

what tax reform might look like, and even the introduction of a comprehensive reform bill introduced in the last Congress. Republicans campaigned on a better way to tax reform in specified areas for reform, and we followed that up earlier this year with a framework document setting forth our principles.

Today is the culmination of more than 6 years of work, but our work is not done. Now Members of Congress and the public will have the opportunity to study the legislation in detail. When all the dust settles, two questions will remain:

Will this put more money in the average American's pocket?

Will this put America in a much better position in the global economy and allow us to finally break through years of stagnation with much healthier growth, more jobs, and higher incomes?

That should be our focus. I encourage everyone to visit fairandsimple.gop, and I look forward to a real debate on how tax reform and tax cuts will relight opportunities for all Americans.

SUPPORTING THE STATE AND LOCAL TAX DEDUCTION

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

Ms. ESTY of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, for weeks we have heard that the partisan tax plan crafted behind closed doors might include the elimination of the deduction for families' State and local income taxes. Today the rumors became reality. The tax plan announced today would drastically reduce the State and local tax deduction.

Let me be as clear as I can be. This proposal is a tax increase on middle class families, and I oppose it. Working people in my State already send more dollars to the Federal Government in taxes than they receive back in support. For every dollar we send to Washington from Connecticut, we receive back just 83 cents. By attacking the State and local deduction, this tax plan would make life even harder for real people in my district.

A senior citizen in Simsbury, Connecticut, called me to say that she might lose her home if this tax deduction is taken away from her. Seniors who live on a fixed income shouldn't have to risk losing a roof over their head just so that Congress can cut the corporate tax rate.

Families who are already struggling to pay their bills, put their kids through college, and buy their first home shouldn't have to suffer in order to cut taxes for the wealthiest Americans.

The President promised that tax reform would help our middle class and would bring jobs back. It is doing neither.

I urge my colleagues to support keeping the State and local deduction.

SUPPORT REPUBLICAN TAX PLAN

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

Mr. MCHENRY. Mr. Speaker, here in Washington, we are in the midst of a major debate on tax reform, tax simplification, and tax cuts.

The plan unveiled by House Republicans today is a tax cut plan for middle-income, middle class families in America. If you are a family of four making \$59,000, which is the median family income in America, you will receive a \$1,200 tax cut as a result of the plan that we unveiled today.

That is real money for middle class families in North Carolina. Maybe it is not real money in Washington, D.C., but it is real money in western North Carolina.

We need tax cuts. We need tax simplification. We need economic growth, more American jobs, and a more competitive environment in America so that we can keep jobs here in the United States and not offshore those jobs. We need middle class families to win. Our plan does that.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to support our efforts.

FISCALLY IRRESPONSIBLE TAX BILL

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

Mr. SCHRADER. Mr. Speaker, today, my colleagues on the Republican side of the aisle released their fiscally irresponsible tax bill.

I am still reading my way through the 492-page proposal, but it doesn't take long to notice a huge flaw in the process: the majority is using the partisan budget reconciliation process, a process traditionally reserved for deficit reduction, to add over \$1.5 trillion to the deficit and jam a reckless bill through the House without hearings, study, or debate. We don't have to operate that way.

Let's compare where we were the last time Congress reformed the Tax Code in 1986 to where we are today.

When Congress last took up this monumental task, it took over 2 years. There were 4 months of public hearings, more than 450 witnesses, 26 days of markup, and months of debate. This wasn't easy, but what did we get?

We got a simplified Tax Code that did not add to the deficit and a bill that had broad bipartisan support in the House and the Senate, and the support of the American people.

Mr. Speaker, let's work together on a bipartisan basis. Let's reform the Tax Code in a way that helps the middle class and does not add to our children's deficit in the future.

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

Mr. RUIZ. Mr. Speaker, we need a hearing on burn pits immediately.

Burn pits are used by our military at bases in Iraq and Afghanistan to eliminate tons of waste, including chemicals and plastics. They cause giant clouds of black smoke containing carcinogens.

Thousands of our men and women in our military are exposed to these cancer-causing hazards. I know because my constituent and friend, Jennifer Kepner, a 39-year-old wife, mother, and Air Force veteran, died from pancreatic cancer 2 weeks ago. Her oncologist made the most probable link between her exposure to burn pits while serving in Iraq and her pancreatic cancer.

Congress must act. Too many questions remain. Are burn pits still being used? What are the DOD and VA doing to help veterans who have been exposed?

On behalf of Jenn and all concerned veterans, I, along with Republicans and Democrats, demand hearings in the Armed Services and VA Committees immediately to get answers.

CONGRESSIONAL PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS: REPUBLICAN TAX PLAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KUSTOFF of Tennessee). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. JAYAPAL) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the subject of my Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, today, the Republicans released their tax plan. Unsurprisingly, it is a gift-wrapped tax cut to the rich. Christmas came early, Mr. Speaker. From huge corporate tax cuts to the elimination of the alternative minimum tax paid by the wealthiest Americans, this tax plan will hurt our economy and prioritize the top earners of our country. But there is one person—maybe a group of people—who is very thrilled about this tax plan, Mr. Speaker, and that person is Mr. Money Bags. Mr. Money Bags is really going to benefit from this tax plan.

First of all, the President himself will greatly benefit from the tax plan. It is impossible to know exactly how much because we still don't have his tax returns. He has refused to release them. We would really appreciate, and we demand, frankly, that the American

people know exactly how much he is going to benefit from this tax plan.

Mr. Speaker, as the vice chair of the House Budget Committee, I saw firsthand how the Republicans rammed through a budget plan that paved the way for the massive Ryan-McConnell tax giveaway to the wealthy. Frankly, as a new Member, I find it an affront to the legislative process and an affront to families across the United States in red and blue States alike that we did not have hearings on that budget, that we are not going to have hearings on this tax plan, which is a complete rewrite of the U.S. economy that is going to be pushed through, apparently, in 2 weeks or less. We still have no score on this because we just saw the details of a tax plan today.

The Republicans have made this habit of relying on fake logic and faulty assumptions. They did it with healthcare and the budget, and it is safe to assume that is what we are looking at here.

These cuts do not pay for themselves. Despite the claims that this tax plan is really going to help middle class Americans, the reality is that it is going to hurt millions of American families just to fast-track tax cuts for millionaires, billionaires, and large corporations.

If the Republicans are so opposed to so-called government handouts, as we are always told they are called, then why is it that they seem to be more willing to hand out everything we have to the wealthiest people in this Nation?

Now, we are still exploring all of the details of this tax plan that was just released today, but there is no question that this bill is going to make sure that the wealthiest individuals and the largest corporations in this country get a tax cut of a million dollars. If you happen to be in the top one-tenth of 1 percent, then bingo, Mr. Moneybags is going to get a million dollars in a tax cut every year.

Consider this: if this tax bill lines up with the budget resolution, then 80 percent of the Republican tax cut goes to the top 1 percent by 2027; the average tax cut for the top 1 percent in 2027 would be \$207,000; for millionaires, the cut would be \$230,000; and, as I said, for the top one-tenth of 1 percent, you get to have a million dollars a year. For the middle class, on the other hand, 42 million middle class households would face a tax increase.

Let's not be fooled by this idea that the standard deduction is going up, and let me tell you what that means. It means that, along with the standard deduction going up, you are also getting your credits for individual children taken away, the itemization of it.

So if you have a family with several children, as many Americans do, you will actually end up probably being able to deduct less.

Let's also be clear that when you eliminate the deduction for property taxes and State and local taxes, and you cut all of the services that are going to be required to be cut if you

are going to pay for this tax cut, then you will end up paying more in your States, both in terms of the SALT deduction, but also in terms of all of the increased taxes you are going to have to pay at the local level to fund things like infrastructure and education.

Let's be clear that this plan gives a \$4 trillion tax cut to the wealthiest 1 percent and largest corporations, taxes 42 million working families more, and borrows millions from the future to give those tax cuts.

Last week, in the Rules Committee, I offered an amendment to the Republican budget resolution that would have stopped some of the most egregious impacts of the billionaire's budget.

My amendment would have said that none of the tax cuts proffered in this plan should apply to households in the top 1 percent of income earners. It would have plainly said that the United States is not in the business of giving massive tax cuts to those who are already incredibly wealthy.

Mr. Speaker, I talked about some of the millionaires in my district, because I do have some. I am fortunate to have a good economy in Seattle, where we have a \$15 minimum wage, where we have paid family leave for everybody, yet business is still booming, the economy is doing well. We have people who have done well, and they would like to pay their fair share.

For decades, Republicans have prioritized the interests of corporations and the wealthiest ahead of working class families.

What is being proposed in this budget, this tax plan, is exactly what Republicans in Kansas proposed in 2012.

In 2012, a Republican Governor and Republican Legislature in Kansas passed through the same thing. They said: Let's make sure that we have tax benefits for these passthrough corporations—by the way, Donald Trump owns 500 passthrough corporations; he will benefit greatly from this—and let's make sure that we reduce the tax rates on the wealthiest. In doing so, we will make sure that we are investing in the economy.

That meant, by the way, all those tax cuts had to be paid for. So there was a \$700 million cut to the Kansas State budget, which resulted in schools not being able to operate full time, resulted in roads being in disrepair, and ultimately resulted in Kansas' bond ratings going down.

In the end, that GDP growth that we were promised, the economic growth that was guaranteed if you were to put the money into the top corporations and the top income earners that were supposed to somehow trickle down, that growth never came to be.

So, guess what happened, Mr. Speaker? The Republican Legislature in Kansas rolled back those tax cuts. They said: That trickle down thing didn't work.

The promises of economic growth didn't work, and ultimately they had

to move it back. Finally, Kansas is starting to come out of that by investing in working families.

Ultimately, I believe, and I think Democrats believe, if you invest in regular folks, if you put the money into working families, you give them a tax cut and you make sure that they are actually paying less, not more, even if you say that you are giving them a deduction, in the end, they are paying more in this tax plan. But if you invest the money there, instead of taking \$270 billion that is proposed by repealing the estate tax—which only a tiny portion of people pay, by the way; that estate tax—and 5,400 families are going to get \$270 billion in this Republican tax plan. I say, let's take that money and give it to working families instead of those.

I think that we have a lot of different options. The Congressional Progressive Caucus has put forward our own budget, a people's budget, with our own tax principles. The bottom line is: we believe in ordinary Americans. We believe if you invest there and you give people the opportunity to work in good jobs, to earn good wages, and to really make sure that they have dignity, respect, and can save for the future and send their kids to college, that ultimately builds our economy.

So I am really honored to be doing this Special Order hour with my good friends and colleagues. We are going to do a little bit of a back-and-forth here.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. GALLEGOS) to have him talk a little bit about what we are hearing. Is it true? Is it hypocrisy? What do you think about those debts and deficits?

Mr. GALLEGOS. Mr. Speaker, we know that the Republican tax plan is a massive, unconscionable giveaway to millionaires and billionaires. We know that it will blow up the deficit and do nothing to raise wages or create solid middle class jobs.

What we don't know, Mr. Speaker, is how much the GOP tax proposal will personally benefit Donald Trump. That is because, unlike every other American President, Donald Trump has refused to disclose his tax returns.

Trump claimed that he couldn't release his returns throughout the campaign because he was "under audit." But, Mr. Speaker, he never provided any concrete proof. More importantly, the IRS confirmed that being under audit in no way prohibits someone from making their returns public. In fact, President Nixon did just that while he was in office.

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More recently, when *The Economist* magazine asked Trump about releasing his returns, he said: "I don't know. That's a very interesting question. I doubt it. I doubt it . . . Nobody cares about my tax return except for the reporters. Oh, at some point I'll release them. Maybe I'll release them after I'm finished. . . ."

That is right, Mr. Speaker, we will have to wait until Trump leaves office just to find out just how much money he made thanks to his own tax reform bill. And my Republican friends are apparently just fine with that. There is a shocker. They don't care that Donald Trump is using his office to enrich himself. They don't care that we can't even say with any certainty exactly how much richer he is going to get. They don't care about the debt. They don't care about the deficit. They don't care about making our tax system fairer. Literally, the only thing they care about and that truly matters to House Republicans is that they get to cut taxes for the richest Americans, the people who need a tax cut least of all.

Mr. Speaker, Donald Trump does not need a tax cut, neither does Secretary Mnuchin or Secretary DeVos or Secretary Tillerson or Paris Hilton, but they are going to get one if Republicans have their way.

In 2012, PAUL RYAN said: "We have a debt crisis right in front of us, and what brings down great empires, past and future, is debt."

In 2013, PAUL RYAN said: "Our debt is the biggest threat to this country. We have to tackle this problem before it tackles us."

In 2016, Donald Trump said: "I am the king of debt. I love debt."

It certainly seems like Speaker RYAN has come around to President Trump's way of thinking. Republicans are planning to add \$1.5 trillion to our national debt, and they couldn't be happier about it.

Here is the simple reality, Mr. Speaker. Republicans only care about deficits when they want to cut spending on programs for the poor or for veterans or for the elderly or for our children. Republicans only care about debt when they want to slash Social Security and Medicare. Mr. Speaker, Republicans only care about debt and are only fiscally responsible when there is a Democrat in the White House.

The American people are now seeing right through this hypocrisy, just like they see right through Donald Trump's excuses about his tax returns. They want us to reject this Republican tax plan, and it is about time we started listening to them.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I thank Mr. GALLEGO for his incredible leadership. One of the things, when we think about this plan, there is really—it is a three-step plan.

Number one, transfer trillions of dollars of wealth and tax cuts from middle class working families to the top 1 percent.

Number two, explode the deficit, which we know is part of this deal. We are going to explode the deficit.

Number three, use that exploding deficit as a way to cut spending.

But most of all, I am not sure that the numbers add up. So I wanted to ask my good friend from the Progressive Caucus, Representative TED LIEU from California, to just weigh in with his

wisdom around what exactly is going on with these numbers and what are we seeing in this budget. Does it add up?

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. TED LIEU).

Mr. TED LIEU of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative JAYAPAL for yielding.

You know, today is Thursday, so we first have to ask: Why does Jared Kushner still have a security clearance?

But I digress. We are going to talk about the GOP's disastrous tax plan. The reason we know that it is a disaster is one simple fact: the math doesn't add up.

So if you believe that 2 plus 2 equals 5, then this tax plan is for you. For the rest of us, it is going to explode the deficit and add to the Federal debt.

What does that mean?

That means massive cuts to Medicare, to Medicaid, to other vital programs that are protecting seniors and all Americans who depend on some of these programs in order to survive.

Now, we can look at this tax plan and we can say, "Hey, it might give tax breaks to the wealthy who are then going to trickle down," except in the history of the United States, that kind of trickle-down economics has never worked. If you look at how the tax plan is constructed, it really chafes States such as California, New York, New Jersey, Washington, and other States by eliminating the State and local tax deduction.

When you do that, it causes filers to not be able to deduct their State and local taxes; and in California, New York, New Jersey, Washington, and other States, there's going to be tax increases to middle class families.

In addition, because the way the tax plan is constructed, it has the potential to lower housing prices because it also caps your mortgage interest rate deduction. That is why the National Association of Home Builders came out opposing this plan, and they have put out something which is deeply concerning. They are saying this could potentially cause a housing recession.

You also have the National Federation of Independent Business, which represents small businesses across America, opposing this plan.

Why?

This is a big tax giveaway to the ultrawealthy. If you look at an early analysis by The Washington Post, they say that 80 percent of this tax plan's benefits will go to the top 1 percent.

If you look at this tax plan, it is going to hurt middle class Americans in order to fund those at the very top. This is not something we should be doing in our country.

I also request this Speaker work with Democrats on a bipartisan basis. We are not opposed to tax reform. We are opposed to stupid tax reform. And this is just a really stupid plan that, again, explodes the deficit, adds to our Federal debt, and whacks States like California, New York, and New Jersey, as

well as Washington State. So I urge that Republicans work with Democrats and come up with a plan that actually helps middle class Americans instead of going after them.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative LIEU.

I wanted to just point out that there was a study that was done out of Wharton on the tax plan. It wasn't on this most recent version, but I think the majority of the things that are in this are still true in what they analyzed. What they came out with and said is that the assumption of 3 percent growth does not make sense; that, really, what they are looking at is 1.3 to 1.4 percent, ultimately, growth, and that it would create a \$10 trillion deficit over time. I believe it was \$3 trillion in the first 10 years. I have to go back and check that number.

Essentially, what they are staying is it doesn't work. The person who actually wrote the 1981 tax cut under Ronald Reagan, who was working for Jack Kemp at the time, wrote an op-ed in The Washington Post, I believe it was, and said: "This theory of trickle-down economics doesn't work. We were wrong when we did that, when we said that back then, and it is wrong to look at that same idea today."

Now, Representative LIEU said Democrats are not opposed to tax reform. That is right if it was real reform. We do think that the Tax Code could be simplified, that it could be fair so that small businesses and working families and folks who are really investing in the economy are the ones to get the benefits of any tax reform, that we would close some of the tax loopholes. Unfortunately, this is not tax reform. What has been proposed is not tax reform. It is tax giveaways to the wealthiest.

I want us to be very clear about what the majority is trying to do here. They are trying to rewrite the U.S. economy with absolutely no hearings. It is, frankly, outrageous that we would not even have a hearing on a major tax bill that is going to affect every single person in this country.

We should have hearings. I don't know what happened to regular order. People talk about regular order, but as a new Member who was just elected last year for my first year in Congress, I can tell you I have not seen regular order. I sat on the Judiciary Committee. We don't have hearings in the Judiciary Committee. The majority of the bills that come to the floor are bills that we have never had an opportunity to have a hearing on. When you look at this tax plan, I believe we should be able to have more than 2 weeks to vote on it.

I think every single American should understand what is in the plan and at least have the opportunity to decide whether or not it is beneficial for them. Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, I don't think that is happening.

Let me just summarize what we think is happening in this current

version of the tax proposal that has been put forward.

First of all, it is a win for the well connected and the wealthy. That is what the Ryan-McConnell tax bill is. President Trump promised the tax reform would benefit the middle class, not the wealthy; but, unfortunately, rhetoric does not match reality. Instead, this bill that we are looking at now would create a new passthrough loophole that wealthy individuals would exploit to lower their own taxes.

Just as an example, a version of this loophole was used by University of Kansas Basketball Coach Bill Self to avoid paying more than \$125,000 in State taxes in 1 year alone. The alternative minimum tax, which we call the AMT, which ensures that the wealthy at least pay more of their fair share, is eliminated in the Ryan-McConnell plan.

While little is known about President Trump's taxes, we do know that, without the AMT, the President would have paid \$31 million less in taxes in 2005 alone. So you see why Mr. Moneybags over here is so important to this discussion, because that is ultimately who is going to benefit.

Now, Speaker RYAN also believes, as I mentioned, that we should give a windfall to the ultrawealthy by eliminating the estate tax. Again, that estate tax is paid by less than 5,400 families across the Nation, and in 2016, not one person paid the estate tax in seven States.

So what happens to middle class families? Because if all these wealthy folks are going to get all the money, then the question is: So what happens for middle class families? Because that is really where the attention should be. That was what was promised by Donald Trump.

Speaker RYAN and the Republican establishment have attacked common-sense policies used by millions of middle class families in order to pay for this tax giveaway to the wealthy. So Republicans have taken away the ability to write off your State and local tax bills, forcing millions of families to pay taxes twice on the same dollar earned, except for property taxes, up to a mere \$10,000. That is the cap that they are proposing on property taxes.

Americans that are hit with significant medical costs, for example, those who have cancer or ALS or Alzheimer's, would lose their ability to write off these costs under the Republican plan.

The Ryan-McConnell tax bill also eliminates deduction for personal casualty losses. A big blow if you are a victim of crime, theft, or disaster. It also excludes—it eliminates the exclusion for dependent care assistance program, which is an incredibly important benefit for working families.

So in the end, you just have to ask yourself: In order to give trillions of dollars of tax cuts to the wealthiest and the biggest corporations, what does that mean for working families?

It means working families are going to foot the bill over and over again. I believe this is a bad deal for middle class families, for America, and for our economy.

One last thing I forgot to mention is that there is actually an incentive. After all of the talk of bringing jobs back to America, there is actually an incentive in this bill to take work and jobs to a tax-haven country because the amount of taxes that you would pay on that is actually lower than the amount of taxes you would pay if you were to start a factory here in Iowa or Kansas or somewhere in the United States. If you were to actually create jobs here, you would have to pay a higher tax rate than if you were to create that same factory in some tax-haven country in other parts of the world where you don't have to pay—you would end up not paying the same amount of taxes. So this is a bad deal for middle class families.

I don't know if my friend, Mr. JEFFRIES, would like to speak on the tax excellence, so I am really thrilled now to be able to turn this over to a member of the Progressive Caucus, a leader on our Judiciary Committee, Representative HAKEEM JEFFRIES from New York.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative JAYAPAL, my good friend and tremendous colleague on both the House Budget Committee and the House Judiciary Committee, the distinguished gentlewoman from the great State of Washington, for her tremendous advocacy, for anchoring this Congressional Progressive Caucus Special Order, and for addressing the American people on this critically important issue, so-called tax reform put forth by House Republicans today in a manner that is clear-eyed, that is authentic, that is comprehensive, and that will hopefully awaken the American people to the notion that this is an attempt by House Republicans to do nothing more than to jam tax cuts for millionaires and billionaires down the throats of the American people.

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Now, I represent the Eighth Congressional District in Brooklyn and Queens. I am proud to be a Member of the House of Representatives, proud to be from the city of New York. And we are generous people in New York City; generous people in New York State. In fact, New York State regularly sends tens of billions of dollars more to the Federal Government than we get back in return.

The State of Connecticut sends billions of dollars more to the Federal Government than they get back in return. So does New Jersey. So does California. So does Illinois. So does Pennsylvania. And, for decades, we have allowed that generosity to continue to show itself in terms of the fact that we get shortchanged in homeland security dollars, transportation and infrastructure dollars, and a whole host of other

Federal funds that disproportionately make its way to other parts of the country, often to States in the deep South.

We are generous people. But at what point is enough enough? And today, you have crossed the line by putting a target on the backs of people in New York, and New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and Illinois, and California, and several other States, including people who live in places like Charleston, South Carolina, or other cities that may have relatively modest State taxes, if any at all, but who are taxed at the local level, or who pay property taxes.

And so everyone throughout the United States of America, tens of millions of people, are going to be hurt by this Republican tax plan, because of the limitations on deductibility related to State and local taxes, because of the draconian limitations on deducting property taxes, and because of the limitations placed on middle class homeowners as it relates to the mortgage interest deduction. You can't make this stuff up.

The Republican tax plan is nothing more than a Ponzi scheme to provide a windfall to millionaires and billionaires, the wealthy and the well-off, to special interest corporations, and to hide it in the notion that it is a middle class tax cut. The Republican tax plan won't help the middle class. It will hurt the middle class. It is a Ponzi scheme. It will undermine Medicare and Medicaid. It will impose billions and billions of dollars in additional deficit. It will force your children and grandchildren to shoulder approximately \$1.5 trillion in additional debt. And this is all being done in order to provide massive tax cuts to millionaires and billionaires, the overwhelming majority of whom will be the ones who disproportionately benefit from the so-called tax reform plan. Yes, it is a Ponzi scheme.

And why do I say that? Well, because what you are going to hear is that trickle-down economic theory; supply-side economic theory; or the latest word craft that they have come up with, dynamic scoring, will result in a situation where these massive tax cuts for millionaires and billionaires, and for special interest corporations, will somehow magically result in unprecedented economic growth. Sounds good. The only problem is that it is a failed, fraudulent, and fake argument. It is a fantasy that has no basis in reality.

When Ronald Reagan, in 1981, cut taxes for the wealthy and for the well-off, we didn't get unprecedented economic growth, we got massive deficits.

When George W. Bush cut taxes for the wealthy and for the well-off in 2001 and 2003, we didn't get unprecedented economic growth, we got a Great Recession—the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression.

When the Republican Governor of Kansas moved forward with what he

called the Kansas experiment, massively cut taxes for the wealthy and for the well-off in Kansas, so much so that the wealthiest 300,000 folks from Kansas didn't pay a single dollar in taxes at all—the people of Kansas were promised unprecedented economic growth, unprecedented job creation—this is the Republican Governor of Kansas—when he cut taxes, you didn't get unprecedented economic growth. What you got were prison riots, overcrowded classrooms, and crumbling infrastructure.

The Republican tax plan is nothing more than a Ponzi scheme. Supply-side economics has failed; trickle-down economics has failed; dynamic scoring is a fantasy. We would say in Brooklyn: Don't believe the hype. We will surgically communicate to the American people why the Republican tax plan will hurt the middle class, hurt working families, hurt children, hurt senior citizens, and hurt those who aspire to be part of the middle class.

And one last point that I would make: I am shocked that you would put a target on the back of people who are paying State and local taxes—presumably because you think this is a deduction that the American people no longer deserve—but then in your same tax plan you allow corporations and businesses, wealthy titans of corporate America who run these companies, to continue to deduct State and local taxes on their corporate tax returns. Seriously? You don't even pretend to have equitable treatment? Oh, I forgot: corporations are people, too.

This is an extraordinary scheme that they are going to try to jam down the throats of the American people. But we are here, as Democrats, to make sure that the American people understand that you are being offered a raw deal. We are going to present to you and fight for a better deal for middle class tax cuts, for tax cuts for small businesses, tax cuts for working families, and to make sure that people in America continue to pay their fair share.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington for yielding to me.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, I thank Representative JEFFRIES for laying that out so clearly.

I don't know how he feels about the idea that we haven't had a single hearing on this bill. We are hearing that we are going to vote on it in 2 weeks.

What is his experience? Since I am a new Member—I just joined this year—I thought we had regular order, I thought we got to debate things, I thought the minority got to speak up, and maybe we got to take ideas from both sides. What does he think about the idea that they are going to try to ram this thing in in 2 weeks?

Mr. JEFFRIES. Mr. Speaker, I think that is a great question, and it is deeply troubling.

You hear the words “regular order.” That is a Washington, D.C., phrase, but we can translate it for the American people. Regular order equals democ-

racy, and democracy is being undermined as it relates to the Republican tax plan, Ponzi scheme, because they are going to try to jam it down the throats of the American people.

Not a single meaningful hearing, as was done on a bipartisan basis in 1986, when Ronald Reagan and Tip O'Neill got together to reform the Tax Code in a meaningful way, in a bipartisan way, in a thoughtful way. But, unfortunately, regular order, democracy, is being undermined by this Republican-led Congress, as it relates to this tax bill.

Ms. JAYAPAL. Mr. Speaker, what strikes me is, when you don't have a process, you don't have discussion and debate, and you try to jam something through, it means you are trying to hide a whole lot. So I just wanted to say that there is an article in The Washington Post today about winners and losers in the Republican tax plan, and here is what they say are winners.

This isn't a Democrat saying this. This is The Washington Post saying, big corporations—number one winner, big corporations. American megabusinesses would get a substantial tax reduction.

And, by the way, that is not just on one level, that is a number of levels. And my colleagues over here know that this is the number one plan here, because there is a clear difference of opinion. You all think that, if you invest in these big corporations and in the wealthiest individuals, you would rather put your faith into those folks rather than middle class families across the country who could actually build our economy.

So this bill cuts the top rate that large corporations would have to pay the biggest one-time drop in the big business tax rate ever; I repeat, the biggest one-time drop in the big business tax rate ever.

On top of that, you would get some new tax breaks if you are a corporation, so you would get to lower your bills.

What I have seen in the polling is that Americans across the country think that corporations are already getting too good of a deal and they should pay their fair share. And what millions of struggling families across the country want is for somebody to actually fight for them, somebody to fight for people who are going to work every day, who are doing everything they can to have an American life that pays them enough money to get a job to put food on the table, to send their kids to college, to retire with dignity, a better deal than the raw deal that they are getting right now. But that is the number one winner.

The second biggest winner, according to The Washington Post: the superrich. And that was the estate tax that I mentioned, which only benefits 5,400 families across the United States who pay that estate tax. But we are going to put hundreds of billions of dollars into repealing the estate tax so that

those 5,400 families can continue to earn more and more money on the backs of the middle class.

And, of course, the third one is anyone paying the alternative minimum tax. That is Donald Trump. The biggest part of his tax bill that he paid, on the one tax return that he released, was from the alternative minimum tax. But that alternative minimum tax is now getting eliminated in this bill to benefit Donald Trump. And it forces people who earn more than \$130,000 to calculate their taxes twice.

There is one more. They said, “Hedge funds, doctors, and lawyers”—that is the fourth one that they mention—as the wealthiest hedge fund managers, who are going to, ultimately, get a sizable discount, while “under the GOP bill, high-earning small-business owners will only pay a tax rate of 25 percent on 30 percent of their business income,” the passthrough business rate.

The reality is that even though there are some small businesses that are passthrough entities, most of those small businesses do not get the majority of their income as passthrough income, they get it from other things. The only people who really benefit from that passthrough are those hedge fund managers and folks like that.

Who are the losers? Small-business owners. The National Federation of Independent Business, which represents 325,000 small businesses said: Uh-uh, we are not supporting the GOP bill. Why? “It leaves too many small businesses behind.”

So Main Street is hurting under this proposal.

Who else? Like you said, people in high-tax blue States. So say good-bye to most of the State and local tax deductions from States like California, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and my State. My home State of Washington is really going to be hurt by this because we don't have an income tax, so we have very high property taxes, and we have very high other sales taxes. None of that would be—well, property tax, according to this plan, you would get a tiny, little cap on it of \$10,000.

And then who else is a big loser? The working poor. Here is what The Washington Post says: “While the bill includes lots of tax breaks for big businesses and the rich, the bottom 35 percent of Americans do not get any extra benefits.”

□ 1815

So there is one more loser here, which is interesting. It says, “charities.”

The National Council of Nonprofits says that charitable deductions, when Americans chip in to take care of folks who have been hurt by disasters across the country or they contribute to nonprofits or others, that those charitable deductions are likely to go down under this bill because, interestingly and ironically, the Republicans still enable “the wealthy to continue deducting

their charitable giving.” But most people would not be able to get the tax break because they probably stop itemizing their deductions, so you would actually lose all of that.

So I don’t know, Mr. JEFFRIES. I think we are going to have a lot of work to do here to make sure that the American people understand exactly what this proposal is and to really get the word out.

Mr. JEFFRIES. Well, I appreciate you going through that important list. I think it can be distilled, you know, quite simply.

The winners of the Republican tax plan are the billionaire boys club; the losers are the American people, everyday Americans, all premised, again, on, and you are going to hear this over and over again, dynamic scoring—sounds great—trickle-down economics.

You know, I figured out that trickle-down economics essentially means, for the middle class, you may get a trickle, but you are guaranteed to stay down, because there is no evidence—no evidence from the Reagan experiment, no evidence from the Bush experiment, no evidence from the Brownback experiment in Kansas, no evidence—that if you cut taxes for the wealthy or the well off, for special interest corporations, whether you do it directly or through passthrough entities, that when you cut those taxes, it results in strong, unprecedented economic growth. In fact, our history tells us precisely the opposite.

Bill Clinton raised the top tax rate on high-income earners from 35 percent to 39.6 percent. Did we suffer from a recession as a result of increasing taxes on millionaires and billionaires so that they would pay their fair share? No, quite the opposite—unprecedented economic growth, 20 million-plus jobs created during 8 years of Bill Clinton.

Then George W. Bush comes into town, and we actually had a balanced budget at that time. What does he do? Deficits don’t matter according to the Bush administration. We are going to stimulate tremendous economic growth by cutting taxes on millionaires and billionaires because of trickle-down economics, supply-side economics, dynamic scoring, lower the tax rate from 39.6 on millionaires and billionaires to 35.

What happened? We lost more than 500,000 jobs in 8 years of the Bush Presidency.

Barack Obama comes into town and we had all of these doom-and-gloom projections from my good friends on the other side in terms of what was going to happen. He campaigns on millionaires and billionaires paying their fair share, raises the top tax rate from 35 percent to 39.6 percent. Twelve million-plus private sector jobs were created during 8 years of the Obama Presidency.

That is why I say that the Republican tax plan is nothing more than a Ponzi scheme based on a failed, fraudulent, phony theory of trickle-down economics that has no basis in reality.

I thank the distinguished gentlewoman from Washington for yielding and being so generous and thoughtful in her discussion.

Ms. JAYAPAL. I thank the gentleman from New York for his thoughts.

Once again, I would just draw your attention back to who the real big winner is here in this Republican tax plan. It is Mr. Moneybags.

So if you have got money in bags, millions of dollars, if you are a large corporation, if you are a billionaire, then you are going to benefit from this plan—yes, you will. And you know who is going to pay for that is middle class working families across the country who are going to see their taxes go up, who are going to see their services cut, who are going to ultimately be a part of the plan that has three parts.

The number one part for the Republican plan is transfer trillions of dollars of wealth from middle class America to the wealthiest in the country who don’t need it; number two, explode the deficit, because there is no way to pay for this unless you cut a bunch of stuff; and then, number three, cut more. Use the exploding deficit as an opportunity to cut spending even more: raid Social Security; raid Medicare; raid Medicaid.

This is all part of the budget that was passed last week by Republicans. Let me say, there were 20 Republicans who voted against that budget, and I congratulate them for their courage in voting against that budget. It was a close vote. If we had just gotten a couple more, we would have been able to defeat that budget, and we would have been able to at least require a more thoughtful process for how we move forward on tax reform, because part of what that budget vote did is to allow this process to move forward with less democracy, with less vetting, and with less knowledge for the American people.

Once again, I would say that the only reason to do this without a real debate, to rewrite the American economy without a real debate, is if you want to hide who is going to benefit from it. We know who is going to benefit. It is right here. Mr. Moneybags is going to benefit. Working people are going to suffer.

So I know that we Democrats are absolutely committed to making sure that working families across this country, the vulnerable, the low-income, the folks who are struggling every day, who are just making it, who feel like this economy is not working for them because it is controlled by corporations, by lobbyists, by folks who are here not working for the American people but working for their own special interests, we know that Americans want that to stop. Unfortunately, this plan does not do that.

So Democrats are going to fight every step of the way. The Congressional Progressive Caucus is going to fight every step of the way. We have

our own People’s Budget. We have a real proposal for how to invest in infrastructure, in jobs, in education, in healthcare to make sure that Americans across the country, whether you are in a red State or a blue State, whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, whether you are in rural America or urban America—I actually believe we all want the same things, which is we want to be able to put food on the table; we want to be able to put a roof over our head; we want to be able to go to a job and feel dignity about that job; we want to be able to send our kids to college or to higher education so they can get the skills and training they need and not be mired in student debt—across the country, \$1.4 trillion of student debt that we have, even larger than credit card debt—and we want to be able to retire with dignity.

So, ultimately, my friends, what we are going to have to do as Democrats—and I hope that there are Republicans across the aisle who want the same things and who know that this is a bad deal for middle class families, for working families, for folks who are just struggling to make it, who want to have that better deal, better jobs, better future, we Democrats are going to fight for that.

I hope that we have colleagues on the other side of the aisle who recognize that their districts in blue States, red States, urban, and rural will suffer if this plan goes through.

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

The Chair would remind Members to direct all remarks to the Chair, and to formally yield and reclaim time when under recognition.

SENATE NEEDS TO TAKE UP HOUSE BILLS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker’s announced policy of January 3, 2017, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BUCK) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the topic of this Special Order.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the opportunity to recognize several distinguished Members of the House for the next hour.

When our constituents show up on the first Tuesday in November to exercise their right of self-governance, they carry with them the dreams of a better Republic.