

only leaves most of the old loopholes in place, but it offers new giveaways to the oil and gas industries. A last-minute change scribbled in during the Senate vote-arama will allow traded oil and gas partnerships to use the so-called passthrough loophole that the Republicans claim is designed to help small businesses.

While the Republican tax plan boosts the fossil fuel polluters with this new tax gift, it singles out renewable energy to undermine those jobs. The way this works is that, under the historic bipartisan agreement that many of us worked on in 2015, developers of new wind energy were given a period in which tax credits for projects for which construction begins by the end of 2019 would be protected. There was a bargain struck in this body. We came together, and we agreed on a bipartisan result. This tax bill breaks that deal and breaks that result for wind and for solar. For wind, it was until the end of 2019. For solar, it was through 2021.

These tax credits have been vital to the growth of the renewable industry across the country. It has grown in red States and in blue States. In fact, the five States that get the largest percentage of their electricity from wind and that have all of those wind energy jobs are Iowa, Kansas, South Dakota, Oklahoma, and North Dakota. Texas produces the most wind power of any State. The Republican tax bill is likely to upend the progress that we have made on renewables, disrupt ongoing projects, and ruin those jobs—all with clever provisions, the trick being to render those renewable tax credits that we bargained for practically valueless.

Renewable developers don't usually turn a profit in the early years. So they don't have taxes against which to apply the tax credits. They sell the tax credits to others, and they use the revenue from selling the tax credits to support those wind and solar investments. The clever fossil fuel trick in the Senate bill—specifically, the corporate AMT and base erosion so-called provisions—would make these credits worthless to the businesses that have been buying them. With no buyers for the tax credits, funds for new wind and solar projects will dry up.

There is even more nonsense in the House bill that takes direct aim at the wind and solar credits, including changing the rules on how projects would qualify for the credits, not just in the future but also retroactively. They go back to undo deals that have already been done. So \$20 billion in projects have frozen up, developers say, just from the threat of these changes.

Renewable energy industry organizations, including the American Wind Energy Association, the American Council on Renewable Energy, the American Conservation Coalition, Citizens for Responsible Energy Solutions, the Conservative Energy Network, and Conservatives for Clean Energy, all warn that the tax bill will jeopardize growth and jobs in wind and solar projects.

"If these provisions are retained," the groups wrote to Senators, "they will result in broad instability and uncertainty for businesses and investors across many sectors, including the clean energy sector."

Gosh, I hope my Republican friends will listen to our wind and solar producers, particularly the ones in their home States. I hope they will listen to the people who are counting on the jobs of those \$20 billion in projects that have now been put on the shelf. I hope they will listen to American taxpayers, who are sick of midnight-deal corporate welfare like this.

If they do listen, they can scrap this terrible bill. They can sit down and work with Democrats. It would be a novelty, but we would welcome it. We could have a bipartisan tax bill that works for the middle class, for the economy, and for the environment, but with the oil and gas industry calling the shots around here, fat chance of that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, first of all, I thank my friend, the Senator from Rhode Island, for two things—one, for being a constant voice on the need for us to diversify our energy sources and supplies and for recognizing the enormous challenge around climate change.

I come from a State that is not too dissimilar from his in terms of its having a great deal of shoreline. We see the effects of the changing climate each and every day. At high tide, we have parts of the city of Norfolk that have never before flooded that flood on a regular basis.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. On a sunny day.

Mr. WARNER. On a sunny day.

We have a church that has to regularly change its schedule of worship, not because the Lord has asked them to change the schedule of worship but because it floods on a regular basis.

Let me also thank him for his comments about the tax legislation. I share his concern as somebody who feels very strongly that there is a right way and a wrong way to do tax reform. Unfortunately, the product I believe we will be voting on next week, not only the provisions the Senator from Rhode Island talked about, will also add close to \$2 trillion to our debt.

In many ways, it does not even take care of the problems we are supposed to solve, in terms of the ability of companies to bring back profits from overseas in a way to reinvest in this country. Frankly, it exacerbates the problem where companies can further hide their profits abroad.

I share his doubt about whether our colleagues will join us in starting anew, but if they would, I would join with them and others in trying to make sure we do tax reform in a fair, balanced way that is fiscally responsible. I thank Senator WHITEHOUSE for his comments.

DACA

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I stand today to talk about a different subject; that is, to stand in solidarity with over 12,000 of my Virginia constituents who are students, entrepreneurs, members of our military, and individuals who have the distinction of being Dreamers, like the nearly 800,000 Dreamers across our country.

These people, many of them young folks, are worried about facing deportation—not for anything they have done wrong but because the vast majority of these young people were brought to this country as children many years ago. Today, unfortunately, due to no actions of their own, they are caught up in some of the worst of our Nation's politics.

Up until this past September, these young people were living in the United States legally under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program or what has been called DACA. As part of this program, these young people came out of the shadows, paid a fee, went through an extensive background check, and complied with all the other requirements of the DACA Program. Unfortunately, Dreamers and their families are now in a perilous situation because, unfortunately, President Trump ended the DACA Program, literally putting hundreds of thousands of these young people in a state of legal limbo.

Unfortunately, while a number of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle want to work through this problem, we hear the Republican leadership has done nothing to provide that permanent solution for these hard-working young Americans. That is who they are, folks who have lived here oftentimes for decades. This is not how the greatest country on Earth should treat anyone, especially these young people who, in most cases, have only one nation they have called home, and that is our country, the United States.

I am not the only one who thinks this. As I mentioned, there are colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have been coming to the floor for weeks making this point. The fact is, more than three-quarters of Americans of all political stripes support a pathway to permanent legal status for Dreamers. Here in the Senate, my friends, Senator LINDSEY GRAHAM and Senator DICK DURBIN, have introduced the bipartisan Dream Act and have been actively working toward its passage.

In the Senate and the House, there are enough votes to pass this bipartisan legislation if leadership would only bring it to the floor, and that is just not the case in the Senate. Last week, my friend Congressman SCOTT TAYLOR, a fellow Virginian and a Republican, led a bipartisan group of 30 Members in the House again asking the House leadership to find a legislative solution—not next year, not next month but now.

Unfortunately, it seems like folks on the other side of the aisle would rather

treat this as a political issue and a political pawn to be negotiated, probably not even this year but at some future date. By doing so, they leave these young people in a state of limbo and really subject to a great deal of legal uncertainty. For many of these young people, as they cycle out of the program—close to 1,000 a week—even if we come up with a legal solution, their ability to rejoin the program and reclaim their legal status may be extinguished. The truth is, this is not just another political leverage point.

Let me take a moment or two and talk about some of the folks who are affected in my State—folks in my State, folks whom I call real Virginians.

I think about one young student from Northern Virginia, whom I chose as my guest to the President's State of the Union Address a few years ago. I was so impressed with her work ethic and her passion for improving the lives of others that I asked her to serve after that as an intern in my office, where she did great work serving fellow Virginians.

I think about a law student I met recently in Williamsburg who was born in England and brought here when she was just 1 year old. Right now, it is getting close to the holidays. She is probably tucked away in some corner of the library studying for her law school exams. She told me she wanted to get that law degree to help fellow Virginians when she graduates. I say we shouldn't stand in her way.

I think again about a young man I met from Newport News whose mother brought him to the United States when he was just 6 years old. Sadly, his mother passed away before he graduated from high school, but I know when he walked across the stage of that graduation as valedictorian of his class, his mom would have been proud. Hopefully, if this program is renewed when he graduates from Virginia Tech next year with a degree in engineering, he will put those skills to work.

These are just a few examples about the smart, successful, young Virginians who also carry the categorization of being called Dreamers. The truth is, in Virginia, we have a vibrant and growing immigrant community that contributes to all facets of life in the Commonwealth.

While I talk today about Dreamers, I also want to make mention of another program that is caught up in some of these last-minute negotiations, the so-called TPS individuals—oftentimes individuals from El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and certain folks who have lived in this country for decades whose legal status is also in jeopardy.

The truth is, whether they are a Dreamer or someone who has been a beneficiary of the TPS Program, the truth is, immigrants in Virginia are all across our community. They are doctors, caretakers, small business owners, high-tech entrepreneurs. Quite honestly, they are also our next-door neighbors. They are motivated, tal-

ented individuals who want to help and continue contributing to the Commonwealth of Virginia and to our country.

What we tell them every day that we fail to act, every day that more and more of these young people fall out of eligibility, we tell them, in pretty direct ways, that actually even though they have served, studied, and worked here, that at least some in this Chamber don't really want them here. They would rather urge them to take their talents elsewhere.

As somebody who has been in business longer than I have been in politics, I can state that these young people are an enormous asset, and urging them to leave the Commonwealth or our country is a bad business decision.

As I said, unfortunately, with every day that passes, more and more Dreamers face the very real and terrifying prospect of being oftentimes sent to a country they barely know or may not know at all for an offense they were too young to even know they committed. That is just not right.

It is not right that their lives should hang in the balance as they wait and wait and wait for Congress to solve this problem—a problem that I know, if it were brought to the floor, would receive overwhelming bipartisan support. These young people can't wait any longer and shouldn't wait any longer. It is time to pass the Dream Act right now.

Thank you.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BLUNT). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at a time to be determined by the majority leader, in consultation with the Democratic leader, the Senate proceed to executive session for the consideration of the following nomination: Executive Calendar No. 430. I ask consent that there be 10 minutes of debate, equally divided in the usual form; that following the use or yielding back of time, the Senate vote on the nomination with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nomination be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to executive session for the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 405 and 406.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nominations of Matthew Z. Leopold, of Florida, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; and David Ross, of Wisconsin, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.

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

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the Leopold and Ross nominations en bloc?

The nominations were confirmed en bloc.

#### EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following nominations: Executive Calendar Nos. 499 and 500.

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

The clerk will report the nominations en bloc.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read the nominations of Scott W. Brady, of Pennsylvania, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania for the term of four years; and Andrew E. Lelling, of Massachusetts, to be United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts for the term of four years.

Thereupon, the Senate proceeded to consider the nominations en bloc.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the nominations en bloc with no intervening action or debate; that if confirmed, the motions to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table en bloc; that the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action; that no further motions be in order; and that any statements relating to the nominations be printed in the RECORD.