

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 gentleman 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 gentleman 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 to 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	McCaull
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)
Billirakis	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)	Hartzer	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	Rooney, Francis
Conaway	Joyce (OH)	Rooney, Thomas J.
Cook	Katko	Ros-Lehtinen
Costello (PA)	Kelly (MS)	Roskam
Cramer	Kelly (PA)	Ross
Crawford	King (IA)	Rothfus
Culberson	King (NY)	Rouzer
Curbelo (FL)	Kinzinger	Royce (CA)
Curtis	Knight	Russell
Davis, Rodney	Kustoff (TN)	Rutherford
Denham	Labrador	Sanford
Dent	LaHood	Scalise
DeSantis	LaMalfa	Schweikert
DesJarlais	Lamborn	Scott, Austin
Diaz-Balart	Lance	Sensenbrenner
Donovan	Latta	Sessions
Duffy	Lewis (MN)	Shimkus
Duncan (SC)	LoBiondo	Shuster
Duncan (TN)	Long	Simpson
Dunn	Loudermilk	Smith (MO)
Emmer	Love	Smith (NE)
Estes (KS)	Lucas	Smith (NJ)
Farenthold	Luetkemeyer	Smucker
Faso	MacArthur	Stefanik
Ferguson	Marchant	Stewart
Fitzpatrick	Marino	Stivers
Fleischmann	Marshall	Taylor
Flores	Massie	Tenney
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)	Kaptur	Ruiz
Cartwright	Keating	Ruppersberger
Castor (FL)	Kelly (IL)	Rush
Castro (TX)	Khanna	Ryan (OH)
Chu, Judy	Kihuen	Sánchez
Cicilline	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	Suozy
DeGette	Lowenthal	Swalwell (CA)
Delaney	Lowe	Takano
DeLauro	Lujan Grisham,	Thompson (CA)
DelBene	M.	Thompson (MS)
Demings	Luján, 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

□ 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	Pascarell
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
Cárdenas	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)
Cicilline	Kihuen	Sánchez
Clark (MA)	Kildee	Sarbanes
Clay	Kilmer	Schakowsky
Cleaver	Kind	Schiff
Clyburn	Krishnamoorthi	Schneider
Cohen	Kuster (NH)	Schrader
Connolly	Langevin	Scott (VA)
Cooper	Larsen (WA)	Scott, David
Correa	Larson (CT)	Serrano
Costa	Lawrence	Sewell (AL)
Courtney	Lawson (FL)	Shea-Porter
Crist	Lee	Sherman
Crowley	Levin	Sinema
Cuellar	Lewis (GA)	Sires
Cummings	Lieu, Ted	Slaughter
Davis (CA)	Lipinski	Smith (WA)
Davis, Danny	Loebach	Soto
DeFazio	Lofgren	Speier
DeGette	Lowenthal	Suozzi
Delaney	Lowe	Swalwell (CA)
DeLauro	Lujan Grisham, M.	Takano
DelBene	Luján, Ben Ray	Thompson (CA)
Demings	Lynch	Thompson (MS)
DeSaulnier	Maloney,	Titus
Deutsch	Carolyn B.	Tonko
Dingell	Maloney, Sean	Torres
Doggett	Massie	Tsongas
Doyle, Michael F.	Matsui	Vargas
Ellison	McCollum	Veasey
Engel	McEachin	Vela
Eshoo	McGovern	Velázquez
Espaillat	McNerney	Visclosky
Esty (CT)	Meeks	Walz
Evans	Meng	Wasserman
Foster	Moore	Schultz
Frankel (FL)	Moulton	Waters, Maxine
Fudge	Murphy (FL)	Watson Coleman
Gabbard	Nadler	Welch
	Napolitano	Wilson (FL)
		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)	Doggett	Jenkins (KS)
Brady (TX)	Donovan	Jenkins (WV)
Brat	Doyle, Michael F.	Johnson (GA)
Brooks (AL)	Duffy	Johnson (LA)
Brooks (IN)	Duncan (SC)	Johnson (OH)
Brown (MD)	Dunn	Johnson, E. B.
Brownley (CA)	Ellison	Johnson, Sam
Buchanan	Emmer	Jones
Bucshon	Engel	Jordan
Budd	Eshoo	Joyce (OH)
Burgess	Espaillat	Kaptur
Bustos	Estes (KS)	Katko
Butterfield	Esty (CT)	Keating
Byrne	Evans	Kelly (IL)
Calvert	Farenthold	Kelly (MS)
Capuano	Faso	Kelly (PA)
Carbajal	Ferguson	Khanna
Cárdenas	Fitzpatrick	Kihuen
Carson (IN)	Fleischmann	Kildee
Carter (GA)	Flores	Kilmer
Carter (TX)	Fortenberry	Kind
Cartwright	Foster	King (NY)
Castor (FL)	Fox	Kinzinger
Castro (TX)	Frankel (FL)	Knight
Chabot	Frelinghuysen	Krishnamoorthi
Cheney	Fudge	Kuster (NH)
Chu, Judy	Gabbard	Kustoff (TN)
Cicilline	Gallagher	LaHood
Clark (MA)	Gallego	LaMalfa
Clay	Garamendi	Lamborn
Cleaver	Gianforte	Lance
Clyburn	Gibbs	Langevin
Coffman	Gomez	Larsen (WA)
Cohen	Goodlatte	Larson (CT)
Cole	Gottheimer	Latta
Collins (GA)	Gowdy	Lawrence
Collins (NY)	Granger	Lawson (FL)
Comer	Graves (GA)	Lee
Comstock	Graves (LA)	Levin
Conaway		Lewis (GA)
		Lewis (MN)