

would prefer to have the freedom to operate as they see fit rather than have to deal with Federal regulations, and I suspect that is a big part of what the real problem is on the other side of the aisle. But, folks, I think it is a perfectly reasonable proposition that if a college chooses to forgo the very substantial funds available to it from Federal taxpayers, it is OK to say that it will be exempt from this endowment. So I urge my colleagues to vote no on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. MERKLEY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 48, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 302 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Baldwin	Gillibrand	Murray
Bennet	Harris	Nelson
Blumenthal	Hassan	Peters
Booker	Heinrich	Reed
Brown	Heitkamp	Sanders
Cantwell	Hirono	Schatz
Cardin	Kaine	Schumer
Carper	Kennedy	Shaheen
Casey	King	Stabenow
Collins	Klobuchar	Tester
Coons	Leahy	Udall
Cortez Masto	Manchin	Van Hollen
Donnelly	Markey	Warner
Duckworth	McCaskill	Warren
Durbin	Menendez	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Merkley	Wyden
Fischer	Murkowski	
Franken	Murphy	

NAYS—48

Alexander	Flake	Perdue
Barrasso	Gardner	Portman
Blunt	Graham	Risch
Boozman	Grassley	Roberts
Burr	Hatch	Rounds
Capito	Heller	Rubio
Cassidy	Hoeven	Sasse
Cochran	Inhofe	Scott
Corker	Isakson	Shelby
Cornyn	Johnson	Strange
Cotton	Lankford	Sullivan
Crapo	Lee	Thune
Cruz	McCain	Tillis
Daines	McConnell	Toomey
Enzi	Moran	Wicker
Ernst	Paul	Young

The amendment (No. 1856) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. McCONNELL. Colleagues, we are moving now to final passage.

I know of no further amendments to the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 1618, AS AMENDED

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will be 2 minutes of debate on amendment No. 1618, as amended.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I yield back our time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back for the majority.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I yield back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time is yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 1618), as amended, was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There will now be 2 minutes of debate prior to the vote on H.R. 1.

The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, millions of Americans must be watching in stunned disbelief tonight as the Republican Senate betrays the middle class for the benefit of faceless, multinational corporations.

Colleagues, how many middle-class families need to see their hard-earned pay snatched away in tax hikes before these corporate handouts are no longer worth it? How many more Americans need to see their jobs shipped overseas before corporate paymasters no longer call the shots? How many Americans need to lose their healthcare or see their premiums shoot sky-high before this is stopped?

What is happening tonight is the worst of the U.S. Senate. There is a trail of broken promises—broken promises to working families in the mad dash to pass this bill. The American people understand this is the first step of continuing attacks on Medicare, on Medicaid, and on Social Security. This vote will not be forgotten.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I yield back the time on this side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 303 Leg.]

YEAS—51

Alexander	Flake	Paul
Barrasso	Gardner	Perdue
Blunt	Graham	Portman
Boozman	Grassley	Risch
Burr	Hatch	Roberts
Capito	Heller	Rounds
Cassidy	Hoeven	Rubio
Cochran	Inhofe	Sasse
Collins	Isakson	Scott
Cornyn	Johnson	Shelby
Cotton	Kennedy	Strange
Crapo	Lankford	Sullivan
Cruz	Lee	Thune
Daines	McCain	Tillis
Enzi	McConnell	Toomey
Ernst	Moran	Wicker
Fischer	Murkowski	Young

NAYS—49

Baldwin	Cantwell	Corker
Bennet	Cardin	Cortez Masto
Blumenthal	Carper	Donnelly
Booker	Casey	Duckworth
Brown	Coons	Durbin

Feinstein	Manchin	Schumer
Franken	Markey	Shaheen
Gillibrand	McCaskill	Stabenow
Harris	Menendez	Tester
Hassan	Merkley	Udall
Heinrich	Murphy	Van Hollen
Heitkamp	Murray	Warner
Hirono	Nelson	Warren
Kaine	Peters	Whitehouse
King	Reed	Wyden
Klobuchar	Sanders	
Leahy	Schatz	

The bill (H.R. 1), as amended, was passed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, as amended, is passed.

(Applause, Senators rising.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERDUE). The majority leader.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I move to proceed to executive session to consider Calendar No. 495, Kirstjen Nielsen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Homeland Security.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Kirstjen Nielsen, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Homeland Security.

Mitch McConnell, Tom Cotton, Roy Blunt, Rob Portman, James E. Risch, Lindsey Graham, Richard Burr, Mike Crapo, John Boozman, Roger F. Wicker, Ron Johnson, John Thune, John Hoeven, Steve Daines, Marco Rubio, John Cornyn, John Barrasso.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the mandatory quorum call for the cloture motion be waived.

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

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding rule XXII, the Senate vote on this cloture motion at 5:30 p.m. on Monday, December 4.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

TAX CUTS AND JOBS BILL

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, earlier this week, I said it was historic that we began the consideration of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. Today is even more

significant because we are one step closer to enacting that bill.

The chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator HATCH, has called this a once-in-a-generation opportunity. I agree.

As an accountant, one of my goals when I came to the Senate in 1996 was to serve on the Finance Committee. When I joined the committee in 2009, I said that positive, pro-growth changes to our tax policy could help us out of the economic downturn. I believe this bill makes those types of changes and will jump-start our economy.

This week, 137 economists agreed with that assessment. In a letter to Senators and Representatives, these economists wrote: "Economic growth will accelerate if the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act passes, leading to more jobs, higher wages, and a better standard of living for the American people."

My colleagues on the other side of the aisle dispute that analysis. But after a decade of below-average growth and official projections showing real economic growth will average less than 2 percent annually over the next decade, isn't it time that we tried something new?

Some of my colleagues have also suggested that this bill hasn't gone through regular order. I have already reminded folks of the 70 tax hearings in the Senate Finance Committee held over the last 6 years, but that isn't all we have done. In the last Congress, Chairman HATCH organized five bipartisan groups to propose changes to the Tax Code. I was party to those groups, which made many recommendations that have informed this package. I would say that those working groups were also bipartisan.

While I don't sit on the Energy Committee, I understand that Chairman MURKOWSKI led a similarly robust process. The issue of oil and gas exploration and development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge has been an issue since before I was a Senator. We have been considering and debating the matter for years. This year alone, Senator MURKOWSKI has introduced a bill, held a hearing, and then marked up legislation on this issue. Now the bill that is a product of the Finance and Energy Committee's efforts is on the floor.

We have not bypassed committees. We have not filled the tree. We have not cut off debate by filing cloture, which was a common practice in recent years. I think this is as open and transparent a process as I have seen in many years, and I appreciate the leader, I appreciate Chairman HATCH, and I appreciate Chairman MURKOWSKI for their work to make that happen.

I also want to thank my Budget Committee staff for their work on this bill. In particular, I want to thank my staff director, Betsy McDonnell, who has done a remarkable job shepherding both the budget resolution and reconciliation bill through the committee and on the floor. She has been new to

that position. She has been in a number of positions in the Senate that trained her well to be able to do that, and she did a marvelous job.

I also want to thank her team: Matt Giroux, Paul Vinovich, Becky Cole, Thomas Fuller, Elizabeth Keys, Joe Brenckle, Jim Neill, Steve Robinson, Greg D'Angelo, Tom Borck, Rick Berger, Jeremy Dalrymple, David Ditch, Susan Eckerly, Alison McGuire, Will Morris, Steve Townsend, Kelsie Wendelberger, and Eric Ueland.

I would like to thank my personal office staff who worked hard on the tax provisions in this package and kept all of my other issues going at the same time. Particularly, I want to thank Bart Massey, who is a CPA and who has been my special person to work on these finance issues with me for more than 3 years.

I also want to thank Tara Shaw, my chief of staff, who had to put together a new staff because a lot of good people I had were taken to the administration and to the Budget Committee. She did a marvelous job on that.

Landon Stropko is the legislative director, and he has coordinated well. I thank Liz Schwartz, Natalia Riffin, Aniela Butler, Charlie Carroll, Shawna Newsome, Garnett Decosimo, Chris Lydon, Aron Wehr, Dylan Mitchell, Coy Knobel, Max D'Onofrio, Rachel Vliem, and the rest of my Wyoming team that worked out in Wyoming collecting the information and doing casework out there while we got this work done.

I thank the Budget Committee's bipartisan staff: Kim Proctor, Katie Smith, George Woodall, Grace Bruno, and Kevin Walsh, as well as Celina Inman, who has been on loan to us from the Government Publishing Office.

We have also been supported by the great work of our leadership, the floor, and the cloakroom staff. Specific thanks are owed to Sharon Soderstrom, Hazen Marshall, Jane Lee, Brandon Dunn in the leader's office, Monica Popp, John Chapuis, Emily Kirlin, Sam Beaver, Jody Wright, and Noah McCullough in the whip's office and especially Laura Dove, who coordinates all of this activity on the floor and who knows the rules backward and forward and is able to give good advice—some very definite advice sometimes but always helpful advice—and Robert Duncan, Chris Tuck, Megan Mercer, Tony Hanagan, Mike Smith, Katherine Kilroy, and Chloe Barz in the cloakroom.

I would really be remiss if we didn't thank the Senate Parliamentarian, Elizabeth MacDonough, and her team: Leigh Hilderbrand, Michael Beaver, and Allison Markoski. Reconciliation bills are subject to special rules and procedures, and I know they have given up a lot of their nights and their weekends, as well as their regular job time, to work in detail on this product. People wouldn't even realize the file cabinets full of precedents that they have

to search through as they listen to both sides make cases about what can and can't be in a budget reconciliation bill.

There are also many other staffers who deserve to be thanked for their work on this product, including the entire Finance and Energy Committee staffs, but in the interest of time, I will just say that I appreciate them and look forward to working with all of them to help finish enacting this bill that will benefit hard-working Americans and make our economy and country stronger.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, with passage of this bill, we are another step closer to providing real tax relief to the middle class and providing a much-needed boost to our economy.

Today's events have been years in the making. This has been my chief legislative focus for many years, and it has been a priority for many of my colleagues as well, including some that are no longer serving. I am talking, of course, about people like Dave Camp and Senator Max Baucus, who did a lot to move this effort forward. I feel gratified to have been here and to have worked with my colleagues to get this far.

As efforts this year began earnest, we set out to give low- and middle-income Americans some much-needed relief and to give our country an opportunity to compete in the global economy.

This bill will do that. With passage of this bill, American families will have bigger paychecks and better wages. Our employers will have more favorable conditions to invest in expansion, grow their businesses, and create more jobs right here in the United States.

So many people both in and out of Congress have worked hard to get us to this point, and I want to express my appreciation for their efforts. Of course, I can't thank everyone in a single floor speech, but I do want to thank some who may be within earshot at the moment.

First and foremost, I want to thank the members of the Senate Finance Committee, who put in countless days, weeks, and months in preparing this legislation and helping to get it passed. All of our majority members contributed greatly to this process, and I am most grateful.

I also want to thank the distinguished majority leader who also did so much to secure the details of the bill and shepherd it through the Senate.

I want to thank Chairman BRADY and Speaker RYAN over in the House of Representatives. They, too, have been great partners in this endeavor.

Of course, I need to thank Secretary Mnuchin and Director Cohn for their commitment to this effort and their help in getting it done.

I want to thank the staff of the Finance Committee, who have done so much of the heavy lifting here. I need to single out Mark Prater, my chief tax counsel, who has served the committee

for decades now and whose knowledge and expertise on these matters is recognized by everyone here and pretty much everyone everywhere else. Thank you, as well, to the rest of my committee tax staff: Jennifer Acuna, Tony Coughlan, Christopher Hanna, Alex Monie, Eric Oman, Marty Pippins, Preston Rutledge, and Nick Wyatt.

I need to thank my staff director, Jay Khosla, who quarterbacked the staff through this whole ordeal and who has spent many years with me as we have laid the groundwork and started construction on this undertaking. I want to thank the other members of my senior team as well, including Matt Hoffman, Jeff Wrase, Julia Lawless, Jennifer Kuskowski, Chris Armstrong, and Bryan Hickman. I need to thank the communications staff on the committee: Katie Niederee, Nicole Hager, and Joshua Blume.

I also need to thank a couple of former staff members. Chris Campbell, my former staff director, worked for years on this effort, and while, he is now at Treasury, I am sure he is celebrating on his own today. I would also like to give a thank you to Jim Lyons, my tax counsel who, unfortunately, passed away a little over a year ago. He contributed greatly to this effort for a number of years, and his steady presence has definitely been missed.

Beyond my own staff, I want to thank the tax legislative assistants from each of the committee members who helped to craft this bill, namely, Chris Allen, Sam Beaver, Joseph Boddicker, Chris Conlin, Shay Hawkins, Randy Herndon, Bart Massey, Monica McGuire, Mike Quickel, Zacshary Rudisill, Andrew Siracuse, Robert Sneed, Derek Theurer, and Mark Warren, all of whom did an outstanding job in helping us to produce this bill.

I also want to thank the committee's legislative directors: Charles Cogar, Ken Flanz, Chris Gillott, Brad Grantz, Amber Kirchhoefer, Kurt Kovarik, Jessica McBride, Sarah Paul, Landon Stropko, Jay Sulzmann, Stephen Tausend, Pam Thiessen, and Christopher Toppings.

I also need to thank the staff from the leader's office, including Brendan Dunn, Antonia Ferrier, Hazen Marshall, Erica Soares, Terry Van Doren, Don Stewart, and Jane Lee.

This process has been a joint effort with our friends on the Budget Committee, and I need to thank Senator ENZI, once again, for his leadership on that committee to give us the reconciliation instruction that made this possible. Additionally, I would like to thank members of his staff, including: Joe Brenckle, Jim Neill, Betsy McDonnell, Matt Giroux, Paul Vinovich, Becky Cole, Eric Ueland, Thomas Fueller, and the rest of the Budget Committee team.

Other bodies deserve our thanks as well. Tom Barthold and his team at the Joint Committee on Taxation made themselves available at all hours to

help us get the bill written and ready to pass. As did the staff at the legislative counsel's office, led by Mark McGunagle and Jim Fransen and their whole team and those who work with Elizabeth McDounagh in the Parliamentarian's office.

There are too many people to thank in a single floor speech, but, I am very grateful for the countless individuals who have in this endeavor over the years. We are not there yet, but we are getting closer.

I look forward to moving this effort through the next steps and to working with my colleagues on other challenges that lie ahead.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive Calendar Nos. 510 through 522 and all nominations placed on the Secretary's desk; that the nominations be confirmed; the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate; that no further motions be in order; that any statements related to the nominations be printed in the RECORD; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action and the Senate then resume legislative session.

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

The nominations considered and confirmed en bloc are as follows:

IN THE ARMY

The following named officers for appointment to the grade indicated in the United States Army under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be brigadier general

Col. Douglas F. Stitt

IN THE NAVY

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 624:

To be rear admiral (lower half)

Capt. Michael E. Boyle

The following named officer for appointment in the United States Navy to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be vice admiral

Rear Adm. Lisa M. Franchetti

IN THE AIR FORCE

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Arthur E. Jackman, Jr.

The following named officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Josef F. Schmid, III

The following named officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the

grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., section 12203:

To be brigadier general

Col. John M. Breazeale
Col. Damon S. Feltman
Col. Anne B. Gunter
Col. Scheid P. Hodges
Col. Richard L. Kemble
Col. Tanya R. Kubinec
Col. Erich C. Novak
Col. Jeffrey T. Pennington
Col. John N. Tree
Col. Aaron G. Vangelisti
Col. William W. Whittenberger, Jr.
Col. Christopher F. Yancy

The following named Air National Guard of the United States officer for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be brigadier general

Col. Darlow G. Botha, Jr.

The following named Air National Guard of the United States officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be brigadier general

Col. Steven J. deMilliano
Col. Christopher E. Finerty

The following named Air National Guard of the United States officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be brigadier general

Col. Michele K. LaMontagne
Col. Michael J. Regan, Jr.

The following named Air National Guard of the United States officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be brigadier general

Col. Travis K. Acheson
Col. Barry A. Blanchard
Col. Michael A. Borkowski
Col. Michael T. Butler
Col. Michael A. Cooper
Col. Monique J. DeSpain
Col. Matthew D. Dinmore
Col. Teresa S. Edwards
Col. Emmanuel I. Haldopoulos
Col. Charles G. Jeffries
Col. Gregory W. Lair
Col. Jeffrey W. Magram
Col. James C. McEachen
Col. Maurice M. McKinney
Col. Suellen Overton
Col. Gregg A. Perez
Col. Mark D. Piper
Col. James P. Rowlett
Col. Michael D. Sproul
Col. Christan L. Stewart
Col. David W. Walter
Col. Terry L. Williams
Col. Shanna M. Woyak
Col. Frank Y. Yang
Col. Jeffrey D. Young

The following named Air National Guard of the United States officers for appointment in the Reserve of the Air Force to the grade indicated under title 10, U.S.C., sections 12203 and 12212:

To be major general

Brig. Gen. Ondra L. Berry
Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Black
Brig. Gen. William D. Bunch
Brig. Gen. Joseph S. Chisolm
Brig. Gen. Thomas B. Cucchi
Brig. Gen. Gary L. Ebben
Brig. Gen. Jerry L. Fenwick
Brig. Gen. Dawn M. Ferrel