does, put Americans back to work, not just by continuing benefits in terms of unemployment insurance but by putting Americans back to work improving our roads, bridges, and transportation infrastructure.

Unfortunately, in the past, too many on the other side of the aisle have stymied efforts to accelerate the recovery like blocking jobs legislation that was paid for by asking millionaires to pay Clinton-era rates on income over \$1 million. They have endorsed proposals that would transform Medicare into a voucher program and Medicaid into a block grant, which would merely shift health care costs to seniors and States rather than address underlying cost drivers and inefficiencies.